

JPRS 78204

2 June 1981

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 2, January 1981



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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

No. 2, January 1981

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

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**PUBLICATION DATA**

**English title** : TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST, No 2  
Jan 1981

**Russian title** :

**Author (s)** :

**Editor (s)** : R. I. Kosolapov

**Publishing House** : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

**Place of Publication** : Moscow

**Date of Publication** : Jan 1981

**Signed to press** : 30 Jan 1981

**Copies** : 902,000

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1981

## FROM ONE PIECE OF STEEL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 3-12

[Text] Congresses of the CPSU, which is leading our multimillion-strong people along unexplored paths of innovation, play a special role in the historical destiny of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. By summing up what has been accomplished, painstakingly analyzing its own experience and international experience and determining the basic guidelines for its domestic and foreign policy, the party develops Marxist-Leninist teaching on the basis of the peculiarities of the current historical stage, new data resulting from practice and the vital requirements of society's material and spiritual progress.

The chief feature of the CPSU's activity as a party of scientific communism is the organic combination of Marxist-Leninist theory with the revolutionary practice of the working class and with the historical creativity of the people's masses. Deep interest in theory and constant concern for its creative development is the unshakable law of our party's life. Viewing ideological and theoretical work as a very important obligation and international duty and recognizing the extent of their responsibility to the people and to history, the party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, faithful continuer of the great Lenin's cause, augment the theoretical might of revolutionary teaching congress by congress and arm Soviet people and all thinking and fighting mankind with a correct understanding of historical perspective.

"...From one piece of steel"--thus V. I. Lenin metaphorically yet accurately described the quality of that very strong alloy from which the proletariat's ideological weapon--its dialectical materialist philosophy--is cast. "You cannot remove a single premise, a single part of substance from this Marxist philosophy, cast from a single piece of steel," he wrote, "without departing from the objective truth, without falling into the clutches of bourgeois-reactionary lies" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 18, p 346). These words could well apply to Marxist-Leninist teaching in general, taken as whole, with all its components and historical stages of development.

The years have not aged this weapon, nor have they blunted or weakened it. On the contrary, it has been tempered in struggle and creative work and acquired an added hardness, versatility and edge.

"The historical destiny of Lenin's ideas, the very path of their development and their triumph are undeniably evidence of the organic integrity of the great proletarian teaching, the unbreakable unity of all its component parts," Comrade M. A.

Suslov stressed. "Scientific communism cannot exist without a relevant philosophical and economic doctrine as its foundation, without being an integral part of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. Equally, neither the philosophy of dialectical materialism nor Marxist economic theory can be correctly understood or faithfully developed in the absence of an intimate, organic link with the scientific teaching of socialism and communism, with the working class' struggle for its practical embodiment. This is what Lenin's life and struggle and all aspects of his creative activity teach. This is taught also by the whole experience of the development of the international workers and communist movement: its past and present."

The all-embracing nature of Marxist-Leninist teaching, its many facets and dimensions, its symmetry and integrity, which enable one to build a whole picture and understand the intricate logic of the colossal diversity of natural, social and intellectual phenomena, constitute the supreme advantage of this great instrument of knowledge. It is the most broad and systematic philosophical, economic and sociopolitical validation of the proletariat's worldwide historic mission as creator of a communist society. This validation is the "chief element in Marx' teaching" (Lenin) and determines its content and logic.

In conditions of developed socialist society the implementation of the great liberation mission of the proletariat has become the cause of the entire Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, resolving fundamentally new and crucial tasks associated with the further refinement of developed socialism. The CPSU concretizes and deepens the "chief element in Marx' teaching." Devotion to the cause of the working class and the fundamental interests of working people also determines the practical activity of the Communist Party. This paramount idea runs through the party's preparations for its 26th congress, the content of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-85 and the Period Through 1990" and the broad and comprehensive discussion of this very important theoretical and political document in all party organizations.

Marxist-Leninist teaching, cast "from one piece of steel," is not an amorphous, shapeless monolith. Its every part has a specific, sharply delineated feature and reflects a qualitatively distinct aspect of reality. But, at the same time, it is not a simple arithmetical sum of these parts. Marxist-Leninist teaching emerged and is developing as a unified whole in which each part plays its own essential role, serving the whole and expressing its overall idea.

The organic unity and steely logic of Marxist-Leninist teaching possess great persuasive power. This power is feared by our ideological opponents, who keep trying to split it or add foreign ideological matter to it. All these attempts have been and will remain fruitless. "The doctrine of Marx is all-powerful because it is right. It is complete and symmetrical, providing people with an entire world outlook intolerant of any superstition, reaction or defense of bourgeois oppression" (V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, p 43).

All previous social culture, based on private ownership and the alienation of people, was formed and developed in the presence of antagonism not only among classes and social groups but also among spheres of social life and forms of activity. This antagonism and alienation and opposition between material and spiritual

production, physical and intellectual labor, theory and practice, word and action, politics and economics, knowledge of social history and knowledge of natural sciences, truth and material benefit, between the good and the beautiful, between science and morality also affected relationships between philosophy, political economy and sociological teachings.

As for Marxism-Leninism, the organic link between its constituent parts reflects the communist ideals and socialist interests of the working class, the unity of the new society's economic, sociopolitical and spiritual life, the trend toward its social homogeneity, the desire to harmonize relations with nature and the humanist goal of shaping a comprehensively developed individual.

"Marxism is a model of how communism emerged from the sum of human knowledge," Lenin said ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 303). He emphasized that studying communism means "taking to oneself" this entire sum, but taking it so that communism means "those conclusions that are inevitable from the viewpoint of modern education" (Ibid, p 306). Taking means reworking and recasting it, pouring it off into "one piece of steel," into a communist world outlook as a qualitatively new synthesis of knowledge.

The indissoluble link between the constituent parts of Marxism-Leninism is of tremendous significance not only for social science. It enshrines the idea of a great unification of the sciences, of their movement along a path to the unified science of the future which K. Marx foresaw. At the same time this is a model of the integration of the social, natural and technical sciences, of the consolidation of the forces of "universal social knowledge" (Marx), the augmentation of the "great might of united labor" (Lenin) and the merging of science and production, for which the party has shown and now shows special concern and which constitutes part of the historic task of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

Marxism-Leninism is a conclusion which is inevitable from the viewpoint of modern education. There is nothing in it resembling sectarianism, and it is a system open to all genuine creativity and to everything new, since it conforms to an objective truth. Therefore, it is not only social knowledge but also a methodology and logic of the quest for truth in any sphere of science.

Having emerged as a result of the critical reworking of all the best things created over the millennia of the history of culture, Marxism-Leninism has already become in socialist society and will inevitably become throughout the world a universal condition of the spiritual development and shaping of the new civilization. "The only conclusion from the opinion shared by Marxists that Marx' theory is an objective truth is as follows: By following the path of Marxian theory we will draw closer and closer to the objective truth (never exhausting it); but by following an other path we cannot arrive at anything but confusion and lies" (V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, p 146).

Both logically and historically Marxism-Leninism is a single whole. As a phenomenon of culture, Marx' teaching is just as natural a product of the development of world civilization as Beethoven's music, Rousseau's ethics, Ricardo's economic



theory and Goethe's poetry. Leninism, which our ideological opponents try to contrast with Marxism, encompasses all the profound sociohistorical processes of the 20th century and today determines the "highroad" of the progress of human culture. "Leninism is the Marxism of the modern era." The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" emphasized, "the unified, integral, constantly developing teaching of the international working class."

Consistency and integrity are a very important feature not only of the theory of Marxism-Leninism but also of all the activity of the communist party, which has proceeded and still proceeds from the premise that "in the end a broadly principled policy is the only really practical policy" (V.I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 15, p 368). A broadly principled policy is a policy relying on fundamental theoretical tenets and conclusions on the common natural laws of historical development expressed in them; it is a consistently class-based policy, not dependent on chance events and a variable situation, not waiving principles for the sake of instant advantage and not sacrificing the ultimate goals and international interests of the communist movement to temporary or local successes. A broadly principled policy is the science and art of unswervingly piloting the theoretically sound and practically proven general line through all the contradictions and collisions of social life.

Such a policy is master of circumstances, it does not adapt itself to them; it confidently develops the cardinal tenets of theory with regard to the specific situation. It does not reconsider them with every variation of the situation or after every zigzag of history.

The Leninist party has pursued and now pursues such a policy, unhesitatingly following at all stages of the struggle to create a new society, the Marxist principle of not only explaining the world but also changing it.

All the CPSU's practical and theoretical activity under modern conditions and its entire domestic and foreign policy, realizing the successive lines of the 23rd, 24th and 25th congresses, is graphic confirmation of this.

Our party's experience attests that there is a qualitative line separating practicality from overemphasis of practice, businesslike efficiency from narrow pragmatism, objectivity from objectivism, concreteness from creeping empiricism, strength of will from voluntarism, and genuine theoretical and social creativity from the invention of artificial "models" and "variants" of Marxism and socialism. A really serious attitude to theory and policy presupposes study of the sum total of facts and trends of social development, generalization of historical experience, the revelation of new conditions and new potential for revolutionary struggle and socialist building, the finding of the most effective solution to urgent practical tasks, and the augmentation, improvement and, if necessary, correction of what has already been secured, achieved and won by real socialism. It is inconceivable to create something genuinely new without understanding the chief, main line of world development taken as a whole, which is the only thing making it possible to make a correct assessment of the specific weight and role of historically unique circumstances and local factors.

"Theoretical comprehension of the phenomena of social life and of its chief trends," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, "enables the party to foresee the course of social processes, to formulate the correct political course and to avoid mistakes and subjectivist decisions." This is the supreme purpose of revolutionary theory. To generalize the diverse experience of the party's and people's revolutionary struggle and the experience of the world revolutionary movement, to ascertain the special features of the modern stage of communist building and of all world development, to take the changing situation into account without losing one's way in a mass of details and minutiae--this task can be fulfilled only by a theory cast "from one piece of steel," by a full, harmonious and integral teaching enabling one "not to get lost in these zigzags and breaks of history and to keep the overall perspective," "to see the continuous thread linking the whole development of capitalism and the whole road to socialism..." (V.I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 47).

The ability to "see the continuous thread" and the whole road to socialism and communism is enormously impressively demonstrated in the decisions of our party's 23d-25th congresses and its Central Committee's resolutions. This is why the internationalist importance of the CPSU's theoretical work and of the lessons of its revolutionary--transforming practice is so great. The party Central Committee draft for the 26th congress regards their generalization as a task paramount among those on which social science's efforts must be focused over the next 5 years.

Our party counters ideological pluralism, relativism, unprincipled revisionism and ossified dogmatism with a monist, dialectical-materialist methodology which makes it possible to analyze the specific diversity of phenomena from common, clear positions, to give an integrated picture of events, to approach the problems of the day in a comprehensive and integrated manner, to ensure that revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory, word and deed are organically linked, and to elaborate and implement a really "broadly principled policy."

Marxism-Leninism is the supreme achievement of social science. Ensuring its thorough mastery and creative application by all party cadres, all communists and increasingly wide circles of the working people is a dictate of the day, which makes increased demands of works in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In a developed socialist society the role of theory steadily increases. This was the conclusion of the 25th CPSU Congress, in accordance with which all the party's theoretical work in the last 5-year plan was constructed.

This is a corollary of the increasing complexity and scale of the tasks facing the party in domestic and foreign policy. The country's economic potential and defense might, our society's sociopolitical and ideological unity and the masses' labor and sociopolitical activeness increased immeasurably. Soviet people's spiritual life was enriched, the standard of ideological and political education work improved and our influence on the course of world events and the general spiritual climate of our age increased. But at the same time the complexity of the tasks involved in running the country's colossal national economic complex and modern

technology also increased, the interaction of all the spheres of social life--economics, politics, ideology, scientific and technical progress and social development--deepened and became more organic, and people's material and spiritual needs became more diverse and sophisticated and their social relations more multidimensional. The international situation deteriorated and the ideological struggle intensified. All this and much more besides makes it imperative that communists work persistently and relentlessly to ensure that revolutionary science is mastered in its entirety and all its variety and that knowledge is constantly added to and updated on the basis of profound study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the history of the CPSU and the materials of party congresses and Central Committee plenums.

Contemporary problems connected with steadily raising the people's material and cultural living standards, creating better conditions for all-round individual development on the basis of a further increase in the efficiency of all social production, in labor productivity and in Soviet people's social and labor activity, and ensuring society's further progress--with all the constituents of the country's economic and social development in the eighties--cannot be resolved without profound scientific analysis.

The theoretical and methodological key to these problems is provided by the concept of developed socialism elaborated by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, which is an important creative contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. The further creative elaboration and concretization of this concept has been the main element of our party's theoretical work in the period since its 25th congress.

Speaking in 1918 against proposals to incorporate a "detailed description of socialism" in the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) program, Lenin said: "We cannot describe socialism: What socialism will be and when it will achieve finished forms we do not know and cannot say" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 36, p 65).

This is the very task with which we are grappling today.

A comprehensive scientific description of mature socialism is elaborated in party documents, the new Soviet Constitution and the works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The researches of Soviet social scientists have made a large contribution to that description. Current teaching on developed socialism points the way to a solution of the multifarious tasks facing the country and is a guide to action in the 11th 5-Year Plan and beyond. It has comprehensively applied and creatively developed all three components of Marxism-Leninism in their organic unity--philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

This teaching relies primarily on a deep understanding of the dialectics of modern social developments--economic, sociopolitical and spiritual. On the basis of the consistent application of materialist dialectics to the analysis of the establishment, functioning and development of the organic social whole developing on its own basis, it presents the entire contemporary stage of the communist socioeconomic formation as a stage, with all the multifaceted links of its collectivist labor system, its way of life and the socialist type of individuals.

Applying a broad historical yardstick to the phenomena of social life and generalizing the internationalist experience of socialist building, this concept has enriched historical materialism with a scientifically grounded presentation of mature socialism as an objectively necessary protracted stage of a natural historical process in which the transition to communism is directly completed. This is a cold shower for those who still have visions of, as it were, "somersaulting" from the "realm of necessity" into the "realm of freedom" and who ignore the practice of real socialism and try to pass off their own adventurism as a historical and theoretical argument.

Being consistently materialist, the concept of developed socialism determines the further development of the political economy of the communist mode of production, which relies on the classical legacy of Marx-Engels-Lenin and proceeds from the premise that "the realm of freedom...can only blossom within this realm of necessity..." (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Soch." [Works], Vol 25, Part 2, p 387). Lenin wrote: "The great step forward made by economic science, in the person of Marx, is that analysis is made from the viewpoint of mass economic phenomena and the totality of the social economy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 67). The theory of developed socialism contains a scientific approach not only to the analysis of economic phenomena from the viewpoint of the totality of the socialist social economy but also to its management on the basis of such an analysis. From these standpoints the party examines ways of improving the whole process of planning, improving the economic mechanism, further socializing labor and production, raising the standard of its organization and planning discipline and increasing the effectiveness of the system of economic levers and incentives. From these standpoints, which presuppose the priority of the interests of the national economy complex as a whole, the party criticizes in a principled manner errors and omissions by economic organs, parochialism, departmentalism and a bureaucratic leadership style.

The philosophical and economic aspects of the concept of developed socialism are expressed in concentrated form in the range of its socialized political ideas, enriching the "theory and tactics of revolutionary proletarian socialism or communism (Marxism)" (V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 48).

The provisions of the theory of scientific communism, concretized and developed by the party in recent years--on enhancing the role of social aims and factors of social developments, on the laws and mechanisms of the formation of classless, socially homogenous society, on the profound qualitative changes in work, the main sphere of people's life, and in its content and character, in the tendencies toward change in the social aspect of the countryside and the socialist way of life, on the Soviet people as a new historical community of people and on the coming together of nations and nationalities, on the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the Soviet state, on the dialectic of the development of our political system into communist social self-administration and on a comprehensive approach to resolving the problems of education and others--have enriched social science. The generalizing conclusion on the further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of Soviet society as a main tendency of the development of social relations in the seventies is of principled theoretical and practical significance. The ideological, political and social cohesion, the

cohesion of our country's nations and nationalities is "socialism's unique property," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted.

In full accord with the classic traditions of Marxism-Leninism, main attention in studying developed socialism is paid to the working class--the leading force of socialist society--which is the "intellectual and moral moving force and physical achiever" (Lenin) of its progress. The working class' viewpoint, which has become the viewpoint of all working people, is also that common position from which the totality of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual processes and their organic interconnection are viewed in the concept of developed socialism.

Life and the demands of further developing the teaching of developed socialism on the basis of the organic unity of Marxism-Leninism's component parts presents the social sciences with a number of new and topical problems. The CPSU Central Committee's resolutions on questions of improving ideological, political and educational work, the economic machinery and planning indicate the direction for solving them.

An important feature of a developed socialist society is the dialectical interaction of all spheres of social life--an interaction so profound and close that, essentially, there is no major economic, sociopolitical or ideological problem which can be sufficiently fully understood within the confines of any one constituent part of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Take, for example, a question such as the improvement of planning of the economic machinery. This question cannot be correctly posed or efficiently resolved if one examines it from an economic stance alone. Both theoretical analysis and life's experience show that its solution entails a whole chain of social, political, moral and gnosiological problems connected with a knowledge and use of the objective laws of the development of the socialist economy and requires a package of organizational, administrative, sociocultural and educational measures. Or a question such as improving ideological and political education work. A business executive cannot be a competent leader if he thinks only in terms of categories of the economic plan and fails to take account of the social and educational consequences of his decisions. On the other hand, even the ideological worker, leaving organizational and economic tasks and people's working and living conditions out of his field of vision, will not be able to achieve the proper effect from his educational actions.

The dialectic of our life is such that the solution of a certain range of problems--for example, economic or ideological problems--often lies in an adjacent but frequently also a very remote sphere of activity. The clarification of this dialectic, of the profound interdependence of the most important spheres of society's vital activity and the need to take it into account in practical work form the most urgent task to science, of all party cadres, all communists and every conscientious worker. The unity of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the compound nature of its component parts is a model of such assimilation and application of theoretical knowledge.

The materialist dialectic is the living soul of both the theory and politics of Marxism-Leninism. Its creative application in solving theoretical and practical tasks, the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th party congress notes, is an urgent demand of the age. It is important to clarify the need for this assimilation of the dialectic where, as F. Engels further wrote, "the great, basic thought" that the world is the "totality of processes" is not just recognized in words but is applied specifically "in every separate instance and in every given sphere of research." Lenin cited these words in his work "Karl Marx," when explaining the essence of the materialist dialectic ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 34). They retain all their topicality even today.

It would be a flagrant mistake bordering on political shortsightedness and theoretical blindness to believe that philosophy and politics, ideology and economics are spheres so distant from each other that, when engaged on questions relating to any one of them, one can forget the other. Recall how in 1908, at the time of the Russian revolution's temporary retreat, Lenin seemed to have set aside the most important party matters and absorbed himself in philosophy and in contemporary natural science while creating his "materialism and empirical criticism." The pedantic might think that by occupying himself with the history of philosophy and the criticism of Machism Lenin had withdrawn from politics. In fact, Lenin was by no means motivated by an abstract academic interest in the subject. Developing and enriching dialectical materialist philosophy, he was engaged on the most urgent "broadly principled policy," since it was indeed here, in the ideological sphere, that the most important tasks of party strategy and tactics were then being decided.

Communists must never forget that the protracted coexistence of scientific-materialist and religious-idealistic world outlooks can seriously harm socialism's entire cause if communists cease attaching a political significance to it. They must never forget that it is not only revolution which often begins from mental leaps but also counterrevolution—through a slide into the "embrace of the bourgeois-reactionary lie."

This lie is indissolubly linked to the system of private property relations--the soil which engenders it by the hour, nourishing it everywhere where people forget that "real equality between the two systems of ownership"--public and private--is conceivable historically only as a temporary state (see V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 193). Failing to take account of this feature of the contemporary epoch, ignoring the radical difference between peaceful coexistence in the world arena, on the one hand, and interstructural and interclass relations in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism in an individual country on the other means having no guarantee either against "economic chaos" or against the revival of the "bourgeois-reactionary lie."

One should not lose sight either in theoretical or in practical work of the fact that the above dialectic in philosophical, economic and social problems is a dialectic not just of ideas, scientific conclusions and truths but of life itself. Authoritative instructions on this account are contained in the very structure of Marxism-Leninism, in the trinity of this doctrine cast out of "one piece of steel." This means that it is impossible to understand fully not only Marx' "Das

Kapital," which scientific pedants have regarded and still regard exclusively as a work on economics, 'without studying and understanding the whole of Hegel's logic" (V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 162), that is, without understanding its philosophical content, but any other philosophical, historical and political work by the founders of scientific communism without analyzing the essence of their economic ideas.

Theoretical research in one branch or another of the social sciences is inevitably impoverished and emasculated by failure to understand the deep, organic link between the component parts of Marxism-Leninism, which results in the dismemberment of a living ideological organism. Hence attempts to isolate sociology from philosophy, to counterpose it as a general sociological theory to historical materialism inevitably lead at best to the emergence of sociological investigations as mere "accumulations of raw facts, haphazardly collected together" (Lenin). In exactly the same way the artificial drawing of demarcation lines between economic and sociophilosophical problems, the reduction of political economy to the mere interpretation of economic issues under discussion, and equally the divorce of theoretical investigations from urgent economic tasks impoverish this science and obscure its function of profound and comprehensive confirmation and application of contemporary materialism and the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as a whole and of providing reliable guidance for action. A refusal, for example, on the part of a philosopher to decide the pressing socio-economic, political and ideological problems dries up philosophical thought. And even socialist teaching, if its link with philosophy and political economy is broken, risks being reduced to utopia--a didactic, boring doctrine interpreting an insubstantial ideal.

In addition it must be said that it is impossible to understand the CPSU's economic policy fully without examining the content of its internal and external policy as a whole and without clarifying the deep class and humanist implications of the harmonious system of tasks developed in the Central Committee draft for the forthcoming conference. Therefore, an important task for propaganda cadres and establishments, the mass media and the whole of our ideological aktiv is to explain not only the practical meaning of individual provisions of the draft but also the principled, political essence, the logical connection, and the unified ideological basis for the whole complex of questions put forward for discussion by the party.

In the ideological struggle the class approach to the analysis of world processes is more pressing than ever before. The class approach is for us an integrated approach from the viewpoint of the scientifically understood interests of the epoch's hegemon--the international working class. The contemporary world is not only a geographical but also a social concept. The historical boundary in it passes not between West and East, not between north and south, not between "rich" and "poor" countries but between labor and capital, between social systems based on diametrically opposed production and sociopolitical relations. It is this opposition which defines the character of the present historical dispute in the ideological sphere.

The teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin is critical and revolutionary in its very essence. A philistine attitude to life, the idolizing of what exists, conceited sat-

isfaction with achievements and being blinded by success are alien to it. Communists have always been imbued with the spirit of critical analysis to actuality and the ability to assess achievements soberly in combination with a spirit of historical optimism, and this spirit will not allow them to shirk difficulties or fail to finish work, to close their eyes to the "sores" which still crop up on the healthy body of socialist society. After all, real socialism is no homunculus cultivated in a social alchemist's corked retort. Manifestations of consumer psychology, self-seeking indiscipline, drunkenness, bureaucratism, departmentalism, regionalism, nepotism all unfortunately still occur. The Central Committee untiringly urges communists and all working people to struggle uncompromisingly against these vestiges of petit-bourgeois attitudes and itself sets an example in this struggle. Communists have held a serious, principled discussion about these shortcomings and about ways of increasing the efficacy of work on the communist education of working people at the party report and election meetings, conferences and union republic communist party congresses held on the threshold of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Many proven methods are suggested by both theory and experience here. Attention was drawn to this in the Central Committee draft for the congress. They include state and public monitoring of the measure of work and the measure of consumption, the development of the dual principles of democratic centralism, the further development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of socialist legality and discipline, the inculcation of a sense of responsibility for work entrusted, and the enhancement of the masses' labor and sociopolitical activeness. The main point is that the masses assimilate deeply the scientific communist world outlook and observe strictly the socialist principles proven in practice.

The next decade will be an important new stage in the creation of the material and technical base for communism, the perfection of socialist social relations and the molding of the new man. The 11th 5-Year Plan will draw the Soviet people near to the implementation of the our party's program aims outlined by the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching. "The strength of Marxism-Leninism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "lies in its constant creative development. This is Marx' teaching. This is Lenin's teaching. Our party will always be true to their behests!" The party is approaching the 26th party congress fully armed with the immortal revolutionary science.

CSO: 1802/8



**SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS; ADDRESS TO AMERICAN AND BRITISH READERS**

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 13-15

[Excerpt from L. I. Brezhnev's book "Sotsializm, Demokratiya i Prava Cheloveka" [Socialism, Democracy and Human Rights], published in Britain by Pergamon Press]

[Text] I hope that this book will satisfy the inquisitive reader interested in learning about the distinguishing features of Soviet socialist democracy and familiarizing himself with our understanding of human rights and the exercise of them in the Soviet Union.

Democracy has been a topic of discussion since the times of ancient Greece, and the debate on human rights has gone on for centuries. However, although the concept of human rights itself may be of relatively recent date, it can be said that Spartacus himself led the slaves of ancient Rome in the struggle for the exercise of their human rights. The historical process has always been aimed in the direction of the fuller exercise of democracy and freedom. In the 19th century, Friedrich Engels himself emphasized that "Democracy in our day means communism." Today this verity, which was only a theory in Engels' time, is a truth proved by life and the practice of hundreds of millions of people. I know that the ideologues of capitalism in the West are trying to urge a different viewpoint upon the people by praising the actual or imaginary virtues of bourgeois democracy and belittling, ignoring or criticizing the nature and significance of socialist democracy.

In order to establish the truth, it would be only just to set aside any possible a priori negative judgment and to obtain information about Soviet democracy from prime sources. The present collection is a compilation of statements on this topic made over the past 10 years.

Knowledge leads to a better understanding and, in the case of our countries and peoples, mutual understanding, which is particularly important because of the simple fact that no historical or ideological argument, however principled, can be resolved by a nuclear duel. No country can prove the superiority of its interpretation of democracy or human rights by reciprocal destruction. Let us give priority to the most sacred of all human rights—the right to life, and consequently, the right to lasting peace.

Our countries have different sociopolitical systems, and arguments and comparisons are inevitable. In recent years, such arguments and comparisons involving democracy and human rights have been pursued with particular energy.

The Soviet people have great respect for the American revolution and the democratic traditions of Great Britain. They are aware of the fact that the interest shown by the Americans and the British in human rights is supported by their histories. Karl Marx in particular described the American Declaration of Independence as "the first declaration of human rights." We regard the rights and freedoms it proclaimed to be a tremendous achievement for that time. From the viewpoint of the present, however, these rights have become elements of formal bourgeois law, limited by the very nature of bourgeois society, in which actual rights and privileges are in the hands of the rich classes, while officially democratic institutions serve the interests of those same classes. Suffice it to note, for example, that neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Bill of Rights eliminated slavery. Other examples of the disparity between proclamation and accomplishment are to be found, and not, of course, solely in the past.

When the "sacred" right of private ownership enjoys priority over other rights, the remaining rights and freedoms are in fact curtailed or even emasculated. This is the old question of the equal right of the poor and the wealthy to sleep under a bridge.

When the United Nations Charter was being drafted, it was the Soviet Union precisely which suggested that it include the principles of respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of man. The Soviet Union is a signatory of many international accords on human rights. Nevertheless, we believe that concern about human rights must begin at home, in the individual country. This is precisely what we did. The reader will be interested to learn that the October Revolution was in fact undertaken by the overwhelming majority of the people of our country in order to assert the most vital human rights.

Soon after the revolution, the Soviet system adopted the Declaration on the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which abolished all national and religious privileges and restrictions. It was followed by the Declaration on the Rights of the Working and Exploited People.

The establishment of socialist ownership of the land, the subsoil and productive capital by the whole of the people became the principal guarantee of the reality of not only the political but also the socioeconomic rights of man in the USSR.

President Carter once said that much of life is unfair, and that the rich can afford things which the poor cannot. It is precisely this injustice that we have tried to eliminate, believing that it is inherent not in life in general, but in the nature of social life, in the social system. This is why the Soviet people remade their society. By making public production serve the interests not of individuals or groups but of the whole people, they were able not only to proclaim but also actually to insure the right of every individual to work, health protection, education, security in old age and housing. In a word, they gave the people freedom from concern about their future. They gave them a feeling of confidence, what is expressed in English as a "sense of security."

The proclamation and guaranteeing of economic, social and cultural rights, along with the refusal to grant anyone the right to exploit or benefit from the labor of

someone else, meant a transition from formal to substantive equality. It established the material foundations for the political rights and freedoms of the citizens.

The characteristic feature of Soviet democracy and socialist democracy in general is the fact that it involves millions of working people in the administration of production and governmental affairs.

From the very first days of the Soviet system, the direct participation of millions of people, not only in elections but in the daily management of social and governmental affairs as well, began to play a tremendous role. Today too, in the state of mature socialism, the ever more extensive and active participation of the working people in the administration of the country's life has become firmly established as the main direction in the political development of Soviet society. Suffice it to say that in the past two decades, 20 million people were employed within the agencies of state government and on all levels, ranging from the country's Supreme Soviet to the rayon and rural soviets, working directly in government as deputies, while another 30 million citizens--voluntary assistants in state soviet organs--participated energetically in their activities.

In the more than 60 years that the land of the soviets has existed, socialist democracy has developed, intensified and been steadily enriched. However, its essence has remained unchanged: participation by the masses in the management of governmental and social affairs. The democratic principles and forms of work characterizing the soviets--accountability to the voters, publicizing of the work, criticisms of shortcomings and combating bureaucracy--are being perfected. New forms of participation by the working people in the administration of governmental affairs have developed. The activity of labor collectives--the basic nuclei of our social organisms--and the role of the numerous social organizations have been enhanced.

We shall continue to develop and improve our democratic traditions, which prospered in the soil of socialism and have withstood the test of time.

In 1977, the USSR adopted a new constitution which was thoroughly and extensively discussed by the entire Soviet people over a period of several months previously. In the light of the stipulations of the constitution, the reader will find the answer to questions about the rights, freedoms and obligations of Soviet citizens in this book. I would like to hope that this will enable him to gain a clearer concept of how Soviet society is implementing the ideas of socialist humanism, in which the free development of the individual becomes a condition necessary for the free development of all.

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CSO: 1802/8

## REPUBLIC'S ECONOMY AT THE START OF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 16-26

[Article by Yu. Ruben, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR]

[Text] Our achievements--the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan--are the base for the implementation of the new five-year plan and the period through 1990 as set forth profoundly and comprehensively in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress.

Over the past 5 years, industrial output increased in Soviet Latvia by 21 percent. Within that period, the share accounted for by superior quality output almost tripled. The average annual volume of gross agricultural output exceeded the level during the preceding five years by more than 100 million rubles.

Thanks to the selfless efforts of the republic's working people, above-plan goods worth more than 100 million rubles were produced in the final year of the five-year plan.

In the 5-year period, the average wages of workers and employees increased 17.5 percent, while kolkhoz wages increased 28 percent. By the end of the five-year plan, the sum total of social consumption funds used for public education, medical care, recreation, old age benefits and other purposes totaled 1.3 billion rubles. The material and technical base for educational, cultural and health care institutions was strengthened. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the cardiology building at the republic's Hospital imeni Stradyn', the 1,200 bed Gayl'ezers hospital complex, three maternity homes, 10 polyclinics, and a general childrens' hospital were completed. Such work will be continued under the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The 25th CPSU Congress and the October 1980 Central Committee Plenum stipulated that improvement of housing conditions is one of the main tasks for upgrading the people's well-being. In the final year of the five-year plan, combined financing sources made it possible to complete more than one million square meters of housing in Latvia.

The development of the key national economic sectors in the republic under the 11th Five-Year Plan has been planned in accordance with the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." "The combination of the economic potential

and resources of all republics," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "accelerates the development of each one of them, from the smallest to the largest. All-union economic management and planning have made it possible to develop an efficient approach to the deployment of production forces. They have provided room for economic maneuvering and have made it possible to intensify cooperation and specialization, as a result of which the overall advantages far exceed the mere sum total of the components--the efforts of individual republics, rayons and oblasts." The draft guidelines for the "Basic Directions" in the economic and social development of the republic stipulate measures which will improve the functioning of the fuel-energy complex, the development of metallurgy, machine building and the agroindustrial complex, upgrading capital construction effectiveness, accelerating the use of natural gas in national economic sectors, and management improvements in the broadest sense of the term.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum that there is a need for the extensive utilization of target programs in planning. Each such program should represent a plan including measures directed toward a specific end result, based on precise calculations. On the other hand, the program itself must include a management system with individual responsibility assigned for each work sector.

As noted by the delegates to the 1981 23d Communist Party of Latvia Congress, comprehensive-target planning in the republic covers virtually all of the most important economic sectors. Planning has become intersectorial. It insures coordination of the work of the different ministries and departments. This has enabled us to upgrade production quality and to resolve problems in the socioeconomic development of labor collectives, and many others, successfully.

Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, we gained a certain experience in the implementation of comprehensive target programs, which were made a structural component of the five-year plan. Under the new five-year plan, we shall continue our efforts to implement 12 comprehensive programs and to develop their management mechanisms. The most important of these are "Curtailing the Use of Manual Labor in Industrial and Agricultural Sectors," "Increasing Production Effectiveness in the Latvian SSR on the Basis of Standardization and Improved Production Quality Control in 1981-1985," "Development of the Fuel-Energy Complex in the Latvian SSR," and "Development of the Determining Directions for the Agricultural Complex for the 1981-1985-1990 period."

We are also pursuing the implementation of comprehensive target programs for the development of intersectorial production facilities, the comprehensive utilization and reproduction of timber resources, the development of all transportation facilities, upgrading the effectiveness and quality of capital construction, and other programs. They indicate that we are focusing our efforts on the resolution of the republic's most topical national economic problems. The republic will also participate in the drafting and implementation of the most important comprehensive national economic and social target programs.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the October 1980 plenum, we have set for ourselves the major task of upgrading production effectiveness and undertaking the

intensive development of the national economy. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the strengthening of labor and state discipline and increased labor productivity are of primary importance in terms of the achievement of high end results rapidly. Under the 11th Five-Year Plan and in the period through 1990, the development of science and technical progress will remain the most important factors in the further upsurge in the republic's national economy. In order to insure the intensification of scientific research and to create comprehensive scientific centers, while simultaneously developing design bureaus and experimental bases, the bulk of the capital investment in this sector during the new five-year plan will be used to acquire latest apparatus and equipment. Along with the construction of laboratories and experimental bases for many scientific research institutes, we will undertake comprehensive biological tests on medicinal drugs at the Organic Synthesis Institute, with a view to meeting international pharmacological standards.

The development of highly productive equipment for the automation of production processes, new semiconductor instruments and automated systems for designing and manufacturing technological equipment will be speeded up on the basis of the basic research completed.

We will expand, first of all, scientific research projects the results of which can be applied to the republic's national economy during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Furthermore, many scientific research projects will be included in the country's comprehensive scientific and technical target programs and the republic's national economic programs. They include the development of systems and methods for the protection of metals against corrosion, improvements in industrial housing construction, finding new feed resources for animal husbandry, improving the means of preservation and storage of feed, and the development of mechanized technological assembly line systems for the cultivation and harvesting of basic farm crops and for the storage of agricultural commodities.

The use of computers and the development of automated control systems are central components in the implementation of the basic direction for technical progress in all republic national economic sectors. All planning stages will be automated on the basis of an integrated information system, in order to reduce the time required for the drafting of plans, to improve their coordination and to upgrade functional control over their implementation. The "Industry," "Agriculture," "Capital Construction," "Communal Economy" and other functional management complexes will be further developed. They must insure the interaction of all republic ministries and departments. Subsequently, under the 12th Five-Year Plan, we will also design and implement functional management complexes for "Trade," "Transportation," "Environmental Protection," and other sectors. It will be during that period that we will also complete the organization of a unified information system for national economic accounting, planning and management on all levels.

Much attention is being devoted to the improvement of planning in the course of the drafting of the basic directions for the development of the republic's national economy for the period through 1990. Effort and resources are being focused on the implementation of the basic nationwide programs. Economic balancing

is being improved, and the role of plan indicators in national economic intensification and the achievement of high end national economic results is being upgraded.

Today we cannot yet claim that the level of planning is entirely consistent with the requirements of the contemporary stage of economic development in the republic. There are still some unbalanced plans, wasted capital investments, and ineffective use of production capacities. The rate of output for some goods is sometimes planned without consideration of the potential of related production facilities; shortcomings can be found in the planning of quality indicators. There are disparities between plans and actual potential.

Many enterprises under union jurisdiction are suffering from departmental specialization. For example, they previously received most of their castings, tools and plastic and industrial rubber goods from Baltic republic enterprises. Ever since their specialization, they have had to have such items shipped in from more distant parts of the country, imposing a further hardship on the already overburdened rail transport system. This prevents timely shipment of finished products to the consumers and fulfillment of sales plans.

Economic growth and the increased complexity of economic relations make necessary not only improvements in sectorial and territorial management, but also their coordination. The republic is taking steps to coordinate the activities of ministries and departments on the territorial level. It is exercising its rights in connection with the development of production forces and the solution of social problems. Starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers will formulate consolidated annual plans for the production of local construction materials, housing-communal and cultural construction, and the production of consumer goods, and will control their implementation.

In our view, the best possible combination of sectorial and territorial management is achieved through the program-target method in planning--the drafting of comprehensive programs for economic and social development. Experience has shown, however, that the successful implementation of our comprehensive plans requires that they be considered by the USSR Gosplan and the union ministries in the stage in which the five-year plan is drafted. This will insure the availability of the resources necessary for the implementation of the plans. We also need economic levers with which to encourage the execution of the principal elements in the program. It is with this in mind that the republic's gosplan has suggested the implementation of comprehensive programs be assessed on the basis of the implementation of marketing plans, taking commodity procurements into account.

The republic is moving in several important directions in its efforts to improve planning and management.

In accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the improvement of the economic mechanism, a number of ministries are already applying the normative net output indicator in planning and assessing enterprise activities. This is the case in the construction materials industry, timber processing, meat and dairy and local industry ministries, and agricultural machine building, road construction and diesel engine manufacturing plants. The use of the new

indicator has made a comprehensive contribution to improving the quality of goods, reducing material intensiveness and fulfilling output variety plans. In 1981, preparatory operations for conversion to the new indicator for work planning and rating will be undertaken by additional ministries and departments.

An experiment conducted since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan by the republic's Ministry of Local Industry has produced positive results. Its enterprises use norms governing wages per ruble of output which are valid for the entire 5-year period, instead of a fixed planned wage fund. This increases the degree to which labor collectives and individual worker's wages depend on final results. This has also contributed to the considerable overfulfillment of assignments for increased output and labor productivity.

Under conditions characterized by steadily expanding production relations, the observance of planning discipline at all management levels and in all economic units takes on great importance. Unfortunately, some of our enterprises, associations and ministries have "amended" their plans downward. The plans, reduced by higher economic organizations, are often overfulfilled, thus giving the appearance of adequacy. This can hardly contribute to the observance of state planning discipline. Many machine building, metal processing and timber resources and industry enterprises have fallen behind. In the first half of 1980, about one-half of the republic's enterprises failed to meet their contractual obligations. There has been a frequent and unjustified scarcity of consumer goods, which has led to a type of chain reaction wherein a holdup in one link of the chain results in a lag in others.

One of the reasons for the nonfulfillment of delivery plans and the development of unjustified shortages is delays in material and technical procurements. This was the conclusion of specialists from the Latvian SSR Gosplan following their selective study of associations and enterprises in leading sectors. Usually, delays in material and technical supplies are claimed to be the result of objective reasons. This "classification" is quite controversial, however, for it covers manpower shortages and adverse weather conditions in agriculture. We believe that breakdowns in material and technical procurement are the result of poor organization of contractual relations.

Major improvements are needed in the system governing such relations. In the next few years, the republic will continue to promote the conversion of associations and enterprises engaged in mass or large-series production to a system of direct long-term economic relations. This is fully applicable to procurement and marketing organizations which supply raw and other materials and complementary items.

Along with systematic improvement in planning and insuring the organic interaction of the plan and economic levers, we are upgrading procurement discipline, so that suppliers will not be allowed to amend contractual provisions without the consumers' agreement. The importance of this measure is further enhanced by the fact that there is a direct connection between the reliability of contracts signed and the stability of production plans.



Other major opportunities are to be found in the specialization of enterprises in the production of a smaller variety of goods such as to allow other producers to handle some of the items.

In this connection, the work of the Coordination Council on the Specialization of Light Industry Enterprises in the Baltic Republics and the Belorussian SSR, established 4 years ago, is of some interest. The council has considered and approved the suggestions of interrepublic sectorial commissions and scientific research institutes pertaining to light industry specialization under the 10th Five-Year Plan, and for the 1981-1985 period.

As a result of specialization efforts made in 1978-1980, the manufacturing of 47 types of light industry products was reassigned. This reassignment of the production of consumer goods within the area essentially affected the knitwear, textile-haberdashery and shoe manufacturing sectors. For example, the Belorussian SSR took over the production of 21 types of commodities from the Baltic republics, allowing them to take on the production of seven. Specialized enterprises in all the republics created facilities for increasing assembly line production, upgrading effectiveness and quality, and reducing the range of items produced.

After they had acquired a certain amount of experience, the interrepublic sectorial commissions and scientific research institutes formulated their suggestions on specialization by light industry enterprises in the Baltic republic and Belorussia for 1981-1985. The coordination council has already approved requests that the production of more than 100 individual items within the regional framework be reviewed. In order to increase production concentration, to reduce the multiplicity of items produced, and to eliminate duplication, the Lithuanian SSR will abandon production of 38 items; the Estonian SSR, 35; the Latvian SSR, 20; and the Belorussian SSR, 10.

Simultaneous with the development of light industry specialization, a number of enterprises will be reconstructed with a view to insuring the production of technologically homogeneous goods of the highest quality under the 11th Five-Year Plan. For example, specialization will require the reconstruction of the Minsk Worsted and the Grodno Fine-Cloth combines and the Zarasay Textile-Haberdashery Factory, which will undertake the production of some items previously manufactured by the Lenta Textile-Haberdashery Factory in Riga. This will enable it to specialize. The economic benefits made possible by regional specialization should exceed 60 million rubles by 1985.

The work already done reveals that even greater opportunities exist for upgrading productive effectiveness in production specialization and concentration. It would be expedient therefore, in our view, to set up a separate department at the USSR Ministry of Light Industry to take charge of developing production specialization, with planning and control functions. In order to promote the specialization of cotton fabric manufacturing enterprises, in turn, it would be desirable to organize an all-union interregional commission within that same ministry. This will lead to the establishment of corresponding coordination councils in other parts of the country.

As we address ourselves to production problems, let us note that increasing output with a view to the better satisfaction of the requirements of the population and the needs of all economic sectors, while steadily upgrading quality and reducing raw and other material, fuel and energy outlays, remains the basic task to be carried out in the development of the republic's industry during the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans. This is based on the level of industrial output achieved at the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan. As compared with 1980, the total volume of industrial output should be 15-18 percent higher by 1985; during the 12th Five-Year Plan, it should be increased by almost 18 percent (as compared with 1985).

At the beginning of 1981, basic industrial productive capital in the republic was worth 4.1 billion rubles, of which 1.2 billion was assets installed in the preceding 5 years. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the productive capital of the republic's industry will be increased by yet another 1.6 billion rubles.

About 70 percent of the total amount of capital investments to be channeled into industrial construction under the new five-year plan will be used for the expansion, reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises. The expansion of production capacity in the construction materials and construction industries, agriculture and procurement, and the light, food and meat and dairy industries, will be pursued at a more rapid pace. The development of the nonproduction area will be accelerated, as compared to the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The republic's construction industry must be developed at a more rapid pace if the planned program is to be implemented. During the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans, an agricultural combine will be built in Yekabpils; a large-panel housing construction combine will be built in Valmiera (both these enterprises will be in the center of their areas); several plants and consolidated bases of subcontracting organizations and other sectorial enterprises will be reconstructed and expanded. The basic measures included in the comprehensive program for upgrading capital construction effectiveness and quality under the 11th Five-Year Plan will lead to a reduction in the number of projects being built simultaneously, by approximately one-third. This will shorten construction time and reduce material and labor intensiveness. The conversion of the republic's Ministry of Construction to planning based on the market value of construction output, beginning with 1981, and the conversion of the Latvkokhozstroy Association to work based on the construction firm principle will further contribute to this goal.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the republic plans the construction of up to six million square meters of total housing area, based on all financing sources. The housing construction program can only be implemented through further industrialization. Consequently, the share accounted for by large panels will increase to 70 percent by 1985.

However, no measures to increase economic potential or upgrade technical facilities and the capital-labor ratio of industrial enterprises can provide the required national economic results unless all units and management levels have achieved a suitable level of organization and discipline.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress mention improvements in the style and methods of economic management based on the Leninist management principles and higher standards for organizational work.

A review of the status of labor discipline and cadre turnover in the republic has shown that this is a most topical problem which confronts us. First of all, overall work time losses remain high; secondly, the seriousness of the matter is the result of the new requirements imposed by scientific and technical progress on all economic sectors.

In recent years, the rate of increase in labor productivity has declined somewhat in the republic. A study of the reasons for this phenomenon revealed that if all the work time losses in 1979 had been reduced by just one-half, labor productivity would have increased in industry by approximately five percent.

We must also increase our efforts to stabilize labor collectives. There are still some enterprises in the republic in which cadre turnover comes to 20 percent. The situation is aggravated by the developing manpower shortages. Meanwhile, in accordance with the plans for the development of the republic's national economy, we will be needing 54,000 more working people. The expansion of the active local population will not meet the national economic requirements for additional manpower.

Bearing in mind the high level of employment of the population and the scarcity of labor resources, the republic can maintain its stable pace of economic development only by a considerable acceleration in the rate of increase in labor productivity, drastic improvement in production organization, and the strengthening of labor discipline. In order to insure the planned increase in output, labor productivity must be increased by 15-18 percent during the 11th Five-Year Plan and by almost 18 percent in the 12th. In order to achieve this, the republic is planning a series of measures to accelerate the scientific and technical progress and the scientific organization of labor, to upgrade the general educational standard of the working people and to strengthen production discipline.

Steps are being taken to reduce the volume of industrial-production personnel in order to alleviate manpower shortage. Basic indicators have been added to the stipulation of the republic's socialist competition, such as observance of ceilings set for the number of workers and employees and the status of educational work. Let us note that the basic socialist competition indicators already include data on the condition of the scientific organization of labor, fulfillment of assignments pertaining to the reduction of heavy physical labor, conversion to wages based on final results, and others.

For many years, the comprehensive program entitled "Mechanization of Manual and Heavy Physical Labor in Industry, Transportation and Other National Economic Sectors of the Latvian SSR," has been incorporated as a structural element in the state plan for the republic's economic and social development.

The more than 5,000 measures and suggestions implemented or applied during the 10th Five-Year Plan made it possible to free about 16,000 working people,

including more than 7,000 women, from the need to do manual labor. More than 17,000 workers doing heavy manual labor were transferred to mechanized production processes. More than half of the overall increase in labor productivity in Latvia was achieved thanks to the mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor. The republic's experience in the comprehensive mechanization of manual labor was positively assessed by the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUGCTU.

The republic's government is taking other steps to upgrade the effective utilization of manpower, as well. In particular, proposals for the reduction of the number of enterprises and organizations established in the republic without sufficient reason, which deprive the basic economic sectors of manpower, are being drafted.

The CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers decree on strengthening discipline and reducing cadre turnover calls for the comprehensive solution of production and social problems. It emphasizes the need to coordinate the construction of industrial and social projects. This type of comprehensive approach to construction planning is of prime importance in the stabilization of the labor collectives. The solution of social problems is being sought in a number of directions.

In recent years, our radioelectronic industry enterprises have done a great deal in the organization of public catering for the working people. Modern food combines have been built and equipped with the latest facilities. They sell food products and semiprepared meals. A direct connection can be established between these measures and the fact that cadre turnover at the VEF Radiotekhnika and other associations has dropped substantially. We would be fully justified in saying that even the best organizational-technical, economic and other measures will fail to produce the desired results unless parallel to them, a certain moral microclimate is established in the collectives and unless a number of social improvements are carried out.

Comprehensive five-year plans are being drafted for improving labor and health conditions and labor safety. Year by year, appropriations for these purposes are increasing. Causes of morbidity are being systematically eliminated. Sanitary conditions in shops and sectors are recorded on special forms, on which the results of special studies on harmful factors are described.

We could cite examples of the model organization of this project. For many years, Kompressor has been improving its technical and organizational production standards, and has been making efficient use of material, manpower and financial resources. A recreation center, cafeteria, coffee shop and trade complex have been built. Sales of durable goods are regularly organized and orders can be placed with service enterprises. It is therefore not surprising that work time losses at this plant are the lowest of any in the republic's industrial enterprises.

Our agricultural sector is involved in the solution of complex major problems. The farm produce originating in Latvia accounts for only 1.3 percent of the country's gross agricultural output, while animal husbandry accounts for about 1.6 percent of the total. However, the volume of animal husbandry products per capita produced

in this republic is relatively high. In terms of meat and milk, this indicator is higher than that in Sweden and certain other capitalist countries.

It would have been even higher had the republic's agricultural sector been able to carry out its assignment for the increase in gross agricultural output under the 10th Five-Year Plan. The 1975 drought did serious damage to the animal husbandry sector. Conditions in the following 2 years were far from optimal as well. Furthermore, the extremely adverse weather conditions between 1978 and 1980 resulted in considerable crop losses, a reduction in the feed base, and the slaughtering of cattle. The possibility that such situations will recur must be considered. It is with this in mind that we are now planning the development of the republic's agricultural sector.

In the next few years, the level of agricultural production must be raised considerably by increasing crop productivity, expanding land reclamation and strengthening the social infrastructure. Today's feed production level is not equal to the increasing requirements of animal husbandry. We need equipment for the drying of hay under poor weather conditions and for the production of ready to use cattle feeds. The republic has prototypes of such equipment. We intend to manufacture some equipment ourselves, but we also need the help of union ministries and departments.

In order to bring about a radical change in feed production, the republic's Ministry of Agriculture has developed, working with the Gosplan, a comprehensive program entitled "Development of Determining Trends in the Agricultural Complex in 1981-1985-1990," with "feed production" as the basic subprogram.

This comprehensive program will become a structural component in the country's food program, the drafting of which was discussed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum.

One of the means of implementing the food program in our republic is accelerated development of the fastest growing livestock sector--hog breeding. Subsequent to the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum the tasks in agricultural production in this connection were defined at the 12th Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Plenum. The plans are being implemented successfully. In the past 18 months, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have built an additional 330 simplified hog-breeding facilities and small hog farms have been repaired. As a result, the size of swine herds has augmented by 20 percent and pork production increased.

Along with increasing the number of cattle, specific work is being done to upgrade cattle productivity, which has been hindered to date by an inadequate fodder base. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, total fodder requirements will show an 8.6 percent increase. The republic is taking firm steps to insure quality fodder for the cattle and poultry.

In accordance with the decisions of the 12th Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Plenum, and with a view to supplying protein-rich feed for the republic's livestock, the building of a scientific-experimental interfarm complex for the extraction of protein from fresh vegetation has been undertaken in Bauskiy

Rayon. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the construction of enterprises for the production of peat-molasses, with subsequent production of fodder yeasts totaling 1,500 tons per year, will be completed in Valmieraskiy Rayon. Later, similar but even larger enterprises will be built. Feed yeast production capacities are being expanded. An interfarm shop for the production of whole milk substitutes is planned.

However, in view of the need for concentrated fodder, the fodder balance will continue to be stressed even in 1985. In order to resolve this problem, the five-year plan calls for the construction of an interfarm mixed feed complex with a production capacity of 630 tons mixed feed daily, and a more powerful one later on, one with a daily output of 1 000 tons. The volume of nonindustrial rural construction will increase considerably (accounting for about 40 percent of the overall construction total). This requires that urgent measures to retain cadres be implemented. In the course of the five-year plan, the "agriculture" complex will require the completion of housing facilities totaling about 1.8 million square meters. Approximately 20 percent of this construction will be at farms which are lagging economically.

The republic is planning to resolve interrelated and comprehensive problems in feed production, the machine-tractor fleet and land registration, and take other important steps, with the assistance of computers and the development of automated control systems. These tasks are a structural component in the comprehensive program recently drafted and entitled "Development of the Determining Directions in the Agricultural Complex in 1981-1985-1990," which includes the "Feed Production," "Infrastructure," and "Agroservices," subprograms.

The implementation of these programs will lead to the establishment of a unified system for the planning of the agroindustrial complex in the republic and control of it on all levels of agricultural management.

As we consider the development of the republic's economy in the future, we must not overlook the lagging development in sea-related sectors. The maritime complex (sea transportation, fishing fleet, ports, ship repair yards, and refrigerating and fish processing enterprises) accounts for a very small percentage of the overall gross output, although Latvia has a seacoast 490 kilometers long.

Considerable work was done under the 10th Five-Year Plan to develop the material base for the maritime and ocean-going fleets and their land-based support, such as fish processing plants, refrigeration facilities and port installations, properly. The construction of a factory for the manufacture of tin cans is planned for 1981. A fish products combine, a refrigeration facility the first section of the block of buildings for the Mangal'skiy Ship Repair Yards, and other projects will be completed in 1982.

However, the republic has substantial opportunities for expansion of its coastal economy through the development of ship repair facilities, the manufacture of equipment for ships and coastal services, and the development of fishing and fish processing.

In assessing the results in the development of the republic's economy under the past five-year plan, we must acknowledge that unfinished projects and unused resources are still to be found in virtually all of our economic sectors. Many further opportunities exist for improving control and upgrading the level of management at all economic levels. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress stipulate the following: "Measures designed to surmount departmental lack of coordination and to insure the proper combination of sectorial and territorial management must be implemented."

In this connection, let us note the following: at present, the organizational structure for production planning and management is essentially vertical. Horizontal relations are practically nonexistent. Yet it is such relations precisely which, in addition to planning the production of goods of union-wide importance, must formulate the variety of goods of regional and republic (oblast) importance. For example, as we plan production on a regional scale, it would be expedient to set up enterprises on the intersectorial level. This would improve the functioning of the production process and reduce long distance hauling.

The improvement in capital construction management and planning is a current task. In recent years, we have noted with increasing frequency that the planned volumes of construction and installation work have not been balanced with the contracting work programs of the general construction ministries. Furthermore, the republic has many specialized construction organizations, under the jurisdiction of different departments. This increases the volume of construction carried out by the customers themselves, and leads to the increasingly frequent establishment of small construction organizations whose activities are difficult to plan. We have set for ourselves the task of balancing the volume of construction work with the contracting programs of the general construction ministries, and the elimination of all small construction organizations. This will help in the radical improvement in capital construction and the upgrading of capital investment effectiveness.

A particular section of the draft CC CPSU guidelines for the 26th party congress deals with further improvement in the control and upgrading of economic management standards on all economic levels. One of the directions included among the measures formulated by the party and the government is the program-target planning and management method based on comprehensive target programs. Our republic's experience has confirmed the real effectiveness of this system in the implementation of a variety of intersectorial tasks.

The use of comprehensive target programs requires proper centralization of control over their implementation. The republic could set up an agency for this purpose under the Council of Ministers. Depending on the scale of the programs, it could be headed by a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, a deputy chairman of the gosplan, or the head of a Council of Ministers department. Such an organ should have authority to reallocate resources and to control all organizations within the framework of the program. An automated control system must be made one of the main tools for program-target management.

Other problems related to planning and management must be resolved as well. This will determine the effectiveness of the system of measures to be implemented in order to perfect the economic mechanism and to intensify its impact on the upgrading of production effectiveness and work quality.

## FRUITFUL INTERACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 27-36

[Article by B. Paton, twice Hero of Socialist Labor and president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The transformation of science into a direct production force is manifested in its integration with the production process. The extensive utilization of scientific achievements has now become the main prerequisite for upgrading labor productivity, public production intensification and the implementation of progressive changes in the national economic structure.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 5th party congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which is currently the topic of nationwide discussion, devote particular attention to the role of science in accelerating technical progress. The draft guidelines call for the formulation and implementation of comprehensive target programs, the solution of the most important scientific and technical problems, and a substantial reduction in the time required for the development and mastery of new equipment. "...We must intensify the interrelationship between science and production," the document states, "...strengthen the experimental-production base for scientific research and planning-design organization, and promptly define and alter research and development directions and the organizational structure of scientific institutions consistent with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution...."

In the light of the problems arising in the new historical stage, it would be proper to focus our attention on at least three basic aspects of the influence of the natural sciences and technology on material production.

First, the creation of the prerequisites for profound qualitative technological changes, based on the latest results in basic research and development. The discovery of new methods for the transformation, concentration and utilization of energy, and new ways of increasing and reducing speeds, temperatures, pressures and other technological parameters constitute the foundation for the perfection of labor tools and the organization of new types of output which will not represent mere developments of previous experience.

Second, reducing the time between a new discovery or invention and its practical application. The time interval between the achievement of a scientific result of



substantial importance and its use in the national economy today is one of the basic indicators of the functional effectiveness of the entire interacting "science-technology-production" system.

The third and final point is the comprehensive expansion of the scale on which scientific and technical innovations are utilized.

The main task of academic institutions is the development of basic research. These institutions are expected to provide new scientific discoveries and to submit practical recommendations and suggestions the results of which would be truly significant.

In recent years, the basic research done by the scientists of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences has enriched science with new knowledge about animate and inanimate matter. This has contributed to the resolution of problems in the intensification of social production.

For example, our physicists discovered the phenomenon of turbulent heating and abnormal resistance of plasma several years ago. This became the scientific basis for the solution of some technical problems in controlling thermonuclear synthesis, the development of plasma methods for the acceleration of particles, and the development of powerful superhigh frequency generators.

New technological processes for the electrochemical refining of heavy nonferrous metals (lead, bismuth, silver) were developed based on the use of electrolytic transfer of metals from the cathode to the anode in ion melts electrolysis.

After noting the phenomenon of differences appearing in the potential of piezoelectric semiconductors, scientists were able to develop essentially new magneto electroacoustic instruments and systems.

Guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the collectives of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences paid particular attention during the 10th Five-Year Plan to basic research controlling the development of leading national economic sectors--the fuel-energy complex, metallurgy, machine building and agricultural production. The results obtained in low temperature physics are now being used for the development of energy-generating equipment, enabling us to increase the power and reduce material outlays considerably.

Theoretical studies pursued in the earth sciences led to the development of effective methods for use in the search for new minerals--petroleum, natural gas, iron and manganese ores and nonferrous metals.

The extensive study of physical-chemical processes and the kinetics of phase conversions opened up essentially new paths for the production of high-grade metals and various alloys, as well as new methods for treating them.

Basic research in molecular biology, genetics and biochemistry has guaranteed the development of high-yield strains of various farm crops, new types of livestock feed, the "Kyanka" semi-dwarf winter wheat strain, apple trees with short trunks, fodder cruciferae, and meadow clover.

The results of the study of the laws governing the economic developments of socialist society laid the foundations for a number of suggestions designed to improve the national economic mechanism.

Under the last five-year plan, all of the activities of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences were governed by the desire to relate the results obtained to practical developments designed to resolve specific technical and national economic problems.

Whereas it was previously considered natural for a study to end with recommendations, with no participation by the author in their implementation, the creation of new equipment, materials, and in particular essentially new technologies, and their use in various economic sectors, representing the highest level of completion of scientific projects, have today become indicators of the effectiveness and importance of scientific work. What we mean by technology here is the entire process of producing one item or another.

The particular attention devoted by our academy to progressive technology is based on a profound understanding of the fact that without it, we cannot achieve the more rapid development of the leading economic sectors.

Our organizational measures with a view to development of such work are backed by adequate financial, material and technical support, so that along with the development of basic research, we are actively developing new types of modern technology. In addition to the optimal reallocation of state appropriations for science, we are also drawing funds from the ministries and departments involved. This accelerates the process of developing and above all applying the latest technologies. We adhere strictly to the rule that material resources must go to those who truly need them and can produce substantial results.

The Ukrainian scientists have achieved definite success in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th party congress. In the past 5 years alone, more than 300 new technologies on different levels have been implemented in the national economy. A considerable percentage of them are now being used successfully by enterprises in the ferrous metallurgical, chemical, shipbuilding, aerospace, gas, food and other sectors. They have raised the level of production mechanization and automation and the quality and reliability of output considerably. They have reduced material intensiveness and improved labor and environmental conditions.

For example, the new technology used for the production of the so-called aerosils (low-dispersion preparations of very pure silica) has proved most promising. Aerosils are used in the manufacture of various industrial commodities, such as new printing press glues, highly effective fire extinguishers using powder, artificial leather linings, polyester lacquers, grinding products for optical electronic systems, carriers for biologically active compounds, and polymer fillers. A study of the laws governing the behavior of matter in a dispersed state and the development of various dispersion systems became the foundation for the development of this and several other technologies.

Scientists are developing and perfecting processes pertaining not only to material production, but intellectual activities as well. For example, a method for replacing the work of individual programmers with an industrial process for designing various types of programs, based on the theory of automatic digital machines and algorithms, was developed in the sector providing mathematical support for the most advanced computer technology.

The activity of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences in developing essentially new technologies from basic research was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. The sale of more than 40 licenses to industrially developed countries is proof of their quality.

The desire of the institutions within the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences is that most results of basic research find immediate practical applications and be subjected to experimental design developments needed by the national economy today and in the future.

The experimental-production subunits of scientific research institutions, organized on the basis of cost effectiveness, are hoping to shorten the "science-production" cycle. It is our deep conviction that they alone can insure that scientific developments will be submitted to industrial enterprises in a state of advanced readiness.

By the end of 1980, the experimental-production base of the academy consisted of 68 organizations, including 8 plants, 27 experimental-production lines, 27 design and design-technological bureaus, and 6 computer centers, with a total output worth 17 million rubles. These organizations are not only contributing to the development of basic research in the institutes, but are also participating actively in the designing and use of new types of equipment, instruments and systems.

Several leading institutes of our academy have set up and are successfully operating "institute-design bureau-experimental production-experimental plant" complexes, covering the entire work cycle from idea to application. This has considerably shortened the time required for the practical use of scientific developments. For example, through the joint efforts of the Institute of Electric Welding (Imeni Ye. O. Paton) of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, its design bureau, experimental production facility, and experimental plants, developed an essentially new technology and one-of-a-kind equipment for spot butt welding of large pipeline in only two and a half years, in association with the organization of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. This increased the welders' labor productivity by a factor of four or five. Today, Sever-1 welding machines are being used successfully under the severe weather conditions north of Tyumenskaya Oblast.

The academy has gained considerable experience in promoting cooperation between scientific and production collectives. Its institutes are participating in the scientific research programs approved by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the republic's gosplan. Application is a mandatory element in such programs. The development of technology and equipment for the manufacture of parts

and semifinished goods with complex shapes by static and hot dynamic forging and stamping, channeling the explosion energy which was undertaken jointly with the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, is an example of the successful implementation of scientific and technical programs.

Considerable progress has been made in resolving the intersectorial problem of developing and applying new technological welding processes which increase labor productivity by 50 to 100 percent.

Many enterprises with different departmental affiliations have already included in the designs of new shops under construction complex automated lines for batch measuring and loading and iron smelting in programmed crucible induction furnaces.

Among the new and progressive links between science and industry, let us note the joint work our economy has organized with individual ministries, based on comprehensive scientific research and application plans. After scientists and production workers have made a thorough study of the nature of problems arising in a given sector, and after they have established the potential of all parties, a joint plan is drafted, not only for scientific development but for the creation of the conditions necessary for the installation of the corresponding production capacities, material-technical and personnel support at the enterprises, and the consideration of customer requirements.

At the present time, plans for joint scientific research and design work have been formulated and are being implemented with success together with the union and the union-republic ministries of nonferrous metallurgy, chemical and petroleum machine building, and chemical, aerospace, petroleum refining and petrochemical industries, and republic ministries of ferrous metallurgy, geology, health, food industry and others.

A method for the organization of research and its application consisting of comprehensive scientific and technical and socioeconomic work programs for academic institutes and large enterprises and production associations was developed on the joint initiative of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Moscow Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev. Our scientists are currently participating in the implementation of 20 such programs. Their partners include the Artemugol' Association, the Kineskop Production Association in L'vov, and others.

Whenever one sector or another is faced with a technical problem and the sectorial scientific research institutes lack sufficient scientific background to resolve it, sectorial laboratories are set up with the assistance of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. They are financed by the ministries involved, while an academic institute provides scientific and methodological guidance.

By reducing the time needed for the application of a new development, such laboratories broaden the basic research front in the directions required by the national economy.

The first sectorial laboratory was organized by our academy in 1970 at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Physics Institute. Today there are 36 sectorial

problem laboratories at 20 union or republic ministries. In 1979, they worked on 50 topics, 40 of them yielding applications which produced overall economic results in excess of 32 million rubles.

Practical experience has confirmed the expediency and effectiveness of this form of cooperation between scientists and production workers. For example, the sectorial laboratory of the Donetsk Physical-Technological Institute mastered the technological processes for preliminary heat treatment of instruments by hydroextrusion.

The laboratory at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Physics of Metals developed a technology for the manufacture of film materials with special properties, which it submitted to the enterprises of the Ministry of the Radio Industry.

The optical electronics laboratory of the Institute of Semiconductors and the Tochelektropribor Production Association (Kiev) submitted electrical measurement instruments with optical electronic reading systems, containing no moving mechanical parts, for series production.

Another method we frequently use involves signing contracts with individual enterprises. This too contributes to increasing the effectiveness of scientific work and to accelerating the use of completed research projects. As of the present, more than 1,300 such contracts have been signed between academic institutes and enterprises. The joint work done by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Casting Problems and the Kiev Motorcycle Plant on the development of a technology from the casting of camshafts provides a good example of such cooperation.

As a result of cooperation with the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Extrahard Materials, one-half of all plants and factories in Kiev have adopted the use of new, progressive instrument-making materials.

We try to see to it that the contracts signed by the academy cover broad areas and are closely linked with the basic research being conducted by its institutes. The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences implements more than 3,000 contracts every year. Naturally, the number of such projects cannot be unrestricted, for if it were, academic institutions might turn into sectorial organizations. That is why we use moderation.

In 1976, the CC CPSU approved the activities of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences with a view to increasing the effectiveness of scientific research and reducing the time prior to its practical application. These activities were also highly praised by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the address he delivered at his 1977 meeting with heads of academies of sciences in socialist countries.

The constant attention devoted by the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and Politburo to scientific progress has contributed greatly to the success achieved by our academic scientists.

The oblast party organizations, which participate directly in the signing of contracts between the Academy of Sciences and the republic's oblasts, devote great energy and initiative to the application of scientific achievements. Such contracts, which have become one of the boosters of scientific and technical progress, call for the approval of numerous measures with a view to intensifying the activities of industrial enterprises in the area. Usually, they are preceded by extensive preliminary organizational work, in the course of which the range of problems of interest to production workers and scientists is determined. The daily guidance and control provided by the oblast party committees contributes to the successful resolution of the scientific and technical problems described in the contracts. Each such contract is drawn up as a document signed by the academy's administration and the first secretary of the oblast committee involved. The specific parties to the contract are, on the one hand, the academic institutes, and on the other, the individual enterprises or industrial associations in the oblast. Such contracts have already been signed and are being implemented successfully with oblasts in the Donetsk Basin--Voroshilovgardskaya and Donetskaya--as well as Zaporozhskaya, Nikolayevskaya, Odesskaya, Krymskaya and Khersonskaya oblasts.

Close traditional relations have been established between the academy's institutes and Kiev enterprises. On the initiative of the Kiev City Party Committee, a number of commissions have been established, including representatives of academic institutions and urban enterprises, to coordinate the activities of scientists and production workers. The city party committee sponsors practical science conferences at which views are exchanged and specific methods of effectively using scientific achievements are earmarked.

The long-term work plan of the Kiev City Party Committee and the establishments of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Section on the Further Improvement of the Communist Education of the Working People and Kiev's Socioeconomic Development was ratified in 1979 and is being successfully implemented.

The contract for scientific and technical cooperation signed between the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and Kiev's enterprises and organizations in June of 1980 was the natural result of many years of steadily strengthening cooperation between scientists and production workers.

Our academy's scientific centers have been given an important role in the implementation of the assignments for which the contracts signed with the oblasts provide: they organize and coordinate basic enterprise research in order to promote the accelerated development of the regional economies. For example, the Pridneprovsk Scientific Center is engaged in resolving important problems in the fields of metallurgy, comprehensive use of ore mining wastes, agriculture, and environmental protection.

The Donetsk Scientific Center is working on national economic problems in ferrous metallurgy, the coal industry, coal chemistry and antipollution measures. It promoted a cooperation contract signed by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and oblasts in the Donetsk Basin.

The scientists at the Zapadnyy Scientific Center are making a substantial contribution to the practical use of scientific achievements in the building of communism. Here, on the initiative of the L'vovskaya Oblast Party Committee, departmental scientific-production target associations and complexes--machine building, instrument making, geological-geophysical, and agricultural--have been created. These new organizational forms promote close ties between academic institutes and enterprises controlled by different ministries and departments and accelerate scientific and technical progress. They have made possible the more extensive practical utilization of innovations at related enterprises in different sectors, the implementation of a uniform technical policy, and the effective use of a comprehensive quality control system. The experience acquired in the field of cooperation between the scientific institutions of the center and industrial enterprises merited the warm approval of the public, and was discussed and approved at a meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

The institutions of the Severo-Vostochnyy Scientific Center are engaged in the resolution of topical problems in physics, the development of the power industry and power machine building and the improvement of processes for the treatment of materials.

The development devised by the scientists at the Yuzhnyy Scientific Center are contributing to the reduction of manual labor in industry and the development of individual economic sectors, as well as promoting the use of Black Sea resources.

The party aktiv meetings held in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Khar'kov, L'vov, and Odessa, which have also been attended by representatives of the Voroshilovgradskaya, Zaporozhskaya, Sumskaya, Poltavskaya, Ivano-Frankovskaya, Zakarpatskaya, Chernovitskaya, Rovenskaya, Volynskaya, Ternopol'skaya, Nikolayevskaya, Khersonskaya and Krymskaya oblasts, have played a substantial role in augmenting the scale on which scientific achievements are being applied. They have contributed to increased purposefulness in the work of scientific and production personnel advancing along the most important lines of scientific and technical progress.

The active participation of the republic's scientists in major national economic programs of union significance will become an important method of linking science with practical work and shortening the time required to put new developments into use. These programs pertain to energy, the development of transportation facilities, metal conservation, the reduction of manual labor, the development of the Baykal-Amur Mainline areas, and increased production and improved quality of consumer goods.

As we have pointed out, the efforts of the national economic sectors determine the augmentation of the scale on which scientific and technical achievements are utilized. It has become entirely clear today that the only way of increasing production, improving its effectiveness, broadening variety and maintaining high profitability is continuing technical retooling and the use of progressive technology and scientific achievements. At this point, representatives of ministries and departments themselves often seek to establish contact with academic institutes.

The beneficial nature of such an association is confirmed by the experience in the cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Ministry of

**Nonferrous Metallurgy.** The nonferrous metallurgy enterprises in which the results of joint efforts are applied are widely scattered. Cooperation between the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton and ministry enterprises has already become traditional. For example, the Usol'ye Ore Mining Equipment Plant in Irkutskaya Oblast is using a bimetallic steel-aluminum cramp irons for electrolysis tubs, as suggested by the scientists. The methods used to produce bismuth by the Dal'polimetal Association of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and those used for lead refining at the Elektrotsink Plant in Ordzhonikidze, and other enterprises were developed by the Institute of General and Inorganic Chemistry. The system developed by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Cybernetics for computer-assisted planning and functional control of ore mining-transportation operations was applied at the Almalyk Ore Mining and Metallurgical Combine.

The comprehensive plan for joint scientific research and experimental design operations for the 11th Five-Year Plan, covering a variety of sectorial development problems, was approved at the joint session of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy held in 1979. The visits which the USSR ministers of nonferrous metallurgy, chemical industry, electronic industry, machine tool building and instruments industry, electronics industry and communications equipment industry paid to our academy were of great importance in strengthening such cooperation with national economic sectors.

For its part, the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences submitted 136 technological developments to 64 ministries and departments throughout the country in 1980.

Developments resulting in the saving or complete replacement of scarce tungsten-containing materials for instruments, metals for the manufacture of rolled multiple-strata high pressure utensils, technology for the manufacture of ferrous and nonferrous metal powders through the pulverization of melts, and many others are of real interest to various economic sectors. Many such innovations are being applied energetically by ministries and departments and their enterprises. For example, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry in making successful use of a technology for the cutting of damaged petroleum pipelines developed by the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, using explosives without interruption of the petroleum flow. The organizations of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work are making wide application of a welding method using powder wire. The Soyuzsel'khoztekhnika system has adopted a technology for facing farm machinery parts which was suggested by our scientists.

What are the difficulties and unresolved problems which continue to block improvements in the effectiveness of the interaction between science and industry? Let us note first and foremost that in terms of the classification of economic sectors, science is still regarded as a nonproductive sector with all of the consequences of that fact. Taking its growing influence on the production activities of society into consideration, it would be expedient for the USSR Gosplan to review the classification of national economic centers and to consider science as a material production sector, as was done with trade and public catering, for example. It



would also be well for the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" to note that science today is a production sector and thus a procedure must be set up to guarantee its institutions the material funds and the complementary goods and materials needed to place it in the same position as leading industrial sectors.

Our cost effectiveness organizations, which raise scientific and technical innovations to the industrial level, face particular difficulties in connection with material and technical supplies. There is no centralized procedure for providing supplies and they are forced to resort to self-financing, establishing direct relations with the plants involved, which do not always have the needed materials or complementary parts themselves.

The professional standard for scientific and engineering cadres staffing research and planning-design institutions, parts of a network which is justifiably continuing to expand, are of great importance in upgrading the effectiveness and quality of scientific work. Unfortunately, the training of VUZ graduates is not always consistent with the strictest requirements of scientific and technical progress. They frequently graduate with obsolete knowledge, which requires that the young specialists devote additional effort and time to reaching the level of current research and development.

In order to make specialists' training consistent with the needs of our institutions, the Moscow Physical-Technological Institute has established a number of chairs at the Kiev institutes of cybernetics, physics of metal, study of materials, electric welding, physical chemistry and physiology. Here the students are given basic university training and are taught the fundamentals of the various fields of VUZ specialization; the knowledge required for future scientific work is provided by our academic institutes. After graduating from the VUZ students can begin scientific work without any "acclimatization." This is quite a flexible system, particularly when the training of cadres to follow the new and developing directions in science and technology is concerned. This is not always possible in ordinary university training.

The improvement of the experimental-production base at academic institutions greatly speeds up the practical application of scientific results in the national economy. Under present-day circumstances, the scientific-technical complexes of the institutes are unable to realize their full potential. Each subunit within the complex is an autonomous organization with the rights of a juridical person. Insufficient management centralization and a lack of all-round planning and a unified material and technical supply system are hindering the further growth of the complexes. Therefore, new organizational solutions are required.

In my view, improvement here could be achieved by organizing academic scientific-technical associations on the basis of such complexes, which would encompass the entire cycle of basic research, to the point at which results are given practical applications. The organization of such associations within the academic system would shorten the path from scientific results to series production considerably. To date, however, no such associations have been created because of the refusal of union finance organs to set up the corresponding economic incentive fund.

The timely use of scientific and technical achievements is often prevented by the inertia and conservatism of certain industry officials. This occurs even in instances in which the merits of scientific and technical innovations are obvious, and the advantages they promise would seem to be beyond question. For example, it took more than 10 years before the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry applied a contactless electric power drive with controlled revolution speed developed by the electronics and modeling sector of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Electrodynamics. An experimental batch of 500 drives was not manufactured until 1979. A survey of the various sectors has revealed that the national economy needs more than 50,000 such sets per year.

Occasionally, application is delayed by interdepartmental obstacles. The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Extrahard Materials developed modern technology for the production of synthetic monocrystal diamond powder used in the manufacture of drilling and dressing tools at the Almaz Plant for Artificial Diamonds and Diamond Tools in Yerevan. This made it necessary to develop a high pressure instrument of fast-cutting steel, which would reduce the amount of tungsten used by a factor of three. However, the amount of manufactured diamond is too low because of the insufficient quantity of such steel supplied by enterprises managed by other departments to the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry which controls this enterprise.

At the beginning of January 1981, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers reviewed the activities of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences scientific centers, and set forth measures for raising their work effectiveness and their role in the management of scientific and technical progress in the area. Their decree approved the practice of signing contracts for scientific and technical cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and enterprises located in oblasts where these scientific centers are in charge of coordinating research. It was decided to organize a new Severo-Zapadnyy Scientific Center in Kiev to cover Kievskaya, Zhitomirskaya, Vinnitskaya, Khmel'nitskaya, Cherkasskaya, and Chernigovskaya oblasts.

Modern science is engaged in the study of all aspects of social life. It is becoming a powerful lever for technical and social progress. Upgrading its effectiveness and insuring the fuller and speedier utilization of creative achievements in order to guarantee an economic upsurge and satisfy the steadily increasing needs of socialist society are a most important economic and political task. Improving the management of scientific and technical progress is the key to its implementation. The new five-year plan will require more effective work by our scientists. An awareness of their great responsibility to society and their creative and political maturity and persistence in implementing the plans drafted by the communist party guarantee the future success which will be achieved by Soviet scientists.

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## **SPIRITED ASSISTANT OF THE PARTY**

**Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 37-48**

**[Article by B. Pastukhov, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary]**

**[Text] The young generation in the land of the soviets and its vanguard--the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League--are growing stronger and maturing in the course of the working days of the five-year plans. The multimillion-strong Young Leninist League has reached the 11th Five-Year Plan organizationally and politically stronger and monolithically united around its communist party. In the period since the 25th CPSU Congress, its ranks have increased by 5.8 million members. Today 40 million youngsters of both sexes are Komsomol members. Fifty-nine percent of Komsomol members are employed in the national economy and 47 percent are engaged in material production sectors.**

**More than 1.4 million young party members work in the Komsomol, which has 465,000 more members than 5 years ago. They are bringing a spirit of high idea-mindedness, organization, exigency and responsibility to Komsomol activities.**

**The Komsomol owes all its success, achievements and progress to the party and its wise, concerned and exacting leadership. The party defines the program and specific assignments of the Komsomol in the present stage. It encourages and guides Komsomol activities and insures the development of its role in the life of Soviet society. The CC CPSU, Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political leader of our time and the concerned instructor of the youth, devote tremendous daily and truly Leninist attention to the Komsomol and the young generation of builders of communism.**

**Komsomol members and young Soviet men and women, respond to the concern of the party and the homeland with their dedicated shock labor in all sectors of the building of communism. They are making preparations to greet the 26th CPSU Congress in worthy fashion. Komsomol members and young people are participating with great emotional uplift in the "26 Shock Weeks for the 26th CPSU Congress!" work shift. They are preparing their individual and collective gifts to the communist forum. An all-union relay race of Komsomol accomplishments is being energetically pursued in the Komsomol organizations.**

**The participation of young men and women in the nationwide discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" has become a noteworthy course**

pursued in political training and a vivid manifestation of socialist democracy. This is taking place under the slogan calling for the mobilization of the creative forces of young workers and kolkhoz members, university and secondary school students, the military and the intelligentsia, in honor of the 26th party congress.

The Komsomol organizations are summarizing the work done under the five-year plan, defining new levels to be achieved, and remembering Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction "to approach everything positive in our work carefully" and "to consider omissions and shortcomings critically" in reviewing our work.

1

The main assignment given the Komsomol by the party pertains to the communist upbringing of the growing generation. This is a broad and comprehensive problem. Together with the other ideological organizations, the Komsomol is implementing this task in the spirit of the party's decisions, using every available means of exerting an educational influence and adopting a differentiated approach to the individual categories of youth.

The Komsomol organizations regard it as their high duty to equip every Komsomol member, every young man and woman with high idea-mindedness, the will to achieve the goals, and an understanding that revolutionary battles are continuing to this very day on the labor front and in the building of a communist society.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Educational Work" has become the battle program for action of the Komsomol organizations in their efforts to intensify the political, labor and moral training of youth. On the basis of its conclusions and stipulations, the Komsomol committees are trying to raise this work to a qualitatively new level, and to extend their ideological influence over all groups of young people more effectively, so as to raise them in a spirit of revolutionary, combat and labor traditions and communist morality. They are trying to take into fuller account the higher educational and cultural standards and spiritual demands of the young, as well as the conditions in the acutely aggravated ideological struggle in the international arena.

Developing an organic inner need to work for the public good lies at the core of the molding of the comprehensively developed person. Today millions of warm hearts are beating to the rhythm of the five-year plan, asserting the indestructible link between the young generation and the accomplishment of their fathers, multiplying their glory and falling heir to their heroic traditions. The active life span of Soviet youth and the level of the political awareness of Komsomol members and young men and women are manifested particularly clearly in their attitude toward labor and social duty.

One of the main directions along which the efforts of the young working people are being channeled is the struggle for quality and effectiveness. Participation in the solution of this strategic problem set forth by the party is of tremendous educational importance to the young people. The principles of highly productive socialist labor are becoming the moral norms of every Komsomol member and every young person.

The patriotic movement of the Soviet youth entitled "Youth Enthusiasm and Creativity for a Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality!" has spread extensively. The young people are finding truly limitless opportunities for the manifestation of their enthusiasm and desire for creative work in every republic and oblast and in all production sectors. A characteristic example of this is provided by the Moscow Komsomol members. They are sponsoring the production of almost 4,000 individual items. About 2,000 of them have already earned the state Emblem of Quality; 70,000 young Muscovites are delivering perfect goods and have been awarded the title "Excellent Quality Worker" or "Master With Golden Hands."

Comprehensive individual plans for upgrading labor effectiveness and quality have been formulated by 500,000 young Leningrad workers. Their implementation under the 10th Five-Year Plan saved more than 8 million man/days in carrying out planned assignments and had a key impact on the overall rates of increase in labor productivity and the conservation of labor resources.

The initiative of the Rostov people entitled "Work Without Laggards" is quite popular in the country. The Komsomol organizations have made their contribution to the development of this movement. One out of every two Komsomol youth collectives, of which there are more than 5,000, is working on the basis of a "Komsomol Quality Guarantee" certificate. In 5 years, the number of young workers failing to meet their output norms in the oblasts dropped to one-tenth of the former figure.

New methods are being developed in the struggle for quality, consistent with modern production standards, in labor collectives which occupy the leading positions in the five-year plan. The Komsomol members at the Volga Automotive Plant launched a socialist competition to improve production effectiveness and work quality on the basis of comprehensive plans. Every year, the young workers justify their comprehensive individual plans to the brigade council. After studying and summarizing the workers' suggestions, the council justifies brigade obligations to shop commissions. This upgrades the substantiation and intensiveness of social obligations, which are becoming the foundations for the counterplan for economic and social development of collectives.

However, such examples of outstanding and effective labor rivalry, which inspire young men and women and are designed to improve quality indicators, cannot conceal the fact that many shortcomings remain in the organization of the competition. Some of the obligations young workers assume are too high or too low to be justifiable. Competition results are irregularly and approximately summarized. The best experience is not always popularized. This is the result of formalism in the organization of the competition, and bureaucratic callousness which extinguishes the flame which burns in young hearts.

The more fully we take the characteristics of the youth categories into account, the greater the economic and educational effects of the competition will be. The emotional aspect of the organization of competition is also very important to young men and women. The stress of labor rivalry, functionalism, clear summarization of results and an atmosphere of respect surrounding the champions exert a beneficial influence on the young workers.

Collective work methods play an important role in the organization of youth competition and labor and political training. Komsomol-youth brigades, sectors, teams and entire economic subdivisions are not only resolving production problems successfully, but also serve as combat cells for the education of young men and women in the spirit of love for their profession, creativity, mutual aid and collective responsibility for assignments.

The system of work based on single orders and the use of the labor participation coefficient must be applied in practical work more boldly. The role of brigade councils must be enhanced. The Komsomol committees must devote more attention to strengthening the existing Komsomol-youth collectives and organizing new ones. It is important to combine youthful energy and fervor and the practical and production experience of older comrade-instructors harmoniously within them.

The Leninist Komsomol and all Soviet young people feel a great responsibility for the implementation of the party's assignment calling for the development of a mass movement for the mastery of the leading accomplishments in science and technology and acceleration of scientific and technical progress in our country.

The Komsomol organizations in all economic sectors are seeking the most effective ways and means by which young people can influence the pace of scientific and technical progress. For example, the first projects at the Tyumen'gazmontazh Komsomol-Youth Trust were built on the basis of a comprehensive block system, through the joint effort of young engineers, technicians and worker-innovators. The collective's initiative was praised highly by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his address to the 18th Komsomol Congress. Currently, the trust has set up the Sibkomplektmontazh Specialized Production Association. The enthusiastic young workers and the engineers have provided new organizational-technical solutions thanks to which the association has doubled its labor productivity and reduced labor outlays for the assembly of blocks at construction sites under the difficult northern conditions in Tyumen' by a factor of four in the past 3 years.

Every year, young people are increasing the contribution they are making to scientific and design institutions, VUZs and industrial enterprises pursuing the main directions in scientific and technical progress, in the implementation of the main national programs for the development of whole territorial-production complexes and the application of scientific discoveries, inventions and technical developments. Let us consider the example of the sponsorship of the establishment and equipping of major nuclear power industry projects by young scientists and specialists. The movements were started by the Komsomol organizations at the Institute of Atomic Energy imeni I. V. Kurchatov. It has the support of many scientific and design institutions and pertains to leading construction projects in the nuclear power industry--the Kursk, Leningrad, Beloyarskaya and Kol'skaya nuclear power plants. Recently, the young people of the Kurchatov Institute turned to the Komsomol organizations in the country with the suggestion that they sponsor the building of nuclear power plants to supply heat.

The number of participants in the movement for youth scientific and technical creativity increased during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The Komsomol organizations undertook the comprehensive establishment of scientific and technical creativity

detachments, creative rationalizers brigades, and staffs and posts in charge of the installation of new equipment. Since the beginning of the last five-year plan, more than 4.7 million rationalization suggestions and inventions submitted by young innovators have been utilized in the national economy.

A total of 45,000 young workers, kolkhos members, engineers and university and secondary school students submitted their project for the scientific and technical youth creativity exhibit of the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy alone. Many of the exhibits are of a one-of-a-kind sort. They have received high praise from scientists and production workers. Practically all have notes appended which read "Applied in industry." The youth of the country are striving to make their specific contribution to the development of the scientific and technical revolution.

## ii

The Komsomol and the Soviet youth have always responded warmly to the party's appeal for participation wherever the need for young forces and seething energy is greatest. Today their efforts are being focused mainly on the leading economic sectors crucial to the accelerated development of the country's economic potential.

In 1981, 135 of the largest national economic undertakings have been declared all-union shock Komsomol construction projects. More than 3,000 projects are being sponsored by local Komsomol organizations. To millions of young men and women, the shock construction projects have become true laboratories for the Soviet way of life, labor and social activeness and ideological and moral growth.

The Komsomol labor exploit relay race, which was launched under the first five-year plans, is continuing today in the development of the petroleum and gas deposits of Western Siberia, in the construction of projects at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, KamAZ, Atommash, Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant, and hundreds of other new construction projects.

In recent years, Komsomol sponsorship of capital construction has taken on a new meaning. It is no longer applied to individual projects alone, but to territorial-production complexes as well. The Komsomol is focusing particular attention on Siberia and the Far East. The Komsomol organizations at hundreds of plants, enterprises and scientific research and design institutes have concluded cooperation contracts with petroleum and natural gas workers and have joined the labor competition based on the "workers' relay race" principle.

The all-union Komsomol shock construction projects offer excellent labor training, providing broad scope for the creative search and civic maturity of young persons. Pavel Baryayev, Komsomol Central Committee member and head of a Komsomol-youth brigade at the Urengoygazstroy Trust, serves as a good example.

Pavel did his military service with the border troops in the Pamir. He was demobilized as a master sergeant commanding an outpost. He is the "Excellent Border Troop Soldier" badge. Long before his discharge, he had developed a desire to build new cities in Western Siberia. In the summer of 1972, he received a

Komsomol assignment to Nadym. There he became a carpenter, and his first job was at the construction project of the Komsomol-youth brigade. Pavel Baryayev was assigned to head the Detachment imeni XVIII S'yezda VLKSM. He left the organized collective behind and, joined by young volunteers, transferred to the development of the new Urengoy Gas Condensate Deposits. There he set up a brigade and organized its work so well that it became the best at the construction project. He earned his high reputation through his industrious work and great sense of responsibility for assignments. Pavel was elected a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Pavel Baryayev's life and the lives of thousands of young pathfinders prove that each generation has its Dneproges, Turksib, Magnitka, Bratsk, or virgin lands. For example, the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline has become an outstanding symbol of the continuity in the best traditions of the youth and their loyalty to the party cause and to the building of communism! The revolutionary thrust of the layers of Korchagin's legendary narrow-gauge railroad is continuing in the daily work on this truly great construction project. The BAM youth collective, thousands strong will welcome the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress with great labor victories. The 10th Five-Year Plan was fulfilled 4 months ahead of schedule. A total of 1,600 kilometers of track were laid. The laying of the Urgal-Komsomol'sk-na-Amure track, completed ahead of schedule, closed the Far Eastern Ring. The BAM-Tynda-Berkakit Railroad Line is operational. Trains have already hauled 10 million tons of the most important national economic freight and transported more than half a million passengers along it.

The construction workers were replaced by 550 troops of the first all-union shock Komsomol detachment of young railroad workers, who brought life to this steel ribbon and are insuring uninterrupted traffic along the line.

The BAM experience convincingly proves how the Leninist Komsomol can and should sponsor the development of transportation.

Based on the traditions of the previous generations, the Komsomol members of the 1980s will work with even greater dedication and creativity in the key sectors of the national economy--the power and fuel industries, metallurgy, machine building, the light and food industries, and trade and services.

The October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum set forth important new measures for upgrading the well-being of the working people further. Our young people are immensely grateful to the party and the homeland for their concern for the happiness of the Soviet individual. They fully understand that the good of the people can only be achieved as a result of the persistent and steadfast work done in all directions leading to the development of this country's productive power.

Active and creative participation in the implementation of the food supply program, the development of agricultural output, improvement of the quality and variety of goods produced in fields and farms, and their proper storage, must become the personal cause of the Leninist Komsomol and all its organizations.

The Komsomol has always been the party's active assistant in the implementation of its agrarian policy. All the activities of the rural Komsomol organizations are



focused on training politically knowledgeable people who are infinitely loyal to communist ideals and highly skilled, and who feel love for the land and the grain farmers' labor.

Profound socioeconomic changes have taken place in the countryside. "...Who, if not the youth, the Komsomol," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 18th Komsomol Congress, "should be the main motive force for these changes? Who but they should handle the new equipment, build the contemporary countryside and introduce high labor standards?" Today almost 900,000 more Komsomol members are engaged in agricultural production than at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The number of Komsomol members who are agricultural specialists, mechanizers and livestock breeders has increased.

The party's specific instructions calling for the involvement of young men and women in the struggle for higher yields and cultural standards and for sponsorship of comprehensive production mechanization, land reclamation and chemization and the development of animal husbandry and a mass rural youth movement to master technical skills and insure a cultural upsurge in the countryside have now become the most important lines of activity for the rural Komsomol. Fifty-five thousand Komsomol-youth collectives are taking part in the all-union review of high farming standards and maximum farm output.

Kazakhstan's young grain growers are worthily continuing the exploits of the virgin lands pioneers. Yesil'bay Kadralin, a mechanizer at the Sovkhoz imeni Fifty-Letiya VLKSM, in Kokchetavskaya Oblast, has completed his 15th harvest. Each of his working days is characterized by his efficient labor rhythm, his dedication and skill. During the five-year plan, he fulfilled more than 10 annual norms. For his work, Yesil'bay was awarded the Order of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, and the highest Leninist Komsomol award--the Komsomol Honor Badge. In the final year of the five-year plan, he was made a Hero of Socialist Labor. Such are the splendid offshoots of the virgin lands! It has been said with accuracy that through their toil, the people change the land while the land changes the people.

The struggle for higher corn yields has become a shock project for the Uzbek Komsomol. Virtually all of the corn land in the republic has been assigned to Komsomol-youth collectives. The Komsomol committees have accomplished a great deal in training cadres of mechanizers and irrigation workers. They have set up Komsomol-youth collectives to take charge of selecting, placing and training brigade and team leaders and to disseminate and apply the achievements of science and leading experience.

Last year the republic harvested 1.15 million tons of grain corn. More than 350 Komsomol-youth brigades harvested an average of 100 or more quintals per hectare!

In the Ukraine, young men and women are supervising the sugar beet crop. One out of every four hectares planted to sugar beets is being cultivated by a Komsomol-youth collective. A movement to obtain crops averaging 500 quintals has become popular. In the 1930s, such a yield would have been considered a world record!

In recent years, Komsomol members and young people have begun to play a greater role in the development of animal husbandry on the public farms. However, many difficulties and shortcomings in the selection, assignment and retention of young cadres in this sector still remain. There is a continuing shortage of livestock farm workers in many parts of the country. Meanwhile, the Komsomol committees are falling in their youth social mobilization assignments. Few young men and women are being drawn into sectors such as hog, sheep and reindeer breeding.

Every available possibility which might increase animal husbandry output must be put to use. Komsomol shops and industrial enterprises should sponsor auxiliary farms engaged in the production of milk, meat and vegetables. Country schools should establish more student production brigades and rabbit and poultry-breeding farms.

Valuable experience has been acquired recently in Komsomol participation in agricultural development. This experience is worthy of extensive dissemination. This is true of the development of private auxiliary plots based on close cooperation with public production facilities. The Komsomol committees must help young families and sponsor competition among them for best private auxiliary plot and the delivery of the largest amount of surplus produce to the state procurement system and the consumer cooperatives. In addition to economic benefits, this could be of great educational significance. It is often thanks to a few rows planted in the back yard that the young rural citizens are introduced to work in the large kolkhoz or sovkhoz fields and acquire the sense of being masters of their land.

The Leninist Komsomol is participating actively in the transformation of the Nonchernozem zone of the Russian Federation. Today the Nonchernozem area represents a huge construction site. It also constitutes an excellent training course for tens of thousands of young men and women. Here more than 1,600 Komsomol-youth collectives are at work, with a total of 170,000 members. The great program for the development of the Nonchernozem and the great feeling of friendship and fraternity among the Soviet peoples promoted by the party have brought to the age-old Russian fields people from Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Belorussia and Moldavia.

However, the efforts of some Komsomol organizations have still failed to take on the scope and efficiency necessary for the implementation of the party's assignments. Plans for the completion of housing facilities, hostels, children's pre-school establishments, and industrial and cultural projects sponsored by Komsomol organizations are not being fulfilled in many oblasts and autonomous republics. Komsomol committees and Komsomol Beacon staffs and posts at some shock construction projects are not combatting poor work quality, loss of work time and machine and mechanical idling to a sufficient extent. Turnover among young construction and land reclamation workers remains high.

In accordance with party instructions the Komsomol organizations are devoting greater concern to sectors with a particularly strong influence on the mood of the Soviet people. For example, increasing Komsomol sponsorship of trade is an important task. With the cooperation of local party and economic organs, the Komsomol committees must select and assign the best trained young men and women Komsomol members to work in trade and public catering, and instill a spirit of

high discipline, honesty, benevolence and devotion to the struggle to improve service quality and standards in the young workers in this sector.

### III

The Komsomol organizations must devote much attention to training of worthy replacements for the working class and the toiling peasantry.

The growing generation is being raised in a spirit of conscientious and highly productive work and love and respect for workers' skills, beginning in the classroom. More than 80 percent of the upper grade students in secondary schools are provided with intensive labor training. The network of enterprise training shops and sectors is expanding. Training-production combines, of which there are about 2,000 currently active, are playing an increasing role in the vocational guidance system. Labor associations of secondary school students have become a widespread phenomenon.

The fourth labor quarter is the offspring of the Komsomol. It is guided by the slogan "My work blends with that of my republic." Last summer, 10 million children worked in the fields and on the livestock farms of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and plant and factory shops, or participated in the improvement and landscaping of towns and settlements and in school repairs.

We call upon the Komsomol committees which organized the fourth labor quarter to concern themselves not only with the children's volume of output, but above all the educational effect of this work. It is important that the work of upper class students be collective and that they become acquainted with the foundations of the contemporary production process.

The party asks that the whole of the young generation of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry acquire vocational training before joining the labor market. The Leninist Komsomol is playing an active role in the implementation of the tasks confronting the vocational-technical training system. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions on surrounding the new labor generation with constant attention and leading it into life through work have become the combat assignment of the Komsomol organizations.

Every year, as many as a million school graduates enroll in vocational-technical schools on Komsomol assignment or on the recommendation of the Komsomol committee. Tens of thousands of young frontrankers and specialists, in answer to the Komsomol appeal, have left their base enterprises to assume positions as production training instructors and vocational-technical school teachers. Sponsorship of students and graduates by the best members of the working class has become widespread.

We are pleased to note that in most vocational-technical schools, the young people are now being trained to handle complex equipment. In the course of their training, they are producing goods of economic importance, and with increasing frequency, items manufactured in school workshops are being shipped directly to the customers.

The Leninist Komsomol, with all its detachments, and together with school faculties, will continue to do its utmost to surround each vocational-technical school with comprehensive concern and attention.

University student detachments have added many outstanding pages to the chronicles of great Komsomol accomplishments. In the last 5 years, about 3.8 million students have acquired their ideological-political, labor and moral training. Within that period, VUZ and technical schools students have done work in construction and other economic sectors worth in excess of 7 billion rubles. The detachments have broadened their activities considerably. Substantial help has been provided to agriculture, trade, the light and food industry and transportation. In 1980, 35,000 students working in mechanized detachments and complexes helped to harvest the crops. One hundred and sixty thousand future assembly, petroleum, communications, medical, automotive, and electric power workers consolidated the knowledge they had acquired in the VUZ by means of practical work. The experience and principles of the patriotic movement are embodied in the organization of the farm work done by university students in the autumn.

Scientific research and design detachments and associations are gaining steadily in popularity. Their efforts are focused on the resolution of topical problems in the reconstruction of operational production facilities and reducing the proportion of heavy manual labor.

In recent years, the youth movement for acquiring higher and related skills on the job has broadened in nature. The Komsomol committees are studying the status of vocational training for youth, jointly with the economic and trade union organs, and they are participating in the establishment of training combines, shops, sectors and branches of technical schools at each enterprise. Vocational skill competitions have demonstrated their effectiveness. Every year some five million young workers participate in such competitions. As a rule, the winners are given a higher labor rating.

Part of the extensive effort made to raise a worthy working class replacement involves the raising of vocational standards. It is important for the Komsomol committees to see to it not only that all young working people master the fundamentals of a skill, but that they also insure steady improvement in skill.

One of the specific forms of Komsomol participation in the organization of labor collectives and the resolution of economic problems is its social assignment of young men and women to the most important project in the five-year plan. A Komsomol assignment has become a mark of the times, an expression of the loyalty of the growing generation to the ideals of communism and the desire of the young men and women to make their contribution to the development of the country's economy. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, more than 500,000 young volunteers joined the shock construction project on the basis of Komsomol assignments. Young people account for the greater part of the construction workers at the West Siberian Petroleum and Gas Complex, the KamAZ and the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

The all-union shock Komsomol detachments have earned an excellent reputation. With their help, production collectives at major target projects can be reinforced

quickly. During the five-year plan, Komsomol organizations set up and assigned 100 all-union detachments with a total of 80,000 members to construction projects. As a rule, these are skilled specialists needed at one project or another. The characteristic feature of such detachments is their recent increase in size. For example, the membership of the all-union Molodogvardeyets detachment is now 7,000.

Komsomol-youth construction and installation administrations, trains and brigades are set up on the basis of the detachments. They are characterized by cohesiveness, organization and ability to master scientific and technical innovations rapidly and to uphold the heroic traditions of the working class. These qualities make the youth collectives a force prepared to resolve construction problems under difficult conditions.

The role of the shock detachments in speeding up the completion of target projects was highly praised by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his greetings to the participants. Each such address by the CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman is a document with tremendous mobilizing and inspiring impact.

This social appeal to the youth has been duly acknowledged. Nevertheless, managers of construction projects who accept young reinforcements frequently fail to devote proper concern to their professional and general educational training and living conditions, in the hope that the romanticism and enthusiasm of young people coming here on Komsomol assignments will compensate for the shortcomings in the organization of the work. Added to inadequate educational work on the part of Komsomol committees, all of this leads to high turnover of young cadres at some shock construction projects as a result.

The accelerated development of production forces and the increase in the economic potential in many parts of the country have posed many new socioeconomic problems. One of these--the problem of the young cities--has justifiably become a focus of public attention here. In these cities, located in areas where there is new industrial development, the median age of the population is 22-26, while the birth rate exceeds the national average by a factor of 1.5-2. It is in such cities that the need for housing, children's preschool institutions, club and developed sports facilities increases with particular rapidity.

Those who plan and build new towns must develop a greater awareness of the specific demographic and social structure of the populations involved. We believe that persistent efforts to find additional ways and means of building housing and preschool institutions should be supported. For example, the Megiongazstroy Trust in Nizhnevartovsk organized a construction unit of young workers in need of housing. Its members were given temporary leave while their production assignments were taken over by their fellow workers. The detachment was provided with the necessary equipment and building materials. Komsomol members, young people employed at the trust, and members of the families of the future owners of the houses were recruited extensively. Within a short time, a 155-apartment building of good quality was completed. In the same manner, with very energetic participation on the part of Komsomol members and young people, housing facilities were built in Ekibastuz and Volgadonsk; a library and a sports complex were built in Novyy Urengoy, and a hostel and kindergartens were built in Akademgorodok in Novosibirsk.

It would be useful to continue to involve young people actively in the construction of housing and sociocultural projects, using voluntary nonworking time for the labor. After a short training period, young volunteers chosen by Komsomol organizations would be able to build residences, kindergartens and nurseries. The blueprints for such projects should combine simplicity of design with adequate comfort and should be based on the extensive use of local construction materials and minimal use of complicated equipment. The experience of the student construction detachments which worked on the construction of a large number of varied projects has confirmed the possibility and expediency of such construction.

#### IV

The most important line of work for the Komsomol organizations involves instilling a communist attitude toward labor and job conscientiousness and organization in every young working person.

We know that only work inspired by a noble objective and designed to promote the social good, rather than just any kind of work, is educational. The comprehensive approach to education presumes the establishment of an indestructible link between education in the course of the labor process and ideological, political and moral tempering.

The party stipulates that the main effort in developing ideological and educational work must be focused on the labor collective. It is precisely here that young people develop their attitudes toward life and society. This precisely is the main field of action for the Komsomol organizations.

Instilling the attitude that labor is a civic duty and the first and most vitally necessary means of achieving social and individual progress in the growing generation is of particular importance. The Komsomol organizations face an important task, finding the best possible means of instilling a conscientious and creative attitude toward the specific type of activity in which he is engaged in every young person.

It is important to make young people aware of the great creative opportunities offered by the mass professions and most types of simple jobs with which as a rule young people begin their labor careers. It was above all to the young people that Lenin was addressing himself when he said that "However dirty or difficult a job may appear, we must see to it that every worker or peasant considers himself a part of the great free labor army and is able...independently to organize his work in a communist fashion" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, pp 317-318).

The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy" sets for the Komsomol organizations the task of insuring the further strengthening of labor discipline and improving the utilization of manpower resources through energetic and consistent organizational and mass-political work.

The struggle to achieve discipline means above all education in the spirit of communist morality, a sense of duty, and firm moral principles. Today it is the focal point of the Komsomol's attention.

The party urges that all existing possibilities for increasing labor productivity be placed in the service of the five-year plan. Saving time is one of the most important of these possibilities. The country's working time is a priceless resource. Every working minute is more important today than ever before. Every year the country loses tens of millions of man/days because of idling and absenteeism, a considerable percentage of which is due to young people. Studies have indicated that young men and women who have been recently hired, are graduates of vocational-technical courses and schools, and are under 22 account for a substantial proportion of the violations of labor discipline. Strengthened labor discipline presumes the organic combination of educational work at one's worksite, in cultural and recreational centers and at home, with the skillful use of collective and individual methods of exerting ideological influence and consideration of job conditions and the specific characteristics and requirements of various youth groups.

Participation in the struggle for production discipline and organization is excellent civic training in the course of which the young working people strengthen their principle-mindedness and conscientiousness. However, some Komsomol committees not only fail to wage a struggle to reduce lost work time but themselves violate basic requirements. Here and there Komsomol meetings and Komsomol political training classes are held during working hours. All Komsomol committees, from the Komsomol Central Committee on down, must pursue a more demanding approach in the planning of various measures. They must not allow young production workers to be taken away from their principal obligations.

Cadre turnover is a serious socioeconomic and moral problem. Young workers account for a high percentage of those who quit their jobs. Not the least of the reasons for this turnover are a neglectful attitude on the part of the collective toward a given comrade and his working conditions and dissatisfaction with the work.

The Komsomol organization must react immediately to any requests to resign submitted by a young worker. It must try to understand the reason for it, because the issue involved is a human destiny. However, in many enterprises, Komsomol social cadre departments either have not yet been organized or function only formally.

Shortcomings in the organization of the work and evidences of negligence and carelessness toward public labor are very harmful to education. "The meaning and significance of education," Comrade M. A. Suslov stressed at the all-union conference of ideological workers, "will be severely undermined wherever verbosity replaces effective measures and wherever, while listening to lectures on the subject of thrift, the people can see rusty metal or abandoned machine tools in the plant yard, and wherever a lack of basic order is concealed by loud assertions or empty promises."

All propaganda media and the Komsomol's mass-political and propaganda work are concentrating on helping every Komsomol member, every young man and woman, to find his place in the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the five-year plans.

Our homeland and the developed socialist society provide our young people with everything necessary for their comprehensive development. The growing generation has available to it the country's whole wealth. Instilling in all young men and women the attitudes of a thrifty handler of all these assets and the skill to use everything produced by the national economy carefully and efficiently is an important moral problem.

We must devote even greater energy to developing in young people a deep respect for everything achieved by the man who toils.

The Komsomol Beacon activities remain the most important means of Komsomol participation in the struggle for discipline, organization, economy and thrift, and for involving the young people in public control. Its detachments and posts have about four million members. Komsomol committees must improve Komsomol Beacon activities tirelessly and upgrade its aggressiveness.

Conscientious work, conscious discipline and organization must become the behavioral norm and personal conviction of every Komsomol member and young working person.

The 60th anniversary of the address Lenin delivered at the Third All-Russian RKSM Congress was celebrated on 2 October 1980. Lenin drew the chart for the communist upbringing of the youth. His immortal appeal was addressed to all Komsomol generations: "One becomes a true communist only through joint labor with the workers and peasants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 317).

Each party congress is a historical landmark in the irrepressible forward movement of our homeland, which is advancing toward the victory of communism. Without question, the 26th CPSU Congress will become a major historical event opening up new horizons for our party, country and youth.

The alluring new opportunities offered by the 11th Five-Year Plan lie before us. To each young generation, the five-year plan is an exciting term which rings like an alarm bell. It embodies the dreams, work, hopes and accomplishments of young men and women. The Leninist Komsomol, all Soviet youth, will devote all their strength, enthusiasm and creativity to the struggle for the implementation of the party's historical decisions and to the cause of Lenin, communism and peace on earth.

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CSO: 1802/8



## IMPORTANT LAW OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 49-52

[Article by R. Orlov, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the Moscow Institute of Hydromelioration]

[Text] The CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" list "expanding research on theoretical problems in developed socialism..." among the most important tasks confronting the social sciences. Theoretical social sciences devote special attention to the problem of the objective laws which govern the establishment and development of the mature socialist society. These include the law of all-round socialization of labor and production, discovered by K. Marx. V. I. Lenin studied it in terms of the age of imperialism and the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. "...Scientific socialism," he pointed out, "is based on the socialization of production by capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 25, p 51). "Labor socialization, which is progressing with increasing speed, taking on thousands of forms... is the main material base for the inevitable advent of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 73).

The leader of the proletariat regarded this economic law as the "carrying frame" on the basis of which all the levels of the socialist building are erected. The specific historical nature of the trend toward socialist socialization of labor and production, which Lenin studied, provides the methodological key to an understanding of the characteristic effects of this law as a determining factor in the development of the country's national economy in the period of transition, in the stage of building developed socialism, and under the conditions of a mature socialist society.

Soviet philosophers and economists make apt use of the methodology of Lenin's concept of socialization in their study of the processes of economic and social development in the new society, applying Marxist categories of formal and actual labor socialization. Here the specific correlation between the two is regarded by many authors as the most general indicator of the level of socialist maturity in the country in the various stages of its advance toward communism.

The great program earmarked in the draft "Basic Directions" shows the level at which the characteristics of the ever greater coincidence between real socialism and its theoretical predictions become clearly visible.

There is a deep internal link between the law of comprehensive socialization of labor and production, on the one hand, and the organic integrity and dynamism of developed socialism, on the other. L. I. Brezhnev noted, in discussing the features of mature socialism, that it is characterized by the complete reorganization of the totality of social relations on a collectivistic basis inherent in socialism: "Complete freedom of action for the laws of socialism, for the manifestation of its advantages in all realms of social life, organic integrity and dynamism in a social system, its political stability, and indestructible internal unity are the most important distinguishing features of the developed socialist society."

The concept of organic integrity in developed socialism can be traced to Marx' most important methodological stipulation concerning the development of this quality by a social system: This organic system itself, as an overall entity, has its own prerequisites, and its development toward integrity lies precisely in the subordination to it of all social elements, or creating the organ it needs from society. It is thus that in the course of its historical development, the system becomes integral. This integrity is a manifestation of an aspect, a process of the development of the system." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, Part I, p 229).

The building of socialism means precisely the domination of all social elements by the system, and the creation of the organs it needs. As the draft "Basic Directions" indicates, the application of a set of previously formulated measures to improve the economic mechanism and to strengthen its influence on improving production effectiveness and quality and to achieve improvement in the organizational structure of management and work style and methods under the 11th Five-Year Plan can be regarded today as an example of the completion of the creation of such organs.

The criterion for development is the extent to which the relations in socialist collective life and the utilization of these essential forces created by the new society in social activities are implemented in practical work. In order to establish the interrelationship between the changes in the course of the labor and production processes and the summarizing indicators of the maturity of socialism as an integral system, we must trace the changes which have occurred in the course of labor and throughout the entire structure of social relations, ideology and culture. These areas of social life are affected by these changes resulting from the socialization processes.

The program for such changes, leading to the achievement of the supreme socialist objective, includes the following lines of social development which are stipulated in the draft CC CPSU pre-congress guidelines: insuring the further social advance of society, implementing a broad program for upgrading the people's prosperity, and bringing about profound changes in the labor process; providing extensive opportunities for highly productive and creative work; achieving considerable progress toward the elimination of major disparities between mental and physical labor; converting agrarian labor into a variety of types of industrial work; gradually surmounting the major disparities between town and country; contributing to the all-round development of a rapprochement among the country's nations and

nationalities; intensifying social homogeneity; strengthening the ideological-political unity of the Soviet people as a new historical community; increasing the existing opportunities for a harmonious spiritual life and access for the entire population to cultural values; insuring the further enhancement of education and culture and developing a communist attitude toward labor; and increasing the amount of leisure time and improving facilities for relaxation.

All of these main lines of social development are consistent with the further advance of the labor socialization process and evolution of the socialist forms of ownership. In the final analysis, it is this circumstance which makes this a general sociological law leading to the socialization of all socially significant areas of activity within the macrostructure of the socialist social organization. Its acceptance enables the communist party and the Soviet people to see clearly the direction of and prospects for the creation of increasingly mature forms of socialist community life and to understand the objective law governing its historical advance.

Having resolved the problems of the transitional period, the socialist society acquires systemic integrity. Within it, all areas of social relations take on an essential unity based on socialist collectivism. At that point, socialism enters a stage of development resting on its own foundations, based on its internal specific laws.

At the 17th VKP(b) Conference (1932), it was already possible to assign the people such tasks as "the definitive elimination of capitalist elements and classes in general, total elimination of the reasons for class disparities and exploitation, elimination of the vestiges of capitalism in the economy and the people's minds, and conversion of the whole of the toiling population in the country into conscious and active builders of a classless socialist society." The historical success achieved along these lines and the victory of socialism made it possible to proclaim at the 18th party congress (1939) that the USSR had insured "a previously unheard of, unique internal moral and political unity among the people and moral and political unity among the working people, under the banner and leadership of the communist party and the Soviet system, able not only to put an end to the vestiges of hostile classes and foreign influences and to rebuff all hostile attempts coming from outside, but to provide the best possible guarantees of further growth and prosperity for our homeland and of the victory of communism in our country as well." The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the building of a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union were the practical confirmation of this conclusion.

In the developed socialist stage, the system integrity of socialist society becomes its organic feature. As an organic system, developed socialism reproduces its specific economic and social relations on a broader scale. The socialization process expands in depth and in breadth, and its formal elements generally disappear. The organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system becomes its technical and economic foundation.

The organic nature of our social system is expressed in the creation of a single national economic complex, and in the achievement of a high level of economic and

organizational-technical socialization in industry and agriculture. All realms of social activity take on the features of true collectivization; the basic lines of economic and social development tend to become ever closer together; at this point, satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people, the highest goal of socialist social production, takes on priority among the immediate tasks in national economic activities; finally, the state of the whole people and democracy become constitutionally codified. Organic integrity is both a result of and a prerequisite for the effects of the law of labor and production socialization, both in its direct aspects and in connection with the law of socialization of all socially significant aspects of collective activities within Soviet society.

In this broader interpretation, the level of socialization is manifested in the integral qualities of the new social structure as an integral system. It becomes a summarizing indicator of the level of communist development.

It would be wrong, however, to interpret developed socialism as a fully established organic entity (although some propagandists would like to substitute wishes for reality). Such a concept is in conflict with the very fact of the existence of two forms of socialist ownership and two classes, which are gradually moving closer to each other. Having achieved its organic integrity in the developed socialist stage, our society is continuing to progress in further strengthening the interrelationship among the different elements and parts of its social organization. "The forthcoming decade," the "Basic Directions" stipulate, "will constitute a major new stage in the establishment of the material and technical foundations for communism and the development of the social relations which shape the new man." The party's economic and social program is entirely consistent with the further strengthening of the organic integrity of the developed socialist society, as a decisive law pertaining to its growth into a communist society.

Communist integrity, in turn, will not involve any kind of "complete" status, but will create totally unparalleled opportunities for further all-round progress in a society in which "the free development of the individual is a prerequisite for the free development of all" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 447). This will not be the "final" stage of historical development, but a higher one, not representing the completion of the true history of mankind but rather the continuation of it, comprehensively secured.

A socialist socialization of labor will assume its strictly communist aspect only when the vestiges of the old social division of labor and class differences have been definitively eliminated and actual equality has been achieved in labor, living conditions, the development of capabilities and the satisfaction of the needs of all members of society, based on ownership by the whole people. The distinguishing features of communist socialization of labor, already apparent in the developed socialist stage, will be the full development of all essential human capabilities and, most important, will be seen when labor becomes a prime, vital need and the free creative activity of the individual. The "developed productive force" of all individuals will become a real resource, while the goal of social progress will be "to provide scope for the full development of the production capacities of the individual and, subsequently, of society...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part II, pp 216-217).

Since communism converts the labor of the individual into the decisive means for the self-expression and self-assertion of his personality and for the blossoming of his capabilities and talents, under developed socialist conditions, the principles and norms for the organization of labor activities are already becoming, to an ever greater extent, the principles and norms for the organization of overall social life.

The dialectics of the development of the socialist social system into a superior integral entity--a conscious, rather than a spontaneous, process pursued by the Soviet people under the guidance of the communist party--demands high methodological standards of researchers. These are substantially influenced by a proper understanding of the law of comprehensive socialization of labor and production. This demands that practical workers insure consistency between the development of the technical and economic base and its socialization, the completion of this socialization and the successful elimination of the old division of labor, as well as between all such processes and the elimination of class disparities and as a result, the establishment of a socially homogeneous society.

On this basis, I suggest that in the third section of the CC CPSU draft guidelines entitled "Development of Science and Acceleration of Technical Progress," in the portion which discusses basic directions for the development of the social sciences, the thesis of "study of its laws as an organically integral system, objectively oriented toward communism" be added to the stipulation calling for "expansion of the study of theoretical problems in developed socialism."

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CSO: 1802/8

## GREATER ATTENTION TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 p 52

[Article by I. Proskurin, candidate of economic sciences and docent at the Voronezh Technological Institute]

[Text] The social development program occupies a major, important position in the CC CPSU draft guidelines. The importance of this program to the life of our society demands that higher standards of knowledge and skill be attained by economists, above all those who are implementing its stipulations in direct production work.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the fact that inadequate attention has been paid to date, in my view, to the social problems involved in the work of economic organizations in teaching economic analysis of the activities of socialist enterprises and other economic subdivisions. However, no enterprise or association can engage in fruitful activity without undertaking serious socio-economic study of economic management results.

In my opinion, this is due to shortcomings existing in the very presentation of the nature of the study of economic activities, which is an economic discipline. The definition which is currently popular and is found in publications and curricula basically fails to describe the social content of economic analyses of enterprise work. The focus in this type of economic study and analysis is still not directed toward a study of the social aspects of the activities of production collectives, and it fails to extend beyond the problem in the formulation and implementation of production plans. It ignores the fact that labor collectives today have become not only an area in which the Soviet individual applies his efforts for the good of society, but we might also say his home, his family and his school as well. Even the course, development and results of socialist competition among the collective is not adequately studied in the course of the analysis of the work of economic organs. Although the plan for the social development of the collective has already become an important component of the technical and industrial-financial plan at each enterprise, the problems concerning the former plan are not taken into account in the study of the latter. Many important problems in the collective's social life, such as improvement in housing and cultural-living conditions, medical services, the communist upbringing of production workers, development of labor competition, as well as many others, are not taken up in the present course of economic analysis for discussion.

We cannot regard the study of economic activities separate from their direct, comprehensive and profound links with the social aspect as proper. The economic laws of developed socialism, which are the base for the production activities of labor collectives, are socioeconomic. The economic and social aspects of the activities and development at individual enterprises and in the entire national economy are inseparably linked and interact organically. Today, each labor collective and the country as a whole have plans not only for their economic development but for their social development as well, over a period of 1 year, 5 years or longer. This is a major achievement in the effort to improve the planned management of all processes of expanded communist construction.

On this basis, I believe that in the university course on economic analysis of the work of enterprises and other economic subunits under developed socialist conditions, a system of knowledge should be included and creatively used for the comprehensive and profound study of the socioeconomic activities of labor collectives, with a view to insuring the fullest possible satisfaction of the increasing material and spiritual requirements of our society and its members.

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CSO: 1802/8

## RIPE PROBLEMS IN NATIONAL ECONOMIC TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 53-56

[Article by V. Kistanov, doctor of economic sciences, and V. Kostennikov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The "Basic Direction" draft guidelines formulate an important task--"insuring the improved location of production forces, with a view to increasing public production effectiveness..." Indeed, substantial changes occur not only in territorial proportions and intersectorial and national economic relations, for where the bulk of the fuel and raw materials is extracted and where major new processing industry complexes are built also determines the possibilities for progress which can be achieved in the entire production process, the improved effectiveness of that process and, in the final analysis, the increased prosperity of the people.

For example, the building of powerful electric power plants on the Angara and Yenisey rivers has reduced the cost of electric power generation to only 0.06 kopecks per kilowatt hour, as compared to 0.1 kopeck at the hydroelectric plants along the Volga. The construction of large thermoelectric power plants at the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz coal basins has increased the cost of electric power to 0.4 kopecks, as compared to 0.8 kopecks in the Donbass. It costs the state far less to manufacture aluminum, steel, chemical staples, synthetic rubber and other power-intensive goods using the inexpensive electrical power generated in the East, as compared to the European areas. Conversely, the output of the labor-intensive sectors--machine tools, instruments, textiles, and so on--in Siberia costs more than that produced in the traditional manufacturing areas (taking hauling costs into consideration).

The reconstruction of old and the development of new industrial areas is taking place today on an unparalleled scale. The vast scope of capital construction demands with particular urgency that the funds appropriated be sensibly used. Whereas under the first five-year plan, a one percent capital investment saving on new industrial construction meant 15 million rubles, under the 10th Five-Year Plan, it meant the release of about 1 billion rubles for use in the national economy. The reduction of outlays for the reconstruction and expansion of operating enterprises means even more--1.4 billion rubles. At the same time, however, unlike the situation which prevails with regard to many other economic measures, errors in the location and territorial development of industrial facilities are difficult or even impossible to correct.



The discovery and use of ways and means of upgrading public production effectiveness are very closely linked with subsequent improvements in the territorial organization of the country's national economic complex. It is traditionally believed that ferrous metallurgy should gravitate toward iron ore deposits or metal consumption areas. However, it would be more expedient to build a large metallurgical combine in an area where fuel is inexpensive, for in most cases such combines become complexes of related enterprises (metal-intensive machine building, chemical plants using coking waste, enterprises building construction materials from furnace slag, and others), as well as urban settlements the overall fuel and electric power consumption of which far exceeds iron ore outlays. Petroleum refineries are usually built in areas where petroleum products are consumed. Petrochemical combines, however (which are centered on petroleum refining) are regarded as power-intensive, and this type of location is frequently counterindicated where they are concerned (in the European areas, for example). Most often, in order to balance male and female labor, it is recommended that textile enterprises be built in ore mining centers. And yet, in many eastern areas (Kuzbass, and others), it would be more efficient to employ women in other suitable sectors (the production of chemical staples and others, for example), which could utilize inexpensive local fuel.

Today, territorial-production complexes, located basically in the eastern part of the country, are planned on a centralized basis. However, a major possibility for increasing production effectiveness, the rationalization of sectorial and territorial industrial structures in the European areas, is being seriously underestimated. Here dozens of complexes, the specialization and interrelation of which demand major improvement, have existed for quite some time (limiting the growth of power-intensive industries, such as petrochemistry and ferrous metallurgy, increasing machine building cooperation, particularly in intersectorial production, establishing branches of the largest enterprises in small towns, and so on). Ministries and associations are concerning themselves primarily with the reconstruction of individual subordinate enterprises. Meanwhile, problems in the development of industrial complexes as a whole, including intersectorial ones, are being ignored by economic management organs. Many errors are still being made in the territorial location of production forces. Frequently, enterprises are located in a given rayon or center although no detailed preliminary territorial assessment of manpower resources has been drafted, with the result that the new production facility finds itself short of manpower. New construction, particularly in the east, is often noncomprehensive: intersectorial production facilities remain underdeveloped; the industrial and social infrastructures lag behind; the advantage provided by the grouping of enterprises is not sufficiently utilized; duplication occurs in the building of general purpose projects (construction bases, engineering facilities, settlements, and so on); and interrelated enterprises are not completed at the same time. Quite often, the installation of power capacities outstrips the building of enterprises which are expected to use the electric power generated. The construction of industrial facilities, in turn, outstrips housing construction.

The adoption of a profound and comprehensive approach to all the basic problems in territorial organization of the national economy is an imperative of these times. In order to put an end to departmentalism, we believe, it is necessary first of all to insure the proper combination of the functions of sectorial and territorial

management organs. Administrative methods must necessarily be accompanied by economic methods. It is important to strengthen the mandatory aspect of plans and to supervise plan discipline. At the same time, we must devise a properly substantiated system to provide economic encouragement for the rational deployment of production forces.

It would be advisable, with a view to strengthening state discipline and upgrading the responsibility of the organizations for their assignments, to include in the directive documents on long-range plans a formulation not only of the main socioeconomic tasks, but also the most important principles governing the location of the sectors and the development of rayons, which the ministries and departments, councils of ministers of union republics and local soviets must observe. Much attention must be devoted to the organization of systematic government control over the proper location of new enterprises and the expanded and rebuilt industrial capacities.

Today union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, rayons and cities are devoting great attention to the drafting of comprehensive economic and social development plans. In order to strengthen the country's single national economic complex and to improve its territorial proportionality, the state plans should also include the possibilities for the socioeconomic development of large economic rayons. If disproportion is to be avoided, it would be better to draft assignments for all such rayons, rather than for just a few of them, as is currently being done (Eastern Siberia, Far East). It would be expedient to issue a list of priority sectors (production facilities) and industrial zones (centers) where new construction or reconstruction of operating enterprises should take place for the next planning period (based on the formulation of general plans) for each major economic rayon.

It is important that the indicators of the comprehensive plans for the socioeconomic development of republics and economic rayons should not duplicate sectorial plans, but rather, reflecting territorial specifics, should become a basic supplement to them. Territorial planning tasks can be reduced essentially to coordination of the efforts of various departments in the use of multiple purpose resources (manpower, land, water, and others), and the solution of general economic and social problems on the local level. Ministries which submit late or incomplete draft plans for their enterprises to republic and local planning organs have long been the focus of criticism. In all justice, however, we should point out that they very often attempt to take over the functions of sectorial management organs by engaging exclusively in a search for intraindustrial reserves at enterprises and associations (although this is essentially a ministry responsibility), instead of focusing their attention on the use of the infrastructure and intersectorial resources.

Finally, here is yet another suggestion pertaining strictly to territorial planning. The country has undertaken to draft programs for the orientation and development of territorial-production complexes (TPK). It seems to us that the plans of ministries (departments) should reflect their participation in the creation of TPK enterprises and installations (improving general economic projects). Naturally, the structure of the complexes (and of industrial centers)

should be consistent with the basic directions in the economic development of the corresponding large economic rayons.

The purposes of territorial planning will be achieved more successfully on the basis of complete preplanned studies and the formulation of general systems for the location of production forces, so as to coordinate sectorial and territorial plans.

The most recent general plan completed (through 1990) contains adequately substantiated and interesting suggestions pertaining to economic sectors, union republics and economic rayons. However, the extremely important part dealing with territorial proportions is questionable. The alternatives it presents for the location of production facilities have been determined a priori. They are not based on the pertinent studies of the corresponding sectors and rayons, and (one variant excluded) have not been coordinated with the other sections of the general plan. The alternatives are differentiated basically in terms of hypothetical overall volumes of industrial output for three (arbitrary) sections of the country, and in terms of the possible volume of population migration toward the eastern part of the country, without consideration of other important factors. The effectiveness indicators of the variants have not been based firmly on factual economic processes.

As we upgrade the quality of general plans today, we must devote very serious attention to the scientific elaboration of other important problems, such as the formulation of territorial plans and programs, economic incentives for the efficient location of production facilities, the comprehensive development of rayons, and control of the processes governing the territorial development of the national economy. Expert study is a most urgent prerequisite for highly scientific solution of methodical problems in planning and design, proper substantiation of sectorial development, and selection of rayons for the location of large enterprises and installations and industrial and agroindustrial complexes.

Expert study conducted by a group on a high scientific level and on the basis of national interest can yield substantial economic results. For example, the expert study conducted by the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy during the drafting of the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans saved billions of rubles of national economic funds by blocking the inefficient location of major industrial projects. The USSR Gosplan expert study based on a technical-economic examination of data submitted by departments and union republics, suggested that a set of measures for the more effective use of natural gas and fuel oil be approved. This saved the national economy millions of tons of conventional fuel.

At the same time, however, major errors have already been found in many plans for providing cost estimates for construction (reconstruction) which had already been subjected to expert study. Architectural-planning and technical-economic solutions are not always consistent with contemporary requirements, and sometimes fail to provide for the most efficient utilization of raw materials, fuel, electric power, natural resources, environmental protection, production intensification and improved quality. Violations of planning norms and regulations are still allowed to

occur. Occasionally, expert study of plans and calculations applicable to enterprises and installations is carried out without any comparison of different location sites or consideration of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

The main reasons for this situation can be traced to the imperfect organization of the expert study bodies, a lack of collective work and departmental and parochial influences affecting the work of such bodies. It is no secret that a purely sectorial approach to the location of enterprises predominates in the work of design and scientific organizations and ministries. Departmental egotism hinders the comprehensive organization of economic facilities. Consequently, sensible and entirely feasible sectorial development suggestions designed to improve the development of production forces, which require major corrections, are often challenged and rejected under various pretexts.

How can drastic improvements in expert state study be achieved? As the material of the 24th party congress pointed out, such studies must be independent and extradepartmental. Today subunits for expert study are operating within the system of the USSR Gosplan and some union republic gosplans, the USSR Gosstroy, all republic gosstroys, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the ministries and departments. The creation of a single all-union state expert study body under the USSR Gosplan (without eliminating the individual departmental organs) would contribute, in our view, to establishing conditions for the objective resolution of major national economic problems without departmental or parochial influences.

In order to improve the substantiation of decisions, all designing and planning, particularly in the preplanning and predesign work stages, should be subjected to expert study. All general plans for the location of production forces and plans for the location of sectors and the development of rayons, as well as technical-economic substantiation on the basis of which decisions on the planning of new enterprises and installations are made, should be subjected to expert study.

A national expert study body under the USSR Gosplan, which would include the most prestigious scientists and specialists in the various scientific and technical sectors, could set forth the specific rights and obligations of subordinate expert study subunits, issuing to each annual plans for expert study. Without question, this would increase the responsibility of scientific research and design institutes for the quality of their work. In such a case, the highest expert study body could focus its attention on centralized planning methodology and the solution of strategic problems in economic development. It could analyze general plans for the location of production forces, plans for key construction projects, and target programs for the development of the largest territorial-production complexes.

Improvement in territorial planning is also very closely linked with improvement in the organizational structure of the national economy, including economic and administrative zoning. The resolution of this problem has to do directly with the stipulations of the "Basic Directions" draft guidelines on improvement in the coordination of activities of central, sectorial and local management organs.

On 1 January 1961, the country had 148 krays, oblasts and autonomous republics (at the beginning of the 1930s, there were 29). The basic indicators characterizing the economy and the potential for the development of oblast and kray resources fluctuate widely, even within the individual union republics or economic rayons. Today's oblasts (excluding the ASSR's) show great individual differences in terms of the volume of industrial and agricultural output and population volume. Specific local conditions notwithstanding, we can hardly regard such fluctuations as justified. The limited size of many oblasts hinders the establishment of highly functional production associations and the development of broad economic complexes.

The elimination of duplication and the division of forces and facilities for the resolution of problems outside the realm of sectorial management and planning, in connection with the use of multipurpose resources (manpower, land, water, and so on), coordinated with the development of related production activities, the clustering of enterprises, and so on, becomes far easier within the framework of large and economically integral administrative units. In this connection, the experience of Sverdlovskaya Oblast and Krasnoyarskiy Kray is indicative. By virtue of their large size and more favorable conditions for comprehensive economic organization, they can implement this task quite successfully.

We believe that administrative-territorial divisions should be based to a greater extent than at present on economic zoning, and that they should be organically linked with it. There are various means available for making the territorial-organizational structure of the national economy an integrated unit. Let us note, as a basis for further major and extensive study, the alternative of grouping of oblasts within large union republics. Each of these could become a basic unit for centralized party and soviet local management. The preservation of the oblasts as components of the krays would enable us to provide a functional solution to problems of day to day management and planning.

The possibility of creating territorial (interoblast) economic councils with a skilled planning apparatus to coordinate the economic activities of ministries and departments, draft long-term and current plans for the individual territories, and check on their implementation, including the formation of territorial-production complexes, should be thoroughly studied as well.

The centrally supervised system of large economic-administrative rayons could be simplified considerably through the formulation of territorial plans and their coordination with sectorial plans. This will also broaden the range of activities of the local planning organs, which will be able to participate in the solution of major national economic problems far more extensively. Such conditions would not only insure the further development of public production effectiveness, but would also energize both republic organs and local soviets and would increase their role in economic and social development.

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CSO: 1802/8

## CONCERN FOR GOOD CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL QUALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 56-57

[Article by N. Proskuryakov, member of the Central Board of the Scientific and Technical Construction Industry Society]

[Text] The Central Committee draft guidelines stress the need to insure the rational and economical utilization of material resources, including fuel and energy. The workers in the construction materials and construction industries should accelerate the development and application of energy conservation technologies in the production of cement and other construction materials, as well as economical methods of thermic processing of reinforced concrete. The cement and construction industry workers must resolve this problem jointly and comprehensively.

Numerous scientific studies on reinforced and other types of concrete made in the past 10 years by scientific institutions and production laboratories at large construction projects and enterprises demonstrate convincingly that improvement in the quality and grade of cement substantially reduces the specific outlays of it in the production of reinforced and other types of concrete structures. It also increases the effectiveness with which the cement itself is used, and extends the durability of goods made of cement. Today improvements in cement quality and increased output are being hindered by the established practice of making mineral additions to all brands of this valuable construction material. This is the result of a desire to increase the volume of cement output to the maximum. For example, 123 million tons of cement were produced, containing 27 million tons of additives, in 1979. Naturally, special cements with various additives are needed. However, additives should not be turned into a means of increasing the volume of cement output, at the expense of quality.

Portland cement is the principal variety produced (65 percent of the total output). The current state standards for portland cement allow 20 percent additives. However, they substantially lower its effectiveness, reduce its quality, and lead to overexpenditures of cement in construction totaling almost a half of technical standards. Because of this, overexpenditures of cement totally cancel out the advantages of the higher output volume.

For quite some time, there has been an urgent need to alter the production of various types and brands of cement and, including mixed cement brands, to organize the production of high grade, fast-hardening varieties without additives. It is

particularly important that the construction workers' requirements for portland cement without additives be met within the shortest possible time by a comparable reduction of portland cement with additives. The production structure should reflect the balanced need for various brands of cement, including those which are mixed and additive-free.

Although cement is regarded as the "staple material of construction work," it remains a semifinished product, and the power used to produce it doubles when it is used in construction. Although final results are important, proper concern has not to date been devoted to a comprehensive study of the matter.

Every year, more than 120 million cubic meters of prestressed reinforced concrete structures and parts are produced in the USSR. More than 40 percent of the total volume of cement used in construction is consumed by reinforced concrete plants and housing construction combines. The enterprises are provided with various brands of cement with different characteristics affecting production technology and the extent of thermic processing differently. All of this reduces the potential for insuring the more effective utilization of enterprise capacities. A considerable potential for economies in fuel and energy resources lies in shortening the cycle of thermic processing in reinforced and other types of concrete production. The national average for the length of this cycle is 24 hours. In leading plants, which use high-grade cements and to some extent "pure clinker" varieties, and where the cement deliveries, broken down by types and brands and grades, have stabilized and are obtained from the same suppliers, the thermic processing and turnover cycle for steaming units has been reduced to 8 hours. These precisely were the results achieved by the Glavmospromstroyaterialov Plant in Moscow. One of the most important tasks of the new five-year plan is the full utilization of the capacities of housing construction combines. Therefore the Muscovite experience should be utilized extensively.

Construction workers have long been demanding the organization of cement production optimally suited to the thermic-moist processing of reinforced and other concrete goods at industrial enterprises. This type of cement would make it possible to shorten the thermic processing cycle considerably, to reduce fuel and energy outlays in construction, and to improve the effectiveness of enterprise work.

Conversion to the "dry" cement clinker production method is one of the very promising directions in energy-conserving technology. This technology would make possible a saving of as much as 35 percent on fuel, as compared to the "wet" method mainly used in our country. However, it is this most important direction precisely which is being inadequately developed in the cement industry. In 1980, the "dry" method was to account for 18 percent of the total annual cement output volume. Meanwhile, in some developed countries, cement produced by this method accounts for 70 to 90 percent of the total output.

Without question, our industry's initial activities under the new five-year plan will be more successful to the degree that we resolve the problems which arise and are reliably protected against the hindering power of inertia in planning, economic management methods and economic thinking. The national economy pays a high price for the manifestations of this inertia.

5003

CSO: 1802/8

## INTENSIFIED SPONSORSHIP RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 58-59

[Article by V. Tret'yakov, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] According to V. I. Lenin, the working class has an obligation to organize the sponsorship of the country by the town, and the continuing party guidance of the sponsorship movement is a mandatory prerequisite for its successful development. The characteristic features of this sponsorship today are the increased material and technical aid provided to kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and more intensive participation in the planning and organization of their production-economic activities and resolution of social problems. Great attention is being devoted to the participation of urban enterprises and organizations in the industrialization of agricultural work, the training and retraining of mechanizer cadres, the conducting of ideological-educational and propaganda work with the population, and aid to cultural-educational and consumer institutions in the countryside. Increasing numbers of scientific, engineering and technical workers and those employed in culture, public education and health care are becoming involved in such work.

The party organizations in Irkutskaya Oblast have gained interesting experience in managing the sponsorship movement. Sponsors are assigned on the basis of the specific nature and economic indicators of enterprises, construction projects and various organizations and establishments, on the one hand, and sovkhoses and kolkhozes, on the other. Problems in the improvement of methods and strengthening the ties between town and country are discussed at the oblast party committee bureau and other party committee plenums and sessions, meetings of the party-economic aktiv, and the executive committees of soviets of peoples deputies. The contracts for sponsorship in town and urban rayon plans specifically indicate what should be done at a specific farm, when and by whom, as well as the conditions and individuals in charge of implementation.

Increasingly frequently long-term plans for two, three or five-year periods are being drafted along with annual plans; all plans are approved by the respective party committees. The drafting of "five-year sponsorship plans" helps to focus effort on the solution of the most important and comprehensive problems in the economic and social development of labor collectives in town and country. The oblast CPSU committee set up a sponsorship commission in charge of combining the efforts of enterprises through cooperation and the allocation of orders. Virtually all oblast industry is participating in supplying the countryside with technical equipment. It is producing some parts and equipment in larger amounts than the



oblast receives on the basis of centralized allocations. By means of special resolutions, the CPSU oblast party committee bureau is involving the industrial enterprises in the development of technical facilities for feed production and manufacturing, and for the mechanization of operations at animal husbandry and poultry farms.

The primary party organizations organize aid for the countryside at enterprises, construction projects and establishments. The party members discuss sponsorship problems and the specific measures they approve are considered at the conferences of the economic aktiv, with the managers of subunits and trade union and Komsomol activists participating. These measures are then codified by administrative order. Periodic meetings of managers, party committee secretaries, chairmen of plant and local committees, and secretaries of Komsomol organizations at sponsoring enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses are yielding most useful results.

Both those sponsored and the sponsors summarize together the results of the socialist competition in production and in mass cultural work. The inclusion of the obligation to provide sponsorship aid to the countryside in the socialist pledges of most city enterprises and organizations, and the development of competition among sponsoring collectives, have become the characteristic features of this project.

Some workers at establishments and enterprises are asked to provide direct aid to the farms in harvesting and other seasonal operations. In such cases, attention should be devoted to avoiding the shortcomings which were quite accurately stressed at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. In order to insure the efficient utilization of manpower in town and country, it is important to weigh the positive and negative aspects of such aid most thoroughly and responsibly in each specific case. If it proves to be truly expedient, a thorough study of how to organize the work should be made and the urban population assisting the countryside should be provided with the conditions necessary for highly productive work and proper rest.

Following the publication of the pre-congress CC CPSU draft guidelines, the party committees and trade union and Komsomol organizations in the oblast studied the experience gained in the sponsorship of the countryside by towns. Everything valuable is being utilized and further developed. The sponsorship movement should become even more competent, carrying the high standards of industrial labor, efficiently organized mechanized production, and the great revolutionary and labor traditions of the working class to the villages. Even greater persistence must be evidenced to insure the rational utilization of land, equipment and manpower resources. The development of the beneficial processes of specialization, concentration and cooperation in kolkhoz-sovkhos production and agroindustrial integration must be urged forward comprehensively. All of this must be done to insure the successful solution of the party's task--converting our agriculture into a highly developed socialist economic sector.

We believe that the "Basic Directions" too should emphasize the need for the further development of the sponsorship movement and intensification of business and cultural links between town and country.

5003

CSO: 1802/8

## IN THE CONSUMER'S SHOES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 59-61

[Article by Prof Ya. Orlov, head of chair at the Correspondence Institute of Soviet Trade]

[Text] Trade is the final link in the chain of production sectors working directly for the people. The orientation toward final national economic results requires better organization of the work of industrial and trade enterprises operating on the intersectorial level at the point where production and trade intersect.

The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines mention the need to improve economic relations among industrial, agricultural and trade enterprises and organizations, and to upgrade the role of economic contracts in the formulation of plans for the production and marketing of consumer goods. The system of planning and financing production sectors manufacturing consumer goods should be made strictly dependent on trade, on the consumer.

Only that which has been produced and supplied to commercial outlets can be sold. Industrial enterprises are still working on the basis of two different plans: the basic plan, which called for the marketing of goods at wholesale prices, and the plan for deliveries at retail prices, which has not thus far been very strict. In any case, whereas the collectives are as a rule able to meet their marketing plan requirements, they frequently fail to fulfill their delivery plans.

The enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry are systematically underfulfilling assignments for the delivery of goods to the trade network, even though they are able to fulfill their marketing plans. For example, during the first 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the trade network was not supplied with goods worth almost three billion rubles, despite the fact that the industrial enterprises fulfilled their marketing plans. In the first half of 1980, the ministry's enterprises failed to deliver goods worth one billion rubles. The industrial sector as a whole was deemed to have fulfilled its planned assignments, although this was not true about the end result--the satisfaction of consumer demand.

The time has come to adopt a different approach to the work results of ministries and enterprises which are producing consumer goods. They must be held responsible today for delivering goods to stores above all, rather than merely for producing statistical figures showing increased output volume.

In our view, the production enterprises should be given delivery plans closely linked with production of goods in terms of retail prices. The suggestion that the work of the pertinent sectors be assessed not only on the basis of production plan fulfillment, but the extent to which they meet the demands of the trade system as well, and how they work to eliminate shortages, is worthy of support. The work of any given factory or association can and should be assessed in terms of its fulfillment of the orders placed with it by trade organizations and the fulfillment of the variety and quality stipulations in its contracts.

Unfortunately, there has been no proper consistency to date between the orders placed by trade organizations and production plans. Although for most goods, the plans are approved after the orders are received, the industrial enterprises are not always able to base them on the total volume of goods desired, and above all, the variety wanted, as yet. They accept orders based on the raw and other materials already allocated to them. Naturally, this limits their potential. This is why trade orders need to be related not only to the production of finished goods, but to the material and technical supplies shipped to enterprises as well. We must start with the requested variety and proceed to the general production plan (total volume) rather than the reverse, as is currently the case.

To achieve this end, it would be well to include in the "Basic Directions" draft guidelines, the following: "The plans for the economic and social development of the USSR shall include indicators of the extent to which efficient consumption norms and trade organization orders have been met, for the purpose of assessment of the results achieved by industrial sectors engaged in the production of consumer goods."

Another urgent problem pertains to goods quality. In recent years, some success has been achieved in this respect. The "Basic Principles of the Unified System of State Production Quality Control" were adopted. The certification of goods is being improved and quality incentives and responsibilities are being strengthened. Tens of thousands of types of consumer goods have been awarded the state Emblem of Quality.

Nevertheless, every second or third study of light industry goods reveals a relatively significant percentage of defective goods which are returned to the manufacturers as substandard or failing to meet technical specifications or to measure up to approved models. Annual losses due to the production of faulty consumer goods total approximately 750 million rubles. This sum goes even higher if we add to it the losses resulting from the reduction of quality grades and the nonfulfillment of variety plans. For example, the customers of the Moscow Shoe Trade Administration alone return about 100,000 pairs of shoes because of production defects every year. And this is after the merchandise has been checked at the factory and by the trade organization.

Why are such goods being produced? One of the main reasons is that they are accepted by the trade organizations, simply because nothing else is available. The solution of this problem lies above all in the approval of legal and economic measures by means of which monetary control of both production and marketing can be increased, and augmenting the cost effectiveness responsibility of trade and industry to the consumers.

Quite frequently, goods variety and quality are of great importance in balancing supply and demand. We must insure consistency between the plan and the actual circumstances prevailing in goods marketing, on the basis of such parameters precisely. This unity is the most important prerequisite for the normalization of trade and the elimination of both shortages and surpluses.

A great deal depends on effective quality control, which is becoming increasingly expensive. The number of controllers is rather substantial, and a simple list of the organizations with control authority and obligations would take up much space. Yet as is often the case in such matters, "too many cooks spoil the broth." Control costs account for 5 to 10 percent of total turnover outlays in state and cooperative trade. For example, a large group of very experienced experts are employed in such operations by the GUM. Often time, effort and funds are expended on the return of substandard goods to the manufacturers. Yet these operations in trade virtually duplicate the functions of enterprise technical control departments.

Wholesale and retail organizations employ thousands of quality control specialists. To date, however, their work has not been effective. In our view, therefore, quality control should be focused on the wholesale system, mainly at manufacturing enterprises, and should be implemented before the goods leave the enterprise or payment for them has been received. In a word, control operations should be moved directly from retail and wholesale bases to the warehouses of industrial enterprises. Producers, trade organizations and the population would all benefit.

The new standard regulation on technical control departments (administrations) at industrial enterprises (associations) approved by the USSR Council of Ministers decree dated September 1979 strengthens the legal status of the OTK [Technical Control Departments] and augments the role and significance of these bodies in the improvement of output quality. The rights of OTK managers have been broadened. They have the authority (and the obligation) to waive control on acceptance of goods with recurring defects and to forbid the use of substandard raw and other materials and complementary items for production purposes. The OTK chief has the right to demand of the pertinent subunits and officials that the causes of defects and violations of production technology be eliminated. These requirements are binding upon them. He may also turn directly to the superior authority or the main quality inspectorate of his ministry or department on matters of output quality and improved organization of technical control.

The experience of the Sokol Garments Associations, where skilled, principle-minded and responsible personnel are in charge of control, is convincing proof that this firm is providing very reliable guarantees of high output quality. For quite some time, stores in Moscow and elsewhere in the capital area have had no complaints from customers on goods manufactured by the association. This is also the case with the Rossiya Factory in Kuybyshev. This precisely is the main path leading to improved quality control.

Naturally, none of this means that trade workers are being removed or released from control or responsibility for the quality of the goods they sell. If such a system were applied, wholesale and retail enterprises would not check on the

quality of the goods they receive, but the store would still have to check on and look over any item prior to its sale or delivery.

The number of controllers can be curtailed drastically and their effectiveness can be increased by applying selective control results to an entire shipment of goods. It is simply impossible to check every single item in circulation. International practice has demonstrated the expediency of selective control, with quality rating on the basis of this control.

The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines indicate the need for ubiquitous use of comprehensive quality control systems. The role played in such systems by economic levers such as penalties and fines, which should have a more effective influence on trade partners, would considerably increase. To date, the use of these has rarely yielded the desired results: enterprises find loopholes in order to avoid responsibility for years on end, and thus wreck the plans for goods supply to trade organizations. A few careless suppliers get away with this. As a rule, the trade organizations refrain from complaining, for the filing of claims against this kind of suppliers results in nothing but further losses.

The socialist society is interested in the ever more complete satisfaction of the needs of the Soviet people. Economic and legal levers help to achieve this. That is why it is important to upgrade not only the responsibility of manufacturing enterprises, but also their interest in fulfilling their obligations based on delivery contracts. The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines call for "improving methods of cost effectiveness relations and reciprocal economic interest and responsibility for the implementation of plans and contractual obligations between suppliers and consumers." In our view, the following should be added to this text: "Planning must be improved and responsibility increased in order fully to balance plans for retail trade with the purchasing power of the population and the availability of commodity resources, both as a whole and by commodity groups. The five-year and annual plans must call for the accumulation of commodity reserves with a view to insuring the planned regulation of the variety and quality of the goods produced, in accordance with the developing and changing population demands."

Economic management practice ever more urgently requires the development of a system of equal responsibility which would eliminate the possibility of violating plans and economic contracts with impunity. Economic relations between industry and trade must embody their common concern for the fullest possible satisfaction of the steadily increasing needs of the Soviet people and improvement in the effectiveness of production and work quality at industrial and trade enterprises. This is the only way to achieve the smooth functioning of the entire economic mechanism.

5003

CSO: 1802/8

## FACETS OF CREATIVE COOPERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 61-66

[Article by Yu. Verchenko, USSR Union of Writers board secretary]

[Text] We open the latest newspapers and journals reporting on the creation of a one-of-a-kind rolling mill, the commissioning of a nuclear electric power plant, or new successes achieved by the working people in the Nonchernozem and Kazakhstan areas. We listen to the voices of our cosmonauts coming from radio stations and we peer closely at the manly faces of the builders of the BAM and Tyumen' petroleum workers gazing out at us from the blue screens of our televisions, and we are unwittingly seized by the feeling that epoch-making events are occurring and we are impressed by the greatness of the work accomplished by the Soviet people in the endless expanses of our homeland.

The great meaning of this work and the true significance of the tremendous effort made by the party as it guides the constructive power of the people into the channel of communist reorganization of society are being realized with special breadth and depth today, in these days when a nationwide discussion is in progress all over the country on the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" draft guidelines formulated by the CC CPSU for the 26th party congress.

As we read the draft guidelines, as we mentally assess the path covered by our country over the past 5 years, finding satisfaction in the "seven league steps" which we expect to take during the 11th Five-Year Plan, we clearly sense the most important thing--the tremendous socioeconomic changes taking place in the life of the Soviet people, inseparably linked with the activities of the communist party.

If we try to single out the main idea which imbues each proposition in the draft guidelines, we could state with confidence that it is the deep concern on the part of the party and state with increasing the material and spiritual wealth of our socialist homeland and achieving the comprehensive and harmonious development of the people of the new, the communist, system. This is why every citizen in the land of the soviets considers the draft guidelines not only on a social but on a strictly personal level as his most profound individual project, for each proposition contained in this party document inevitably affects his personal life and place in the common rank of the builders of communism either directly or indirectly.

Like the rest of the Soviet people, men of culture and the arts entirely support the draft guidelines for the basic directions in economic and social development of the USSR national economy in the next 5 years and the next decade, regarding them as the actual reflection of the party's concern with increasing the spiritual values of the developed socialist society. Section 8 of the draft guidelines contains the following lines: "We must help to develop socialist culture and the arts and upgrade their role in the molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook and insuring the fuller satisfaction of the various spiritual needs of the Soviet people."

These words contain not only an assessment of the significance and role of our culture and literature in the further development of Soviet society, but also reflect the profound faith of the communist party in the inexhaustibly creative potential of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia. Above all, this demonstrates the spiritual unity and indivisible cohesion of the actions and plans of the party and the people, which must be depicted artistically by our literature.

As we participate in the nationwide discussion of the draft party document for the 26th CPSU Congress today, we can say proudly that, as it fulfills Lenin's appeal to make literature "part of the all-proletarian cause," the USSR Union of Writers has done a great deal to insure that the creative work of Soviet writers becomes an organic part of the great constructive activity of the people building communism.

The main determining feature in the nature and content of the many-faceted organizational-creative activities of the USSR Union of Writers today is the strengthening of the link between literature and the life of the people. I would like to single out one aspect within the broad context of this problem and draw the attention of the reader to the area of the activities of the writers' union involving the development of literary sponsorship of five-year plan shock construction projects.

Sponsorship of the largest national economic projects in our country by literary workers is an old form of creative cooperation initiated under the first five-year plans. It developed from the need for writers to maintain closer contact with the working class--the leading force of our time--and to acquire more profound knowledge of the nature of the changes which the victory of the new socialist system had brought about.

Today, creative cooperation between writers and labor collectives in the country has become an indivisible part of our literary-social life. "One can only be pleased," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, "that the sponsorship of plants, kolkhozes and construction projects such as the BAM and the KamAZ undertaken by our theaters and literary-artistic journals is becoming ever more widespread... A vivifying process of enriching art with a knowledge of life and, on the other hand, further exposure of the toiling masses, many millions strong, to cultural values, is under way."

Literary sponsorship of leading communist construction projects and the creative cooperation between writers and workers in the country's largest enterprises today has taken on a new and deeper meaning. It is a question of what is most important

to us: the penetration of practical affairs by literature and direct participation by writers in a people's constructive activities thanks to their artistic-publicistic talent. Writers have published articles on the ripe problems at the largest shock construction projects of the five-year plans in the journals NOVYY MIR, OKTYABR', ZNAMYA, DRUZHBA NARODOV, and YUNOST'. These works have focused public attention and have become the topics of discussion by ministries and departments. They stimulate decision-making on the national scale.

Literary sponsorship of shock five-year plan construction projects have both broadened and deepened. The links between writers and workers collectives have become permanent and strong. Many literary journals have permanent correspondence at the five-year plan projects. Contracts between enterprises and writers' organizations, containing long-term programs for reciprocal cooperation, have gained considerable popularity. Writers are becoming full members of workers' collectives. They participate in party and trade union meetings and in the resolution of specific production problems. All of this helps literary workers to see the life of the working class in the raw, to study real characters and conflicts and to acquire very rich and original data.

What is the basis for the relations between a writer and a labor collective? How does a literary worker reach the heart of things and feel and describe the complex world of life in a plant, or the spiritual aspect of the contemporary worker? I believe that the best answer to these questions is to be found in the views expressed by those writers whose works deal with the contemporary working class and with life at shock projects.

"Lucky is the writer whose main life interests coincide with his creative searches," says Vladimir Popov, author of famous novels about the working class. "I was lucky in this way. I started as an apprentice steel maker. During and after the war, I worked at large steel-manufacturing enterprises, and the whole of my literary life has been connected with our metallurgical production. My novel "Stal' i Shlak" [Steel and Slag] is a living impression of the years of work at the Makeyevka Metallurgical Plant in the Donbass and the Ural Metallurgical Plant. After I became a writer, I did not abandon my ties with my fellow workers in the "fiery profession." My novels "Obretesh v Boyu" [Gained in Battle] and "I Eto Nazyvayetsya Budni" [A Humdrum Life] are the result of years of observation of the development of domestic metallurgical giants. I say "observations," although the very practice of life in the modern enterprise is far more complex than a summary of external impressions. It requires profound interest, empathy, the ability to experience the interests of the large collective and, finally, the ability to detect the real meaning behind superficially ordinary events. Nevertheless, the prime feature of this process is one's personal observations, one's personal knowledge of today's life in a workers collective. How is this achieved? There is no simple formula. What I consider most important is finding the individual who can not only unravel the secrets of the profession, but who can describe his life, thoughts, concerns, failures and successes. The combined portrait of your future character develops gradually from many such lives. Naturally, his fate is unique. He must nonetheless reveal features shared by many people. What great happiness the writer feels when readers write letters asking him if it was their foreman he



used as the prototype for one character or another! This means that the writer has been able to present a typical character, and to note the basic features of the character of the contemporary worker."

"Naturally, every writer has his own method of describing reality," the young writer A. Prokhanov, author of the novel "Mesto Deystviya" [Place of Action] says. "Personally, I obtain most of my material for thoughts and observations from my direct contacts with workers. During my visits to the Tobol'sk Petrochemical Combine (which usually last from two weeks to several months), I spend virtually every evening in the cars which transport the construction workers, discussing construction matters, why one worker or another finds himself there, and the type of life he leads. Naturally, the conversation goes far beyond the framework of the construction project. The workers are interested in literary affairs. They ask about the meaning of problems raised in one book or another. They try to relate their own experience to literary descriptions. Mutual enrichment occurs, a dialogue which the writer needs and which enables him not only to feel the specific nature of the construction project, but above all, to understand the people and the range of their spiritual demands and moral nature. Let me say that I have developed special relationships with drivers. A tremendous fleet of motor vehicles was assembled at a construction site of the Tobol'sk Petrochemical Combine, and a person walking from one end of the site to the other is bound to see about a dozen trucks. The drivers are people with experience, who have seen everything, and who consider themselves omniscient. Most important, every driver has his own original judgment and unique views on the problems at the construction project or in the course of life. Let us assume a situation of conflict because the deadline for the completion of the first part of the project cannot be met. One driver will curse the sluggishness of the management. Another will accuse related enterprises. A third will blame himself. A fourth will be angered by the loss of bonus payments. And a fifth, finally, will state his own formula for the happiness of the contemporary worker. Virtually all such confessions reveal the active life stance of the people, who care about the common cause and think in broad terms, like statesmen. This vastly broadens the writer's concept of the nature of our contemporary, and enables him to acquire a more profound understanding of the tremendous moral content inherent today in the concept of the 'Soviet worker'."

The main thing which can be extracted from such writers' views is the acknowledgment of the tremendous scope to be found for artistic searches and the wealth of material for the study of people offered by life at the shock construction projects in our country and by the constructive activities of the Soviet working class. The many books, anthologies, essays and publicistic materials on the life and activities of the collectives at the largest construction project and leading enterprises in the country are the creative product of the cooperation between writers and workers. The main value of these works lies in the fact that they bear the direct imprint of their time. They are the living response of the writers to the vital problems of today. They describe our contemporary worker in the course of his ordinary and his heroic accomplishments.

The long-standing relations maintained between literary journals and shock construction projects, today's manifestation of the distinguishing features of sponsorship, provide new opportunities for creative cooperation. Extensive sponsorship

helps a journal to depict this development of a construction project and to trace its main stages, from the initial cycle to the final phase. This greatly expands the field for viewing events. It enables us to identify the changes which are occurring not only in the construction process itself, but above all in the moral aspect of the large labor collective. Enduring relations with a shock construction project enable a journal to take its place at the leading edge of the most topical problems and to feel the heartbeat of the times, on the one hand, and to satisfy the interests of the readers in a most important area, that of artistic depiction of reality and the specific accomplishments of the developed socialist society, a reflection of the complex and varied life of the contemporary working class, on the other.

An attentive study of the essay-publicistic sections in the literary journals published in the last 5 years clearly reveals one very noteworthy feature: the number of works written by heads of oblast, kray and republic party organizations, providing discussions in the literary press of the problems at contemporary construction projects, the importance of writers' sponsorship, and the role of literature in the molding of a communist-like, mature, strong and many-faceted nature in the Soviet individual, has sharply increased. In such articles by party workers, I see proof of the increased prestige enjoyed by Soviet literature, which is demonstrating its involvement with the concerns and thoughts of the party and the main accomplishments of the people on a daily basis. These articles are also an acknowledgment of the mobilizing role which literary journals play at the shock construction projects of the five-year plan.

Finally, let us consider the cultural aspect of sponsorship. Direct contact between writers and workers in the course of their daily work, readers' conferences and evening sessions in which literary workers participate, and efforts to aid in the organization of literary circles and studios at shock projects help to satisfy the spiritual demands of the construction workers and to create a rich moral environment in the labor collective. Here too, as we can see, creative cooperation between writers and workers yields excellent and noteworthy results. In this connection, we must turn once again to the CC CPSU draft guidelines, which state that one of the most important tasks under the new five-year plan is "broadening opportunities for the harmonious spiritual life of the people and for access to cultural values for the whole of the people, and insuring a further upsurge in education and culture..."

More than 10 years ago, the editors of ZNAMYA made it the first of the "thick" literary journals to establish a literary post at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. ZNAMYA published essays, articles, sociological studies, short stories and poems on the workers at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, and on the problems facing this huge territorial and industrial complex. Such works were published over a 10-year period. The best materials were collected and published in two issues of the anthology "Ruda i Lyudi" [Ore and People]. Reality demonstrated that it was expedient to increase the number of literary posts. Therefore ZNAMYA established such posts in Krasnodarskiy Kray and, subsequently in the Nonchernozem. For the past 4 years, it has sponsored Atommash, one of the largest five-year plan projects. Issue after issue, it carries materials in the sections entitled "ZNAMYA on the Baykal-Amur Mainline," "ZNAMYA in the Tomsk Area," and "ZNAMYA at Atommash."

For the past 10 years, NOVYY MIR has sponsored the building of a national shock construction project--the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant, a giant, and the town of Naberezhnyye Chelny. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the journal continued its active relationship with the workers at the new construction project. Every year, large creative workers brigades visit the KamAZ--novelists, publicists and poets--comprising the authors' aktiv of NOVYY MIR. In 1979, NOVYY MIR days were celebrated in Naberezhnyye Chelny. For one week, the working people of the city met with noted Soviet novelists, poets and publicists at creative and readers' conferences and poetry evenings. During the last five-year plan, virtually every issue contained something (an essay, article, review or poem) on the KamAZ people or the people of Naberezhnyye Chelny. Four years ago, NOVYY MIR signed a cooperation contract with the collective at the Automotive Plant imeni Likhachev. The NOVYY MIR staff sponsored readers' conferences at the plant. They are giving practical assistance to the literary association at the ZIL [Plant imeni Likhachev] newspaper. An anthology of poems by workers from Naberezhnyye Chelny will be published in the near future.

On the eve of the 25th party congress, the editors of OKTYABR' established a literary post in Tyumenskaya Oblast. In 1978, they established a post in the Russian Nonchernozem. The editors established close contact with the leadership of the oblast party organizations, local party and economic workers, and scientists. They assigned large writers' brigades to the new construction project. In organizing a literary post in Tyumenskaya Oblast, the editors of OKTYABR' tried to describe the experience of the Tyumen' working people in the development of Siberian natural resources more fully, and to depict their patriotic accomplishments in connection with the implementation of the 25th congress decisions. The editors invested much effort in proving, through artistic journalism, one of the most important stipulations of the December 1975 CC CPSU Plenum, to the effect that the rapid development of the fuel resources of Western Siberia provides a model of successful determination and implementation of the most effective means of developing the national economy. The works entitled "Tracks" and "Detachment," by V. Povolnyayev, and "Petroleum" by V. Korotich, which became very popular, were the result of the work of the "On Tyumen' Land" post.

Let me note in particular the initiative of the editors of OKTYABR' in setting up a voluntary council at their literary post, working closely with and enjoying the support of the Tyumenskaya Oblast Party Committee. This is a new and, in my view, fruitful method of bringing the editors even closer to the life of the working people in this petroleum extraction area, and on an even broader level, maintaining contact between our literature and the life of the people. The voluntary council of the OKTYABR' "On Tyumen' Land" literary post includes noted working people in the kray such as Heroes of Socialist Labor F. Salmanov, V. Bakhilov, I. Marinonkov, G. Petrov, A. Shakshin and P. Prokop'yev, as well as party, soviet and economic managers and scientists, writers and journalists. The council meets in Tyumen' and Moscow alternately, to discuss plans for the publications of the literary posts. The editors report regularly to the readers on the meetings held and the decisions made. The journal maintains very close creative relations with the editors of the newspaper TYUMENSKAYA PRAVDA, and regularly sends to it for publication in its literary section the most interesting materials written by members of the literary post.

The long-time sponsorship relations maintained by the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV with the workers at the Yuzhno-Tajikskiy Territorial-Production Complex, in particular the construction workers at the Nurekskaya and Rogunskaya GES, are well known. Round table discussions sponsored by the journal on the development of the complex, which are attended by party and economic workers, noted public personalities in the republic, scientists, writers and journalists have been of great practical value. The DRUZHBA NARODOV editors are consistently keeping track of the complex production problems which arise in the course of construction at the project and they are very energetically participating in the solution of them. The whole country is familiar with the unique library of autographed volumes which DRUZHBA NARODOV collected for the workers at the Nurekskaya GES, with more than 11,000 volumes. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, members of the Soviet government and heads of fraternal socialist countries have contributed their works to this library.

Problems pertaining to the development of the Nonchernozem zone are the main concern of the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK. For example, in 1979, a series of articles on the implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR" was published in the section entitled "The Nonchernozem Is a Shock Construction Site." A reliable aktiv of authors has developed with the editors at its center: writers Ivan Vasil'yev, Yuriy Chernichenko, Leonid Ivanov and Ivan Sinitsyn. They have intimate familiarity with village life and they maintain strong links with today's countryside.

Sponsorship relations between some of the largest writers' organizations and the collectives are strengthening and developing. The literary workers in Leningrad are establishing ever more profound creative ties with the collective at the Metallurgical Plant imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS. The creative cooperation between Muscovite writers and the Serp i Mplot, Dinamo, Pamyati Revolyutsii 1905 Goda, and ZIL plants, the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Combine and other leading enterprises in the capital is gaining strength. The anthologies "U Nas na Presne" [In Our Presna], "Tovarishch Moskva" [Comrade Moscow], "Budni i Prazdniki" [Workdays and Holidays], "Bystrina" [Rapids] and "Raduga Trekh Gor" [Rainbow Over Three Mountains] are the result of this cooperation. On the initiative of the secretariat and the party committee of the Moscow writers organization, the literary anthology "Lyudi Velikogo Goroda" [People of the Great City] is being compiled. It includes stories by 35 Muscovite writers of prose, poets and essayists on the working days in our capital and the struggle being waged by Muscovites to transform Moscow into a model communist city.

The essay-publicistic and fiction works born of the creative cooperation between literary journals and the labor collectives at the leading shock construction projects in the country are drawing the collective artistic-publicistic portrait of the new man and recreating the great chronicle of the heroic work days of the people. They reflect, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "the main, the essential, feature in the life of the country, that which has become a part of the individual destinies of the Soviet people."

It is hardly an accident that the literary journals have chosen the shock construction projects as the focus of their creative attention. Literature is the

powerful tool for the study and interpretation of reality from the party positions. It can see the embryo of the new social or moral problem, or the new communist features of the individual in order to depict them graphically. It is a shock construction site precisely which serves as a power catalyst for all processes and conflicts accompanying the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the effort to combine its achievements with the advantages of socialism. It is here, in the very heart of life, under the difficult conditions of intensive work and a rapid pace, that modern production conflicts are manifested most sharply and in greater contrast, and the essence of the characters and the more visible aspects of the new communist relationships are revealed.

The new five-year plan will bring not only quantitative, but above all qualitative changes in the nature of labor. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress call for "the implementation of profound changes in the most important area of human activity--labor--and improvement and easing conditions for labor, such as to provide extensive opportunities for highly productive and creative labor, to advance considerably in the elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor, and in order to convert agrarian labor into a variety of industrial work."

I believe that the problem of bringing about profound changes in the nature of labor is inconceivable without the enrichment of the moral content of the very concept of "labor." We must consider technical progress as inseparably linked with spiritual progress, for only such unity can guarantee social progress.

This particularly clearly defines the tasks of our literature under the new five-year plan, the main one being recording and artistically interpreting the great social, moral and psychological changes which are occurring within the contemporary working class under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and the establishment of a classless society. This problem must be resolved in the course of the further development of relations between writers and labor collectives and the more profound penetration of the essence of the problems characterizing the material and spiritual renovation of reality on the part of literary workers. This means that under the 11th Five-Year Plan, the role of creative cooperation between literary journals and the shock communist construction projects will increase. The nature of sponsorship relationships will change and will be enriched by new meaning. Talented new works will emerge and they will be distinguished by their keen artistic interest in the historical and moral experience of the working class and the spiritual world of our heroic contemporary, the builder of communism.

9003  
CSO: 1802/8

## CENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT OF MONUMENT PRESERVATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 66-68

[Article by M. Pospelov, chief specialist at the Orgenergostroy All-Union Institute and public inspector at the Moscow City Department of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments (VOOPIK)]

[Text] The draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" discuss the preservation of historical and cultural monuments in the section entitled "Social Development and Enhancement of the People's Well-Being." This is yet another manifestation of the party's concern with the spiritual growth of the Soviet people.

The CPSU does not tolerate manifestations of a lack of spirituality or antipatriotism.

Every year our state allocates increasing funds for the protection and utilization of monuments in the fatherland.

This is a rather complex matter which, unfortunately, is still poorly organized. The most vulnerable area is the imperfect and cumbersome system of affiliation and the inadequate interrelationship among control organs and various scientific and design institutions and production enterprises directly involved in the preservation and restoration of monuments.

Currently, there are four production organizations in Moscow and Moscow Oblast alone: the All-Union Scientific-Restoration Production Combine of the USSR Ministry of Culture; the Rosrestavratsiya Association of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture; the Mosoblstroyrestavratsiya Trust of the Main Moscow Oblast Construction Administration of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee; and the VOOPIK Special Experimental Scientific Restoration Production Workshop.

Taking another look at Moscow and Moscow Oblast, we will see that relatively autonomous groups, departments, workshops and entire institutes are carrying out, along with other functions, projects pertaining to the restoration of monuments in the capital and the Moscow area, under the jurisdiction of five central leading organs: the USSR Ministry of Culture; the Moscow City Executive Committee; the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee; and the Central Council of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. Further difficulties may be added to this multiplicity of affiliations. Frequently unexpected

projects are assigned (most frequently finishing operations) by superior authorities. A similar situation can be seen in Leningrad and many other cities.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has a Scientific-Methodical Council on the Preservation of Cultural Monuments. It is staffed by about 80 of the best known specialists from various organizations. All of them are highly skilled and prestigious engineers, architects and scientists. The Scientific-Methodical Council is doing much useful work. Unfortunately, however, it does not have the authority it needs, being reduced essentially to discussions and the making of recommendations, which are not always followed, particularly by restoration workers in other departments.

The authorities which control and serve as the clients for such projects in Moscow and Moscow Oblast are the State Inspectorate for the Preservation of Architectural Monuments and Urban Construction in Moscow City, under the Moscow City Executive Committee, and the Production Bureau for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Monuments, of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee. The system regulating their relations with the lesors of monuments and with restoration production organizations is not clearly defined in law, for which reason their activities often suffer from misunderstandings and poor coordination. Not surprisingly, differences and even disputes arise in the course of the interaction between the controlling and the performing institutions, and these are supposed to be resolved by the USSR State Arbitration body. However, the damages awarded by the court of arbitration hardly compensate for the harm done by the destruction of monuments or the defacing of them in the course of restorative operations, in which scientific recommendations are sometimes ignored, or as a result of stupid waste. Moreover, this is poor compensation for the moral and cultural losses which it is impossible to assess in terms of rubles.

Another supervisory authority is the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. It has a central council, oblast and city departments, and a broad network of rayon departments. Authoritative specialists in the various fields staff the presidium of the society's central council. Many enthusiasts work with the primary sections of this voluntary society. Its active members are performing a great patriotic task selflessly and with dedication. Let us note in particular the contribution made by student detachments, which have year after year come to the aid of the restoration workers in the most difficult sectors.

Bearing in mind the objective trend toward ever greater involvement of the masses in the administration of public affairs, it would be expedient to grant the broad public the right to inspect the condition of various projects either being protected or undergoing restoration work. Scientific substantiation and publicity are the main principles governing such activities. In this sector, our press, radio and television should provide effective aid.

The regular personnel at the VOOPIK departments bear great responsibility in this regard.

Speaking of lack of coordination and control, and the decentralized nature of management and control operations in the use and preservation of historical and

cultural monuments, let us point out that this is a situation which is typical of almost the entire country. This precisely is one of the basic reasons for the unsatisfactory condition of many monuments, as critical articles in newspapers and journals convincingly demonstrate.

Obviously, without centralized management of this important cultural area, it would be difficult to resolve the problem of consistency between the meaning of the monument and its actual value. For example, is it not a paradox that a monument of national significance at the Savvino-Storozhevskiy Monastery in Zvenigorod, near Moscow, is classified as a third group museum, which places it on the level of monuments of local significance (with corresponding financial support)?

There are imperfections in the planning of the work of design and restoration production organizations. There is an obvious lack of long-term planning. Annual plans are approved late, often as late as the end of the first quarter of the year being planned. Implementation is assessed in terms of rubles only, rather than indicators showing actual results. The consequence is that this "gross output" involves the unnecessary use of very expensive materials and structures and focuses the attention of restoration workers on more "profitable" work. Where there are unconscientious restoration workers, one of the most "profitable" operations is the erection of scaffolding.

The restoration of an architectural monument in the village of Nikol'skoye-Uryupino in Krasnogorskiy Rayon, was undertaken in 1971. Scaffolding costing 23,000 rubles was put up. The work stopped there. Using various pretexts, the Moscow Oblast Construction and Restoration Trust failed to proceed with the restoration itself. Several years later, the scaffolding was repaired at a cost of yet another 3,000 rubles. Recently, the trust announced that it intends to go ahead with the restoration if it can erect new scaffolding, which will obviously cost the state still another 23,000 rubles.

The result of imperfect planning is that procurement of the funds needed for restoration is delayed, as a rule. Completion deadlines are not met and the quality of the work drops. The following (not affecting bonuses) can also develop: the roof of a building being restored may be removed with a view to replacement with a new one, with the result that the entire project grinds to a halt for an indefinite period (for lack of construction materials or any other reason). This leads to heavy seepage, so that the interior is spoiled or entirely destroyed, and the main structural parts of the building are severely damaged...

Alas, we have not as yet begun to regard such cases as obvious violations of the law governing the preservation and utilization of historical and cultural monuments or as the perpetration of a crime.

Even the most impassioned appeals for adherence to professional ethics will remain no more than starry-eyed statements if the activities of the restorers is not fully backed organizationally, economically and legally. Here is an example.

According to Article 31 of the RSFSR law "On the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments," repairs may be undertaken at historical and



cultural projects only with the consent of the state organs in charge of protecting monuments and under their supervision, and if the work is carried out by specialized scientific restoration organizations and construction, repair and repair-construction organizations, under the supervision of restoration specialists. How can it happen then that Repair-Construction Administration No 2 in Dzerzhinskiy Rayon undertook capital repairs on the home where Valeriy Bryukov, the outstanding Soviet poet, lived, which was placed under state protection as early as 1960, without the corresponding decision by the Moscow City Trust for Geological, Geodetic and Cartographic Work, and without supervision by restoration specialists? The result of this "repair work" provides justification for indignation: the moulding on the ceiling was destroyed, despite the warning issued by the museum office; the ceiling and the floor were left in damaged condition; the groundwater beneath the house was not drained off; a "cosmetic" gloss was applied to walls covered with mold; the memorial parquet flooring in the poet's office was damaged, and so on. Furthermore, a number of other operations which the construction workers had pledged to complete were simply left undone. A claim against the repair-construction administration should have been filed and it should have been forced to repair the damage.

Generally speaking, restoration work calls for total engineering support and the resolution of all the problems related to the purpose of the monument. As it happens, however, artists and restoration architects complete their work, while the electrical engineering and sanitation facilities remain unaltered (and are sometimes totally inadequate). Subsequently, monuments restored in this way may be damaged.

Therefore, the task of formulating a comprehensive program for serious improvement throughout the entire system of restoration work, the exhibiting and preservation of historical and cultural monuments, streamlining organization and planning, and drastically upgrading the effectiveness of such activities remains to be carried out. Obviously, organizations such as Inturist, the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions, the Knowledge Society, the War Veterans' Committee, and others, could help greatly with such projects on a cooperative basis.

The need to centralize management, planning, control, scientific, design and restoration production organizations on a union scale is clear. Serious attention should be devoted to the opinion which has been expressed recently by many restoration workers and public figures concerning the desirability of perhaps creating a committee on historical and cultural monuments under the USSR Council of Ministers or a similar department. Unwittingly, we are reminded of this by the example set by the Armenian SSR, where the Council of Ministers has already set up a special administration in charge of the centralized resolution of all the problems discussed in this article.

The time has come to develop the orderly planning and restoration of all operations and work to preserve historical and cultural monuments. The resolution of these problems must be organized on an economical, profitable and strictly controlled national basis. Therefore, in my view, the paragraph in the part of Section 8 of the CC CPSU draft guidelines dealing with the development of socialist culture which reads "To improve the activities of cultural-educational institutions" should read as follows:

"The activities of cultural-educational institutions must be improved. The network of mass libraries, clubs and museums must be expanded and their work improved; they must play a greater role in communist education and in the development of loyalty to the socialist homeland. Their activity must be galvanized to make them centers for education, upbringing and creative effort by the working people, as well as spiritually meaningful recreation.

"The effectiveness of the restoration of historical and cultural monuments must be upgraded; protection and publicizing of them and their use must be improved.

"Effective centralized state control of the preservation of historical and cultural monuments must be organized."

5003  
CSO: 1802/8

**JOURNAL'S MAIL: JULY-DECEMBER, 1980**

**Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 69-74**

[Text] During the second half of 1980, KOMMUNIST received more than 1,100 items, including 143 articles, essays, reviews and notes, 243 responses to the journal's publications, 226 questions, suggestions and greetings addressed to the editors and 511 statements, requests and complaints from citizens.

The June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum decree on the convening of the regular 26th congress of our Leninist party was welcomed by the Soviet people with tremendous inspiration. It triggered a new upsurge in their initiative and labor and political activity. Everyone is trying to welcome this historical event in worthy fashion and to become a participant in the preparations for the congress. It is this precisely which the mail received by the journal confirms.

The readers of KOMMUNIST are proud to note the successes achieved by our country during the 10th Five-Year Plan in all directions of economic, social and cultural construction. They express their confidence that the new five-year plan will constitute a major step forward in laying the material and technical foundations for communism, the development of socialist social relations, and the molding of the new man. While giving everything progressive which has become a part of our life and practice its due, our voluntary correspondents also describe unresolved problems, expose shortcomings and the reasons for them, and make suggestions the implementation of which, in their view, would help to speed up the pace of communist construction.

A. A. Stupin (Istra, Moscow Oblast) focuses his suggestion on principles for the solution of problems in connection with upgrading the effectiveness of turbine expanders using the energy of compressed gas in main gas pipelines. The editors have received many such letters.

The desire to approach the experience acquired creatively, self-critically and carefully, and to share views on how to make the best possible use of existing reserves, resources and possibilities is especially typical of the participants in the nationwide discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990."

The CC CPSU draft guidelines contain an expanded characterization of the development of the agroindustrial complex, the main task of which is to guarantee the country with a reliable supply of food and agricultural raw materials, as the most important prerequisite for the achievement of the party's highest goal--a continuing upsurge in the material and cultural standards of the people. In this connection, T. A. Koval', candidate of agricultural sciences and honored RSFSR agronomist, sets forth in his article the means of resolving a number of problems involved in eliminating the significant losses in agricultural commodities suffered year after year. Losses are particularly high in crop harvesting, loading, transportation, unloading and storage. During its transportation from the fields, gardens or plots to the consumers, produce is transshipped by several organizations and departments, with the consequent losses.

In his study of the reasons for and channels of losses of potatoes, tomatoes and fruits, the author demonstrates convincingly that the struggle to preserve valuable produce can only be successful if it is waged on a comprehensive and purposeful basis by all the departments involved. He writes that the establishment of an efficient system of harvesting and procurement (both in the raw and processed states) and the storage, transportation and marketing of such produce is one of the main problems pertaining to the further development of our country's economy and guaranteeing food for the population.

According to T. A. Koval', an urgent need has developed for the establishment of an interdepartmental organization with the rights and functions of a main administration under the USSR Council of Ministers, which would be responsible for the preservation of agricultural commodities and their valuable qualities at all stages between harvesting and marketing.

The further development of the national economy and the successful implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan depend greatly on the effective activities of material and technical procurement organs, which must guarantee efficient production relations between the producing and consuming enterprises located in different parts of the country and under the jurisdiction of different departments, as well as the efficient utilization of transportation facilities hauling goods for industrial processing.

The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines deal at length with the development of a material and technical procurement system. However, the authors of many letters and articles believe that some additions should be included. Candidate of Economic Sciences A. V. Zyryanov, acting head of the chair of economics and planning of material and technical supplies at the Sverdlovsk National Economic Institute, writes: "Separate sections of the CC CPSU draft guidelines deal with the development of all material production sectors. It seems to us that because of the increased volume of industrial production, the larger number of enterprises producing and consuming material resources, the expanding complexity of economic relations, and the considerably greater dependence of the activities of all production sectors on the supply system, a section entitled "Development of the Material and Technical Procurement System" should be added to this document, although this sector comes within the trade area."

V. A. Koptayev (Gryazovets, Vologodskaya Oblast) discusses the problem of improving material and technical supplies and economic relations in his article. In his view, the national economy is suffering from substantial material losses mainly because of imperfections in many economic relations at various production and management levels. It is for this reason precisely that a large volume of commodity-material values for which there were no customers has been stockpiled in warehouses and withdrawn from circulation. The storage of these materials in itself is quite costly. The author includes the losses suffered as a result of inefficient transportation of goods for industrial use in the losses caused by shortcomings in the organization of economic relations. Huge amounts of coal, timber, construction materials and cement are subject to inefficient haulage. Meanwhile, there is a constant shortage of rolling stock and trucks, affecting the haulage of other freight. According to V. A. Koptayev, the difficulty in resolving such problems lies in the fact that the interests of the interacting sectors and departments rarely coincide fully, and are sometimes even in conflict. Departmentalism and parochialism are among the reasons for the development of shortcomings in our economy. For this reason, the author expresses his warm approval of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving the economic mechanism, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's demand "that obsolete structures be abandoned under the new five-year plan," which he expressed in his speech to the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum.

The steps taken by the Central Committee and the Soviet government have the full support of all the Soviet people. This is confirmed by dozens of letters and notes expressing deep satisfaction with the measures included in the "Basic Directions" pertaining to the improvement of management and upgrading management standards at all economic levels.

"While reading the 'Basic Directions' draft guidelines, " writes railroad engineer and builder D. S. Kazakov, "I paid particular attention to the section on transportation. The lag in its development has become a bottleneck in the country's production complex. At the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin described the transportation system as "the main and even one of the most important foundations of our entire economy" ('Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 202). I believe that Lenin's definition has become even more topical today. The potential of the transportation system in our huge country objectively determines the rate of development in many economic sectors. This makes it particularly important to plan the increase in the capacity of the transportation system on a long-range basis. Under the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans, the eastern parts of our country will undergo intensive development, to which the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] will contribute. New timber exploitation farms, coal mines and industrial complexes will appear. A major freight flow will develop along the BAM, reaching not only the ports and plants of the Far East, but to a considerable extent, the European part of the country as well."

According to the author, the Trans-Siberian Railroad Sector from Syzran' to Taychet Station is even now unable to handle the freight flow, having virtually reached the limits of its handling and hauling capacity. Years will go by before the lumber stored in warehouses along the track can be hauled away. Kuzbass coal is also accumulating alongside the spurs of the station, totaling millions of

tons. How can a new flow of freight move west along the BAM? "This is why I suggest that the following be added to the sixth section, entitled "Development of Transportation and Communications," in the "Basic Directions:" "The study and planning of a North Siberian mainline from the Taychet Station area to the Ul'yanovsk area must be undertaken. Construction must be begun and the construction organizations along the Baykal-Amur Mainline should complete their work."

The writers of many letters focus on problems set forth in that part of the CPSU draft guidelines which deals with environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources and restoration and multiplication of them. A. A. Saturin, candidate of technical sciences and docent in the geology department at Leningrad State University, emphasizes that in order to achieve the main party goal--the steadfast improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people--the natural resources of our land must be used thriftily and carefully. The unlimited and unregulated satisfaction of the spiraling needs for these resources felt by industry, construction and all economic sectors, as well as the needs of the people, as practical experience has indicated, could lead to the exhaustion and deterioration of the environment, which is a basic prerequisite for the life of the people. Our country is one of the richest in materials, water, timber, land and other natural resources. This enables the Soviet people to look at the future with optimism. However, we must take into account the fact that the time of readily accessible and inexpensive mineral raw materials is gone forever.

In this connection, A. A. Saturin suggests that the second paragraph of the ninth section of the "Basic Guidelines" be redrafted as follows: "Better preservation of the subsoil, the air, water reservoirs and the flora and fauna must be provided. The efficient utilization and reproduction of natural resources must be insured thanks to their comprehensive use, the improvement of existing resource conserving, ecology-minded technologies, the development of new technologies for this purpose, and conversion to the most accessible and more commonly found types of raw materials. Scientific regulations governing the satisfaction of the needs for natural resources must be expanded."

V. A. Lantsov, doctor of economic sciences and professor at Leningrad's financial-economic institute, writes the following: "Until recently, man, making use of scientific and technical progress and transforming nature, viewed obtaining the necessary economic benefits as his main task. The task of restoring the ecological balance violated because of technological processes was left to nature itself. In the foreseeable future, nature will become unable to cope with this task without human assistance. Meanwhile, mountains of slag, binders and ore waste are growing. Millions of tons of smoke, gases and so on are released into the atmosphere."

According to V. A. Lantsov, it is of the greatest importance to include in the plans for the economic and social development of the country, union republics, oblasts, rayons, enterprises, construction projects, ministries and departments a new section entitled "Utilization of Secondary Raw Materials." All work on the drafting of such sections of the plan should be consistently oriented on the basis of an ecological-economic approach.

According to the author, it would be expedient to include the following in the second section of the draft Central Committee guidelines: "To develop and

undertake the implementation of a comprehensive program for the utilization of industrial and consumption wastes." "I also submit that the following should be added to the second paragraph of the article on the tasks of the social sciences in the third section of the "Basic Directions:" "On ecological-economic problems in the national economy"."

Ye. A. Topchiyev, a land reclamation engineer (Dnepropetrovsk) reports that he and his colleagues are discussing the draft CC CPSU guidelines with deep interest and approval. The measures stipulated for the expansion of irrigated farming and improvement in the quality of engineering systems for irrigation, and many others, meet with their approval. However, he writes, this document should be expanded.

The five-year plan calls for the irrigation of 3.4-3.6 million hectares of new land. Apparently, the same volume will be planned for the following five-year plan. Irrigation such as this would require 50 billion cubic meters of water. Where could this water come from, in view of the limited water resources of the southern part of the country? We know that the water balance in Central Asia has already been disturbed: as a result of the pumping of water for irrigation from the rivers flowing into the Aral Sea, its level is dropping. The water resources of the Kuban' have been virtually exhausted, and those of the Dnepr are close to exhaustion. The CC CPSU draft guidelines call for a vast project to transfer some of the flow of the northern rivers into the Volga, and some of the volume of the Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The cost of such projects will run into the billions of rubles, and tangible returns will not be seen immediately. Therefore, the author suggests, we must make better use of the potential to be found in the more efficient utilization of the available water resources. Ye. A. Topchiyev believes that what is needed most of all is a single, thrifty manager for the country's water resources. "All of us--construction and exploitation workers, irrigation workers and ministers--must learn how to use water economically and most efficiently."

For the time being, this is not being done. Often land is irrigated without any precise assessment of water outlays, based on rough estimates only. This results in both water and crop losses. In the famous Kuban' rice fields, the use of recirculated water is failing to keep pace with the development of rice growing systems. Specialists have estimated that more than 30 billion cubic meters, i.e., a half of the total volume of water used with the standard ditch irrigation method involving open canals through the earth, is wasted, thanks to evaporation and filtration. Simple logic indicates that underground irrigation should be used in such areas. However, despite the fact that 4 years ago, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources was instructed to organize experimental-production sectors for such irrigation, the experiments have involved no more than 200-300 hectares to date. In the Ukraine, the sector set aside for such purposes in 1977 was temporarily closed down. To this day, ferrous metallurgy is dominated by low temperature refrigeration systems, in which large amounts of irreplaceable water are lost. According to current norms, 30 cubic meters of water are needed for each ton of metal. Wherever more modern cooling systems are used, water losses drop sharply. For example, at the Krivorozhstal' Plant, consumption has been reduced to 10 cubic meters per ton. At the Omsk Petroleum Refinery, the use of air cooling

made it possible to reduce water outlays by 150 million cubic meters per year. That is why, according to the author, the following items should be added to the "Basic Directions:"

Section 12: "Organization of a unified nationwide system for control of the country's water resources, with gradual conversion to payment for unrecycled water use;"

In the paragraph on reclamation in the fifth section: "Improvement of irrigation technology through the organization of controlled irrigation systems. Extensive introduction of underground irrigation, particularly in the Central Asian republics. Considerable development of the necessary scientific research;"

In the paragraph on ferrous metallurgy in section 4: "Insuring the planned conversion of metallurgical furnaces to progressive cooling systems, with a considerable reduction in water consumption losses."

Many of the letters, articles and notes sent to the editors deal with problems pertaining to improving social relations, labor discipline, the organization of labor and wages, and combating greed.

The communist society we will build will be different from the socialist society not only in terms of the greater well-being of the people, V. S. Goylo, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, emphasizes, but also in terms of more advanced social relations, economic, i.e., base relations, most of all. Without question, our society will accomplish a great deal in the next decade in the elimination of the vestiges of the past (such as departmental and parochial tendencies, and all kinds of disproportions in industry), and in the further improvement of the foundations for the current and the development of the embryos of the future ownership, distribution, consumption and management relations.

Recently, the public and the party press have quite rightly raised the question of streamlining the sources of the people's income, with a view to the elimination of the existing loopholes which allow private ownership aspirations and, consequently, unearned income. This will broaden the field for the full triumph of the socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." Science and practical experience have demonstrated that the molding of the new individual as the protagonist in such relations, and the intensified social homogeneity and strengthened unity of our society, are insured not only thanks to greater prosperity, but rather this combined with better developed socialist social relations. This is why V. S. Goylo suggests that the following paragraph be added, following the third paragraph in the second section of the "Basic Directions": "To insure the further social advance of society and to implement a broad program to increase the well-being of the people;" "To continue to improve economic, i.e. base relations including relations pertaining to the ownership of productive capital and national economic management at all levels, as well as distribution and consumption relations."



I. I. Ivanov (Moscow) also discusses the development of social relations. He writes that we know that even in its mature stage, the socialist society involves not only national and public interests, but a variety of interests reflecting the needs of collectives, groups and individuals, along with the needs of society as a whole. Here the collective interests of the working people in production enterprises play a substantial role (in particular because of their direct influence on base relations in society). Since collective interests exist objectively simultaneous with and parallel to public interests, not every activity of any given collective is aimed at the satisfaction of the needs of society as a whole. Some activities are designed to satisfy the relatively narrow interests of a specific production collective. This means that the activities of enterprise collectives are oriented to a certain extent toward the maximizing of the level at which their own interests are satisfied.

The author asks how and when a change will occur in the conditions objectively existing and determining the variety of interests found within society, paralleling the main, the social, interests. He asks how the influence of one of the contradictions in mature socialism--that between commodity-monetary and strictly social relations--can be reduced, and how some of its consequences, particularly the contradiction between social and group interests, can be eliminated.

According to I. I. Ivanov, one of the tasks confronting the social sciences, which should be entered in the third section of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, is the following: "Study of the basic contradictions in mature socialism, and their most important consequences, and a study and comparison of ways and means of eliminating those already existing or developing in the course of daily practice, and the corresponding implementation of theoretical drafting of substantiated recommendations for decisions to be adopted by leading party organs in order to define the further advance of our society."

"We are approaching our 26th party congress," V. V. Borovskiy (Moscow), an equipment tuner at an all-union scientific research institute, writes. "Congress after congress, and five-year plan after five-year plan, we are seeing how the power of the homeland is increasing, along with its material and spiritual potential. The successes we have achieved pose the question of intensifying the struggle against negative phenomena in our lives ever more urgently." Along with those through whose efforts all the good enjoyed by Soviet society has been created, the author goes on to say, parasites, rogues whose interests are in opposition to those of society, are also prospering. Everyone wants to live well, but the means utilized by the ordinary Soviet citizens to achieve this and those of the parasites differ. The builder of the new life reaches his goal through active and intensive creative labor, while the parasite, the loafer, the scrounger, tries to get more from society, to consume more at the expense of other people's efforts.

According to V. V. Borovskiy, the most effective means of combating various kinds of parasites is strengthening labor discipline and increasing its intensiveness and basing wages strictly on labor quantity and quality. A certain coercion must be exercised if a loafer or speculator is to be made an honest worker. Many people agree with this and decrees are approved at meetings to strengthen discipline and

fulfill production norms. However, the loafers and parasites avoid common projects. It is obvious that decrees alone cannot correct their behavior. They must be forced to work. V. V. Borovskiy recalls Lenin's words to the effect that "Everyone today 'votes for' and 'signs' such resolutions willingly. However, the fact that their implementation may take force... is not usually taken into account" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 194). This is the obligation of the Soviet system, the public, jurists and sociologists.

We must agree with the conclusion that sloppy work does not lead to the molding of an active worker. The author states that he knows from personal experience that the level of organization and labor intensiveness is far below the potential at some enterprises. This is demonstrated by the shock workers who fulfill two to three separate norms.

Work without stress and easy earning produce negative consequences, not only in the economy but in social relations as well. It is this in particular which concerns the author. This worker appeals to party and other public organizations and the managers of collectives to struggle with even greater determination and decisiveness to strengthen discipline and organization. Under the new five-year plan, labor norming and wages must be organized on a scientific basis everywhere, V. V. Borovskiy concludes.

"Labor Discipline Must Be Strengthened Comprehensively"--this is the title of the note sent by printing press worker A. A. Tsvetkov (Leningrad). In his opinion, one of the most important problems in the new five-year plan is the need for comprehensive effort to strengthen labor and technological discipline. The author has had an opportunity to work at several enterprises, and he says that proper discipline can only be found with some brigades and shifts. A. A. Tsvetkov believes that the people are knowledgeable and professionally skilled at the printing establishment where he works, but the organization of the work and discipline are not at the necessary level, particularly in the newspaper rotary shop. There tardiness and absenteeism have become the norm. However, the work done to strengthen labor discipline and combat alcoholism is poor. In the course of one whole year, not a single meeting for the brigade and its foreman to discuss vital problems was held. It has become the practice to impose administrative penalties only on violators of discipline... Why not, before a given punishment order is signed, couldn't the behavior of the violator be discussed by the brigade itself? The author poses the acute problem of upgrading the role of the party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations in strengthening labor discipline, since it is only through organized, efficient and productive work that the tremendous tasks assigned by the party can be resolved.

Many readers are also concerned with wage problems. There is no more equitable principle today than that of equal wages for equal work, in terms of quantity and quality. Each ruble must be earned. Strict observance of this principle is a most important task, as literally all authors who deal with this problem emphasize. However, as Yu. F. Korchagin (Bolshevo, Moscow Oblast), L. K. Kiselev (Moscow), A. B. Shtange (Tynda), K. V. Galinskiy (Krasnodar), L. I. Ivanov (Yaroslavl'), A. F. Blinkov (Labinsk, Krasnodarskiy Kray) and others point out, this principle is frequently violated. Unearned funds in the pockets of speculators, thieves and takers of bribes become the serious enemies of rubles earned. This has an adverse effect on the moral climate, labor discipline and labor productivity. The unearned

ruble is always linked with a dishonest attitude toward society, whether it was stolen, obtained without working, as a tip, or as a result of a reduced, "amended plan or an undeserved bonus."

Many authors believe that the struggle against parasitism in all its manifestations is not as yet being waged with sufficient energy and aggressiveness. Some comrades relate this to the fact that economists and sociologists have for some time now believed that there could be no unearned income in our country because of the triumph of socialism in all areas of social life. To this day, some researchers are shy about speaking out about the existence of uncontrolled redistribution, which in a number of cases hinders the purchase of even the commodity or services in abundant supply. This too contributes to recurrences of acquisitiveness and a petit bourgeois mentality. The authors of these letters believe that we must seriously uproot these antisocial phenomena, and they submit specific suggestions as to measures to be adopted to eliminate sources of unearned income and to make the struggle against parasitism more effective. It would be quite impossible to mention the names of all of the authors of such letters. All of them agree on one thing: now that the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress are being discussed throughout the country, very serious attention should be devoted to finding ways of improving distribution such as to block the channels for illegal accumulation of goods and to force the lovers of an "easy life" to work actively for the common good, as Soviet citizens should.

A large group of authors deem it their duty, in the course of the preparations for the forthcoming CC CPSU congress and the discussion of the "Basic Directions" draft guidelines, to draw the attention of party organizations and the public to the instances of negligence and irresponsibility which stand in the way of the resolution of problems in the development of the national economy and upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Many comrades give examples of obvious negligence and demand with justification that urgent steps be taken and that the culprits be prosecuted. The editors direct such letters to the proper organs and departments and, as a rule, they receive positive answers as to the decisions adopted.

O. I. Tikhomirov (Leningrad), candidate of economic sciences V. M. Pisarev (Moscow), K. Naryzhnyy (Rostov-na-Donu), and A. N. Korolev (Kamenets-Pedol'skiy) mention cases of negligence which they relate to the low level of control exercised by the departments and organizations involved. They regard it as important that such cases be submitted to the court of public opinion and placed on the agenda for party, trade union and workers meetings, and that the fire of public criticism be focused upon them.

Many letters deal with the education and upbringing of the growing generation and the tasks and problems facing schools, VUZs, Komsomol organizations and various other establishments and organizations engaged in developing an active life stance in the young citizens of our country.

V. S. Velichko (Kaluga), a CPSU member since 1930, A. I. Novikov (Perm'), and A. S. Nedzvetskiy (Vil'nyus) submit specific suggestions with a view to developing technical creativity and military-technical sports among secondary school students, improvement in the quality of textbooks, and the selection of the most

talented and capable young specialists for scientific research and design institutes, bureaus and other organs. The editors have made these suggestions available to the ministries and organization involved.

S. S. Kiparisov, director of the Moscow Fine Chemical Technology Institute, writes that the role of the higher school is becoming more important in resolving the problems set forth in the five-year plan. This is the result of the need to satisfy the requirements of the national economy for skilled cadres more fully, particularly along the promising new directions of scientific and technical development. His VUZ trains such cadres. They are specialists in bio-organic chemistry, complex metal catalysis, technology of special polymers, various composition materials, powder metallurgy, and other fields. The problem of training specialists in the new specialties is being resolved by offering special courses and improving the work of the six basic chairs at the sectorial academic institutes and industrial enterprises. Past experience has indicated that the establishment of such chairs is a proper way of upgrading the level of engineering training. The purposeful training of engineers carried out by the base chairs virtually excludes the period of adaptation of the future specialist labor conditions, for they have already become familiar with the work of the production collectives where they will be employed after graduation.

The young specialist trained in VUZs with several scientific subunits, which include scientific research problem and sectorial laboratories with modern facilities, are characterized by their high professional level, for here, in the course of their training, they effect an organic combination of training and scientific research. It is of the greatest importance to improve the facilities at such VUZs. It is particularly necessary to devote attention to the development of experimental-design-technological bureaus, which raise the standard of scientific developments, while these in turn become available to the production enterprises much more rapidly than by conventional method.

In this connection, S. S. Kiparisov suggests that the sentence "develop and expand the training of cadres with higher education in specialized VUZs" be added to follow the words "implement measures to upgrade the quality of specialist training and to improve the utilization of specialists in the national economy" found in section eight of the "Basic Guidelines." He also suggests that the words "and VUZs" be added to the provision in the second section of the draft guidelines which reads "improve coordination of the activities of scientific institutions, intensify relations between basic and applied research, on the one hand, and industry on the other, and strengthen the material and technical base for scientific, planning and design organizations."

During the second half of 1980, the editors published many letters and articles sent in by the readers. Some of them provoked wide public response. The editors thank all the comrades who corresponded in response to the materials published in KOMMUNIST.

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## RUSHING AHEAD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 75-80

[Report by V. Arkhipenko on the Bryansk city accountability and election party conference]

[Text] A total of 645 representatives of the party organization, which has 37,400 members, were elected to attend the 31st conference of Bryansk party members, a conference which has become a landmark in the life of the city and the entire oblast.

Labor frontrankers, production innovators, and winners of socialist competition crowded the oblast theater hall. The delegates included heads of industrial enterprises, representatives of scientific centers and cultural institutions, medical, educational and trade workers, military service men, and representatives of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs. It was properly noted at the conference that each of the delegates had made a great contribution to the development of the economy, culture, health and education.

The delegates focused their attention on the results not only of the period under consideration, but the entire five-year plan as well, in the course of which major socioeconomic changes took place in the city's life and all its enterprises and establishments, and within each labor collective and individual family.

Bryansk is a major industrial center in the country, with intensively developing machine building, metallurgy and chemical, textile and other industries. Here, diesel engines for ships, diesel maneuvering locomotives, isothermic railroad cars, automotive graders, excavators, grain dryers, road and irrigation machinery, and a variety of consumer goods famous in many foreign countries, are produced. Almost one-fifth of Bryansk's industrial output is rated superior in quality.

It was the industrial face of the city and the level of its industrial development which determined the basic direction of the addresses delivered at the conference. The main topic was the strengthening of the economy and the potential for future growth. This was discussed in particular in the accountability report of the city party committee, which was submitted by A. F. Voystrochenko, its first secretary, and in the speeches by G. T. Fomchenkov, first secretary of the Bezhitskiy Rayon CPSU Committee; I. N. Lashtan, general director of the Bryanskiy Automobil'nyy Zavod Production Association; V. V. Shenakov, an electric locomotive engineer at the Bryansk II Locomotive Engine Depot; V. T. Buglayev, rector of the Bryansk Transport Machine Building Institute; and others.

For the Bryansk party members and all the working people, the 10th Five-Year Plan was a period of dedicated work to implement the decisions of the 25th party congress. The speakers noted that the city party committee guided the efforts of the primary party organizations to develop the national economy and to upgrade public production effectiveness and the labor activeness of all Bryansk people with skill.

The city party organization rallied and directed the activities of the workers in all sectors of the urban economy. It headed the socialist competition to achieve the levels planned by the congress and to fulfill and overfulfill planned assignments. On numerous occasions, high awards were presented to Bryansk for success achieved during the 10th Five-Year Plan. They included the three-time award of the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee.

In March 1979, Bryansk was awarded the order of the October Revolution. At the presentation ceremony, M. A. Suslov, Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, emphasized that this order symbolizes firm loyalty to the great ideals of communism and Lenin's appeals, revolutionary firmness and dedicated service to the cause of the party and the people.

The concluding year of the five year plan was marked by the new labor successes achieved by the people of Bryansk. At the opening of the 31st City Party Conference, the delegates welcomed and applauded the news that on 5 December, the city enterprises had already fulfilled their five-year plan for total volume of output and labor productivity.

The speakers summarized the accomplishments and successes and assessed the results critically. They tried to establish the reasons for unfinished projects and to identify unutilized reserves. In their assessment of their work and the activities of the party committees, primary party organizations and labor collectives at enterprises and establishments, the delegates were guided by the strict requirements of the 25th congress and CC CPSU plenums. This enabled the conference to analyze the state of affairs objectively and to focus attention on the unresolved problems.

The delegates were concerned that some industrial enterprises in the city are failing to fulfill their five-year plan assignments, and are persistently failing to fulfill the plans for basic technical and economic indicators. The speaker criticized the city party committee for inefficient dealing with the problems of strengthening discipline at enterprises, since almost one-quarter of them are failing to fulfill their marketing plans. Not all plants and factories are carrying out their assignments on output variety. Often the largest volume of plan fulfillment is shifted to the end of the year. This hinders the organization of rhythmic work. The delegates were concerned to note the increase in losses from defective goods, and the increase in unproductive expenditures. Another worrisome fact is that under the five-year plan, capital returns dropped to an average of 17 percent, and the equipment shift coefficient was not equal to the figure stipulated in the plan.

The city and rayon party committees were also criticized for insufficient persistence in dealing with problems in enterprise reconstruction and technical retooling. The delegates noted that the party committees must raise the standards of economic work in the collectives comprehensively, and struggle more energetically to conserve fuel and energy resources and ferrous metals and to reduce costs and improve production quality.

In the period under consideration, the city party committee discussed problems in increasing labor productivity comprehensively and drafted measures for the purpose. However, the increased volume of industrial output achieved as a result of this most important factor failed to reach the level stipulated in the control figures. The struggle to improve labor discipline flagged in many party organizations. In the first four and a half years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, nonproduction working time losses exceeded 750,000 man/days.

The delegates pointed out that this situation confirms the inadequacy of educational work and the organizing role of the party committees. Not all public organizations are devoting concern to the steady improvement of living and working conditions.

The manpower problem is quite topical in Bryansk, since industry, services and in particular, construction, are experiencing manpower shortages. The conference drew the attention of party organizations and economic managers to the need to step up the pace of mechanization and automation of production processes, in particular auxiliary and loading and unloading operations.

The extensive use of the brigade forms of labor organization offers a major opportunity to increase labor productivity and thus to ease manpower shortages. The Bryanskiy Mashinostroitel'nyy Zavod Production Association, the Worsted Production Association, the Industrial Rubber Goods Factory, and the Bryansk Highway Machinery Plant imeni 50-Letiya Velikogo Oktyabrya were among the first to apply these methods. The experience acquired by the brigades was summed up by the rayon party committees and was discussed frequently at meetings of the city party committee bureau. Nevertheless, the accountability report noted that party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic managers are still neglecting to establish brigades which distribute earnings in accordance with a labor participation coefficient.

The delegates discussed problems in upgrading public production effectiveness, intensified economic development, improved planning and management and the establishment of the conditions necessary for the highly productive work by every working person comprehensively and intensively. The discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, which began on the eve of the conference, contributed to this. The discussion was continued at the conference itself. The delegates gave the party's programmatic document, which embodies its strategy and tactics on the most important problems in the country's economic, social and spiritual development, their warm approval.

In summing up the initial results of the discussions of the CC CPSU draft guidelines, Ye. I. Sizenko said that it had triggered a new influx of creative and political energy in the working people of the town and oblast.

"The Soviet people," Ye. I. Sizenko noted, "see in this important political document the embodiment of their basic interests. Each section and line in the draft guidelines is imbued with the aspiration to raise the country's economic power even further, and on this basis, to guarantee the resolution of vital social problems and to raise the living standards of the people even higher."

The first secretary of the oblast party committee emphasized that the discussion of the draft guidelines must be efficient and very specific, as the party's Central Committee demands. The main task of each collective is to establish the main directions for the development of its enterprise under the 11th Five-Year Plan. As they sum up this work, the party organizations are undertaking to reach each individual and to see to it that all the working people find their place in the solution of the great problems in the building of communism.

In the light of the CC CPSU draft guidelines, the delegates drafted the means for finding internal economic reserves, for saving on materials, and for strengthening labor organization and discipline. Particular attention was devoted to the fullest possible utilization of intensive economic growth factors, in order to increase the prosperity of the Soviet people.

To one extent or another, problems in the development of the city and its urbanization and improvement in living and recreational conditions were covered in all of the speeches at the conference. The city party organization, working closely with the soviet organs and the trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations, and is dealing on a continuing basis with problems in housing construction, culture, public education, trade, health care, transportation, services, and law and order. All such problems are of profound interest to the citizens, and they affect literally every single family.

Bryansk, one of the oldest Russian cities, a city of partisan glory, was totally destroyed by the occupiers during the Patriotic War. Although its industrial output had already approached its prewar level within 5 years after the victory, the restoration of the city itself, its rebuilding on a modern basis, lagged substantially behind the pace of industrial development. To this day, Bryansk has not yet regained the form of a complete city, coordinated on the basis of a single architectural concept. The centers of its four rayons, and where conventional modern urban construction and components predominate, are separated one from the other by densely built up blocks of one-story wooden homes. The city covers a huge area, almost half as large as a major industrial center such as Minsk, with only one-third of Minsk's population. This creates difficult problems in connection with power and sewer systems, urban transportation, communications and centralized procurement.

There are a number of reasons for this situation. Errors in the general urban development plan played a negative role. As a result, the city's current population considerably exceeds the planned figure. The Bryansk airport, with its takeoff and landing strips and technical services, is also an obstacle to the development of the city. In its time, it was located in a suburb. Today, however, it is situated in the heart of the four rayons, and is essentially the geographic center of Bryansk.



Despite all the difficulties, the city is growing and becoming more beautiful. A great deal was accomplished in developing it under the 10th Five-Year Plan, as well. Within that period, more than 760,000 square meters of housing were built, and 27,000 families were able to improve their housing conditions. The city was embellished thanks to the tall buildings of the two design institutes, and the buildings of the construction and physical culture technical schools.

The Children's City in Volodarskiy Rayon, the Palace of Culture imeni Medvedev, specialized stores, the House of Services, the interurban telephone station, lovingly equipped kindergartens and nurseries, new sports facilities, monuments and parks cannot but please the people of Bryansk, who have a tremendous love for their city and respect for its traditions.

The speeches by Ye. Ya. Yevdokimov, city executive committee chairman; L. P. Rastorguyev, manager of the Gorpromstroy Trust; A. M. Gvanovskaya, chairman of the education workers trade union city party committee; L. V. Vinnikova, a saleswoman at the Detskiy Mir store; I. M. Il'yent, senior sector inspector; and others, discussed mainly the development of the city and the resolution of social problems affecting the vital interests of the citizens.

The residents are responding as warmly as possible to the appeals of the city party committee and the city executive committee for their participation in improving their native city. It is they precisely who have transformed many streets into veritable flower gardens. The number of plazas, lawns and flower beds is increasing year after year. Today there are almost 23 square meters of green area per Bryansk resident. The people of Bryansk are not only landscaping their streets, but are also improving the planted areas--poplars are being replaced with birches, maples and mountain ash.

A characteristic example is provided by the construction of vegetable storage bins. During the ceremony at which the city was awarded the order of the October Revolution, Comrade M. A. Suslov recalled Lenin's words to the procurement workers in Bryanskaya and other oblasts. Vladimir Il'ich described the shipping and economic utilization of potatoes as a combat task (see "Leninskiy Sbornik XXIII" [Leninist Collection XXIII], p 134). To this day, the party members regard this as a combat assignment. When they appealed to the citizens to participate in the building of the vegetable storage bin, the party committee explained that their efforts would to a great extent determine the fate of the crop being raised by Bryansk area farmers. Thousands of Bryansk citizens helped the construction workers to build huge vegetable storage areas of a new design, in which vegetables retain their excellent qualities from the time they are delivered until the beginning of the following summer.

Today, every urban resident can clearly see the results of the joint effort done: the stores are always supplied with properly packaged fresh potatoes, carrots, beets, radishes and onions.

These and many other details of the way of life in Bryansk can only be pleasing. However, while mentioning such happy changes, the delegates focused mainly on the problems as yet to be resolved.

The main problem is the existence of major shortcomings in capital construction and the lag in its material base. The oblast and city party organizations have done a great deal to insure a more rapid increase in the capacity of contracting organizations, and to improve their activities. However, as in the past, capital investments are scattered among too many construction projects. The volume of unfinished construction is increasing year after year, while the quality of the projects completed is poor.

It is easy to find supposedly "objective reasons" to explain many shortcomings. However, the speakers focused mainly on the results of improper work done by the party organs themselves. The party stratum among construction workers with the leading skills remains considerably smaller than at industrial enterprises. For example, among the stone masons and plasterers, it is not even five percent. Party groups have been established in only one-third of all the construction brigades. The delegates pointed out that increasing the party's influence and upgrading the role of the primary party organizations in contracting subunits, along with painstaking work with leading cadres, must become major incentives for capital instruction improvements.

The October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum pointed out that control of the implementation of the housing construction plans is a direct assignment made by the Central Committee to party obkoms and gorkoms. The Bryansk Gorkom was criticized for failure to disseminate and propagandize the experience of the Orel construction workers in the organization of assembly lines-style continuous housing construction sufficiently actively and consistently. Too little attention is still being devoted to the work of the housing construction trust and the capital construction administration of the gorispolkom. The delegates emphasized that the Bryansk party members and all working people are confronted with major and extremely important problems pertaining to the drastic expansion of the city. On Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers approved a decree "On Measures for the Acceleration of the Economic and Social Development of Bryanskaya Oblast" in September 1979. The decree particularly stressed the need to improve social conditions and to build housing, schools, children's institutions, stores, hospitals and sports facilities.

On behalf of the party members and the whole population of Bryansk, the delegates expressed their warm gratitude to the party's Central Committee and personally to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for their tremendous concern and the attention they have devoted to the working people in the Bryansk area.

Speaking of Bryansk's future, T. M. Shmychkova, party group organizer of a brigade of plasterers and house painters, said:

"We realize that the implementation of the party's assignments will require of all of us the utmost exertion of effort, particularly since the construction workers are confronted with the honorable task of implementing the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Acceleration of the Economic and Social Development of Bryanskaya Oblast."

Major tasks lie ahead. As compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan, capital investments under the 11th Five-Year Plan will be increased by a factor of 1.6. A

new large-size panel plant will be built; the construction of the Pioneers' and Secondary School Students' Palace, a hotel to accommodate 500, a moving picture theater and concert hall, and new schools, hospitals and children's institutions will be completed.

Based on the party and government resolution on the accelerated development of the Bryansk area, the city party committee and the gorispolkom approved a decree calling for the launching of socialist competition in transforming Bryansk into a model city in terms of production effectiveness, culture and public order. The conference delegates assured the city party organization that they would spare no effort to implement the obligations assumed.

However, urban development problems, the solution of which does not depend on the people of Bryansk, exist. One is the result of departmental attitude adopted by many ministries, which when planning the development of their enterprises, fail to take into account the actual manpower available or the potential for supplying the new production capacities with electric power, heat and water. The ministries which allocate funds for the expansion of enterprises sometimes fail to allocate proper funds for the construction of housing, kindergartens, nurseries and cultural institutions.

Now that departmental enterprises have submitted their requests for the 11th Five-Year Plan, it is particularly important that these requests be considered objectively and in terms of specific local conditions. Let us take as an example the Bryansk Order of Lenin Highway Machinery Plant. The collective has housing problems, even in comparison with general housing needs. Yet for years on end, the machine builders have been leading production workers. Their achievements under the last five-year plan were substantial. The machine sets they produced for the speedy construction of highways of union importance earned them an excellent reputation in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Siberia. For the first year of the new five-year plan, the machine builders asked the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building to allocate 700,000 rubles for housing and sociocultural construction in addition to the funds needed for reconstruction. However, the ministry reduced the sum to 450,000. With this amount, the machine builders' hope of resolving their housing problem becomes rather problematical for the foreseeable future.

Other enterprises have concerns as well. The workers settlement of the Bryansk Worsted Association, located near the enterprise, has no secondary school. School-aged children (as many as 500) lose much time commuting to the city. For the past several years, the workers have been asking the Ministry of Light Industry to provide funds for the construction of a school. Thus far no positive answer has been received.

We believe that, in the light of the decree on Bryanskaya Oblast, the departments whose enterprises are located in this area will be able to find and appropriate additional funds to carry out the party's assignment.

The building of the new Bryansk airport is scheduled to begin under the 11th Five-Year Plan. This problem is of deep concern to all urban residents, for

following the completion of the project, new housing districts with high-rise buildings may be built on the site where the old airport was, to which the population living in the present wooden houses could move. This new rayon will become a part of the residential district of Sovetskiy and Bezhitskiy rayons, at which time Bryansk will take on its definitive aspect as a modern city. It is to be hoped that, on the basis of the requirements for the accelerated development of the Bryansk area, the organizations responsible for designing and building the airport will do everything possible to insure the rapid solution of this vital problem as well.

The gorkom's accountability report analyzed the style and methods of party work and its basic directions, in the light of the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress. The addresses delivered by many delegates also dealt with the level of observance of the norms of party life, the development of intraparty democracy, further improvement in the qualitative structure of party cadres, and their placement and upbringing. Such problems were discussed by P. A. Zasov, party committee secretary of the Bryanskiy Mashinostroitel'nyy Zavod Production Association; P. A. Kostin, of the city people's control committee; V. F. Soldatenkov, Komsomol gorkom first secretary; and others, in particular.

The delegates pointed out that the activities of primary party organizations were energized following the 25th congress. Party membership rose by almost 4,000. The party buro secretaries' and party group organizers' structure has improved. The educational standard for the entire city party organization has moved upward as more people have joined the organization. The increased activity of the primary party organizations was manifested particularly clearly during the current accountability and election campaign. One out of every two party members participated in the discussions which followed the accountability reports of the party committees, party buros and group organizers. The work of all of the speakers was deemed satisfactory.

The gorkom devotes serious concern to cadre problems. The flexible combination of mature workers and beginners is utilized skillfully in the selection and placement of cadres. The experience of the most initiative-minded and effective party buros and committees is summarized. Control over party members employed in soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations is improving. By giving them constant assistance, the gorkom is attempting to develop effective interaction among all the organizations, with a view to increasing the political and labor activeness of the working people and involving them in the administration of governmental affairs. On the whole, as the delegates noted, the standard for organizational-party work has improved noticeably in recent years. The work of the 33 reference-information centers which were established under the past five-year plan, following the example of the party organizations in Moscow, Smolensk and Chernigov, among other things, has contributed to this. These centers have become daily assistants to the party members engaged in organizational and ideological-educational work. Secretaries of primary party organizations, party group organizers, propagandists, political informants, and people's controllers can always come here for consultation and methodical advice, and for the materials they need for their work. The centers sponsor conferences, meetings and seminars on the main problems in party policy and on other current problems.

Many party organizations in Bryansk are supervising the activities of administrations properly and are struggling actively against violations of state discipline. They are encouraging the party members and all the working people to evidence a concerned attitude toward the work, to combat signs of negligence firmly, and to put an end to misuse of official positions, whitewashing and padding. In this connection, the accomplishments of the peoples controllers, of whom there are more than 20,500, are especially notable. In the period under consideration, they held more than 17,000 unannounced inspections. More than 10,000 people participated in investigations of the use of energy resources alone. Their active struggle against negligence resulted in the saving of 68 million kilowatt hours of electric power and 22,000 tons of conventional fuel in one year and nine months. Five managers lost their positions because of abuses and the padding of figures detected by the city and rayon people's control committees. Penalties or fines were imposed upon 515 individuals. Thorough control over the course of construction in the city and the work of trade, public catering and service enterprises is carried out.

The city party committee is making an intensive study and is disseminating the experience acquired by the primary and rayon organizations in organizational and ideological-educational work. The city party committee buro approved the undertaking of the Sovetskiy Raykom. For the past few years, voluntary departments, councils and commissions have been operating successfully in the rayon. They have broadened the potential of the apparatus and its influence on the more than 250 primary party organizations in the rayon considerably. The council on organizational work has put forth particularly effective efforts. It sponsors practical science conferences for the party aktiv and studies such problems as the educational role of party meetings and methods for improving individual work by party members, upgrading the activity of every party member, and improving long-term planning in shop party organizations and intrashop information. Practical recommendations, which are taken up by party buro and committee secretaries, are made on these and other problems.

The city party organizations are also implementing the experience of Fokinskiy Raykom, which is managing socialist competition skillfully and using party means for the extensive dissemination of labor initiatives. The gorkom was also interested in the experience acquired by the Volodarskiy Rayon organization, which succeeded in guaranteeing that all enterprises without exception fulfilled their state plans under the 10th Five-Year Plan. However, the problem of eliminating laggards has not as yet been resolved on a city-wide scale. It is true that there are also reasons for this which far exceed the jurisdiction of the city. But the practice of Volodarskiy Rayon demonstrates that party members can achieve a great deal through their own efforts.

The delegates pointed out with justification that the city party organization does not by any means fully carry out the decisions of local and superior party organs in all cases. This shortcoming can be corrected by improving control over the implementation of decisions, imitating the example of the Bezhitskiy Rayon party organization. Here a high standard is maintained in such work, and the results are evident: year after year the number of documents requiring control and the complaints received by the raykom are declining.

While making a positive assessment of the status of organizational-party and ideological-educational work, the conference also pointed to many shortcomings. In the period under consideration, the number of primary party organizations declined in some enterprises. The commissions in charge of control of administrative activities are still not acting with sufficient energy. The party gorkom was criticized for paying too little attention to small party organizations.

The participants in the conference discussed the status of party discipline in a number of city party organizations with concern. Indeed, one could not fail to be alarmed by the fact that since the last accountability and election campaign, dozens of party members have had to spend time in drying-out tanks, while some have also been criminally prosecuted. The gorkom's accountability report admitted self-critically that such phenomena are the result of omissions in educational work and insufficient exigency toward party members.

The city party organization is continuing to do a great deal with a view to implementing the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Valuable experience has been acquired from the widespread system of party and Komsomol education and economic training. Ideological, moral and labor upbringing is being promoted actively. The successes achieved by the people of Bryansk in the area of patriotic and international education have been reported in the central press on numerous occasions. The Bryansk people make a skillful use in their comprehensive ideological work of L. I. Brezhnev's books "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoy Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems in CPSU Ideological Work], "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which show how to improve party political work with the masses and describes the most effective methods and means of party work.

According to the delegates, the serious shortcomings to be found in ideological and political-educational work can largely be explained by the fact that a comprehensive approach to the problems is not being fully utilized. Work at home must be drastically improved, and individual work with people has not reached the required level.

After analyzing all aspects of the activities of the city party committee, the 31st conference of Bryansk party members unanimously recognized its work as satisfactory. The delegates expressed their confidence that the competition which has developed in the city will lead to new labor achievements, and that the results of the 26 weeks of shock labor summarized on the eve of the conference constitutes a worthy gift to the forthcoming party forum.

V. A. Profimov, a turner at the irrigation machines plant, said:

"We feel infinite workers' gratitude toward the Leninist Central Committee and to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally, because of their constant concern for the working people and their well-being and comprehensive development. Our plant is proof of the concern evidenced by the trade union and party organizations and the administration for the working people. This work and their attention inspires and augments our interest in and responsibility for the common cause. We wish to work as well and as productively as possible and to make fuller use of the new reserves

and opportunities for fulfilling party assignments ahead of schedule. These are not merely beautiful words. They represent the views and convictions of my fellow workers, who are always ready to dedicate all their efforts to the great cause of strengthening the power of our fatherland."

On behalf of all the party members, the Bryansk conference assured the CC CPSU and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, that the city party organization has always been, is now and will remain a loyal party detachment. It will always uphold the party's lofty ideals. The successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the production of above-plan goods, and the solution of major social problems are what the party members and all the working people of order-bearing Bryansk will report to the 26th party congress.

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CSO: 1802/8

**FROM POSITIONS OF GREAT EXIGENCY**

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 81-86

[Report by N. Plakhotnyy on the Chuvashskaya Oblast accountability and election party conference]

[Text] Vladimir Mayakovskiy quite aptly described the profound meaning of the constructive activities of the Soviet people:

The labor of the worker  
The grain of the peasant--  
It is on these  
Two axles  
That time  
Flows  
At full speed  
And all life  
Turns around it.

As time goes by, the efforts of the individual collectives and thus of cities, rayons, oblasts, republics and the entire country are revealed in their entire completeness and variety. At the same time, the new levels to be achieved--close and distant--become clearly evident. A sense of perspective is very necessary to people on the go. This is why we measure our past accomplishments against our future ones.

The party members in Chuvashiya discussed the results of their activities under the 10th Five-Year Plan at their party conference, which lasted two days, in a demanding way. Central problems in the republic's economic life were considered, problems on the solution of which the prosperity of the working people depends, in the final analysis.

The best words in the report submitted by I. P. Prokop'yev, first secretary of the party obkom, were addressed to the winners of the all-union socialist competition--the collectives of the Cheboksary electrical apparatus and machine building plants, the Kozlovo Automotive Trailers Combine, the Elektroprigor Association and the Chuvashkabel' Plant. On the day the conference began, more than 25,000 workers, 126 shocks and 5,600 shifts, sectors and brigades had reported the ahead of schedule fulfillment of their five-year programs.



The delegates representing the hydraulic construction project arrived at the conference in a mood of inspiration. The previous day, the country had learned that the Volga had been dammed at Novocheboksarsk, and that the flooding of the reservoir had begun. The electric power plant built here, in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, will represent the final link in the power system on this great Russian river. Its commissioning will establish conditions highly favorable to navigation along the most difficult sector, from Gor'kiy to Cheboksary, thus making the Volga almost entirely accessible to seagoing vessels. The water stock created in this area will suffice to irrigate hundreds of thousands of hectares in the Nonchernozem. According to the plan, conditions for the development of the fishing industry will be substantially improved. Finally, the old dream of the local residents--Chuvash, Mari and Russians--will come true: the dam will link the right and left bank of the Volga by means of a highway and a railroad.

The last five-year plan generously awarded new construction projects to the republic, more than ever before. Almost a hundred industrial enterprises, shops and production facilities were commissioned. A tremendous amount of work was done to insure the technical retooling of existing capacities: more than 170 shops and sectors were comprehensively mechanized, and the number of automated, assembly and conveyor belt lines was increased by almost one-quarter. Hundreds of new technological processes were put to use. As a result of all this, the production of more than 1,300 new types of goods was mastered, including 250 which were awarded the state Emblem of Quality.

The efforts of the party members and all the working people were clearly seen in the final results. Chuvash industry fulfilled its annual plan for basic technical and economic indicators. The volume of industrial output increased by 34 percent, and labor productivity augmented by 25 percent over the five-year period. Goods worth 102 million rubles over and above the figures stipulated in the 10th Five-Year Plan were produced.

Agrarian production--the second axis of the republic's economy--also developed more rapidly. A considerable contribution to this was made by the substantial material and financial aid from the state, provided within the framework of the program for the development of the Central Nonchernozem. In 4 years and 11 months 776.8 million rubles were invested in the development of this sector, i.e. more than during the Ninth Five-Year Plan by a factor of 1.4. In a word, the technical power of the countryside was substantially strengthened. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the sector's power-labor ratio increased by a factor of 1.8, while basic productive capital increased by a factor of 1.7. It was to be expected, therefore, that this generous support would be used properly.

"The 10th Five-Year Plan inspired our collective," A. Ye. Yevtikheyev, chairman of the Order of Lenin Pobeda Kolkhoz in Yalchikskiy Rayon, said at the conference, "and we decided to outstrip the planned figures. We succeeded: we overfulfilled the plan for social and economic development in its entirety."

This farm is with justification considered a frontrunner. Its working people set an example of a concerned attitude toward the land, as proved by their yields:

during the five-year plan, grain crops averaged 35.9 quintals per hectare, representing an addition of 8.2 quintals. Excellent indicators were achieved in animal husbandry. Here 525 quintals of milk and 170 quintals of meat are produced for every 100 hectares of farm land. The farm's income is 4,952,000 rubles (29.6 percent profitability). The earnings of kolkhoz members are increasing in proportion. A man/day is worth 4.97 rubles. Furthermore, each family receives various benefits and supplements in excess of 500 rubles per year from public funds.

Many positive examples in the various sectors of the republic's economy could be cited, although, as was pointed out at the conference, the experience of the innovators and leading collectives is even now not being used with proper skill or unvarying effectiveness. Greatly concerned, the speakers pointed to a fact mentioned in the report: the average annual rates of increase in output in industry and agriculture fell below the planned levels. During the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the Chuvash enterprises failed to deliver instruments, automation facilities and spare parts for them to the all-union fund worth 7.8 million rubles. The construction industry collectives also fell substantially behind.

The production and economic relations among labor collectives have become stronger and more complex today. Without question, this contributes to production effectiveness and intensification. The role of organizational work, functional operation and efficiency is increasing exceptionally in all units and at all levels. Naturally, requirements in terms of management style and methods have become stricter, for even the smallest error, a breakdown in a single sector, can be passed along the whole of the technological chain of similar enterprises, and can even affect related enterprises. For example, it was the fault of the construction workers at some of the reconstructed group B projects that completion deadlines for targeted capacities were violated. This soon had its effect on the work results of an entire group of factories and plants, while the trade organizations were left without needed quantities including millions of meters of cotton fabric, a large volume of knitted outer and under wear, furniture, sports equipment and other goods in general demand.

The agrarian sector of the economy also functioned below capacity. Most kolkhozes and sovkhoses failed to fulfill their plans for procurements of grain, potatoes and other vegetables and livestock products.

The party members had to undertake a profound study of the situation, establish the reasons for the lag, and draft measures to eliminate the errors. The lessons of the past provide invaluable practical experience. At the oblast party conference, a detailed study of the economic management practices in the republic, launched in the course of the accountability and election campaign, was continued. More than 7,300 critical remarks and suggestions were made at the party conferences held by shop party organizations, party groups, and rayon and city party conferences. They are proving of great value in the elimination of existing shortcomings and improving the style and methods of work of party, soviet, economic and other organs. Many party committees took functional steps to implement them, so that when the oblast party conference began, more than 3,000 suggestions and comments had already been acted upon.

The end national economic result is one of the leading criteria for assessing the practical activities of the party organization at a given production collective. It is on the basis of this principle that the party committee of the Cheboksary Industrial Tractor Plant was criticized harshly.

The plant has a very large collective and a detachment of party members 1,000 strong. However, its party staff sometimes falls short of full efficiency and purposefulness. Mastering the production of the T130 tractor which the country urgently needs, has already required 8 years. The process is dragging and is obviously failing to keep up with the current pace in scientific and technical progress. At the conference, the delegates stated that the champion of Soviet tractor manufacturing--the Stalingrad Tractor Plant--was built, as we know, in 1 year, and 1 year and 10 months later it had already reached production capacity: 144 tractors came off its assembly lines daily. Naturally, it is difficult to compare the 15 horse power STZ models with the contemporary giants made of steel. During the first five-year plans, however, they were regarded as technically perfect. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the output of the Cheboksary plant. The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum noted that the tractors produced here had major structural defects and were unsuited for the type of work for which they were designed. Now, actually, it is a question of developing a new model.

The conference harshly condemned the desire of some managers to place the blame on suppliers and related enterprises for their own omissions and errors. Such an attitude creates a situation of dependence and decreases the attention which should be focused on internal potential. The delegates also called for increased exigency with regard to cadres in connection with the drafting of taut yet realistic and carefully weighed plans. The cadres must devote greater energy to incorporating all participants in the production process and all members of the labor collectives in planning.

Everyday practical experience demonstrates convincingly that the level of party leadership is determined by the extent to which the party masses participate in collective affairs. Increased activity on the part of party members actually means an increase in the influence they have on all aspects of production life and educational activities. Naturally, the report and the speeches, with full justification, analyze the practical work of the primary party organizations and the content and methods in connection with such work at length.

M. I. Kubareva, a coiler at the Cheboksary Elektropribor Production Association, shared her experience in primary party work in the shop. Her production sector fulfilled its five-year program 3 months ahead of schedule. Above plan output totaled more than 400,000 rubles. The brigade members reached their planned level with confidence, for at the very beginning of the five-year plans, their pledges were computed accurately and given engineering support.

"The atmosphere in any collective, large or small, must be such as to enable every participant in the production process to realize the need to act as an organizer, regardless of his official position," M. I. Kubareva said. "However, organizational qualities must be continually developed in people. In our view, the method we have found is rather effective, calling for party members to submit reports. Such

measures give the people an even greater sense of unity. They strengthen the feeling of cohesiveness and common interest among them. This is why the discussions are stormy, lacking any tolerance or ostentation. Usually the discussions cover production, education, labor effectiveness and quality matters. The practical value of our reports lies in the fact that every party member becomes profoundly aware of his responsibility for collective affairs. We have basically no violators of labor discipline or stragglers. When we note shortcomings, we try to understand them thoroughly, and in the final analysis, to achieve our purpose. Frankness and criticism are our best aids."

This was a very topical subject, for specific examples of the formalistic attitude adopted by some officials in carrying out their obligations were cited at the conference. This usually happens where party committees forget their role in the enterprises or establishments. The delegates made particular reference to the following instance: the party committee at the Niva Sovkhoz, Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, became less exigent with regard to individual party members. As a result, an atmosphere of complacency and carelessness developed. The authority enjoyed by individual comrades was exaggerated beyond reason, and many workers spent their time trying to clarify the status of relations. In the past 6 years, there have been almost two dozen chief specialists. Naturally, this inevitably affected the results of farming. In the end, the sovkhoz lost the position it had won at the cost of much effort.

In our society, the party and its local organs enjoy extraordinary prestige. The party activists who view their functions simplistically--merely noting shortcomings and errors, without adopting effective measures, or attempting to "keep the skeletons in the closet" in order to avoid undermining the prestige of the managers--render poor service to the cause. Without a consistent level of demand, without Leninist exigency the delegate said, the cadres cannot develop profound respect for the plan and for discipline, as well as an awareness of their personal responsibility for the final results. This precisely is where the role of party control of administrative activities comes in. Unfortunately, this area of intraparty activity was not discussed in detail at the conference. This was consistent with the situation, for we know that the success of any project is in the main determined by the extent to which decisions are substantiated and well thought out. This involves a specific definition of control and execution assignments, for they are a structural component in party organizational activity at all levels. Wherever control is not efficient enough, duplication develops, cadre responsibility declines, and the number of various kinds of totally unnecessary references and written reports multiply.

Yu. G. Serebryakov, first secretary of the Alatyrskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, focused attention on this circumstance. He noted that the obkom sectorial departments often become overinvolved in day to day affairs, while the solution of current problems outside the realm of party committee responsibilities absorbs their attention to the detriment of live organizational work. For example, in the past 2 years, the raykom has submitted 68 detailed items of information to Cheboksary. Naturally, this forced the party apparatus to neglect more important and more urgent matters.

During the debates, some of the participants in the conference, as they exchanged impressions, recalled that only 6 months earlier, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA had published a detailed study of the work style of the construction department of the Chuvashskaya Oblast Party Committee. The construction situation had aroused considerable concern, and it had already become clear that the five-year plan might go unfulfilled. In this connection, it should be pointed out that work worth 43.1 million rubles was not completed over a period of 4 years and 11 months. The number of long delayed projects increased: at the beginning of 1979, there were 475 of them; a year later, the number had doubled.

The oblast party committee could not fail to be concerned about the situation developing in the sector. In the first quarter of 1980, the oblast party committee discussed production problems on six different occasions. However, it failed to focus on the central problems, but discussed individual situations instead: the newspaper pointed out that the resolution stipulated a strict deadline "for the delivery of 143 fencing panels and 3,500 cubic meters of sand and 7,200 cubic meters of gravel..." Was it necessary to approve a party resolution on the building of fences or the hauling of sand? It would have been better to take the economic managers who had adopted an irresponsible attitude toward their assignment to task more strictly. By assuming administrative-executive functions, the bureau evidenced tolerance of the specific culprits. This hardly contributed to the education of cadres in a sense of obligation and efficiency. At the beginning of the year, sectorial managers are usually generous with their promises, and they assume major obligations. For a while, they are regarded as heroes. However, if they fail, they seek excuses, referring to "objective" difficulties, usually manpower shortages. The real reasons, however, lie elsewhere. For example, the report provided the following figures: in the last 18 months, 116,900 work days were lost due to idling, absenteeism or absence from work with the permission of the administration. This far exceeds any acceptable norm. Specialists have estimated that the extensive use of the new cost effectiveness method (the Zlobin method) could increase labor productivity by 40 percent, without increasing outlays. Such is the nature of hitherto unutilized reserves.

Strange though it may seem Ye. A. Tertyshnyy, head of the Chuvash Territorial Construction Administration, failed to discuss this exceptionally topical problem, although practical experience has fully confirmed the fact that brigade cost effectiveness must be regarded not merely as a tempting novelty which might be put to use or postponed. The Zlobin method is fully consistent with contemporary production requirements and with the interests of the sectorial workers. The ability to take people to task for failures directly related to losses is yet another party characteristic, and therefore evidence of an active attitude toward the work.

One of the characteristics of the conference should not be ignored: when the delegates took the floor, they did not discuss only their own, strictly departmental problems. In particular, much attention was devoted to various aspects of farm work. Furthermore, they did not refer only to the people directly involved in this sector.

In recent years, substantial changes have occurred in the republic's agricultural sector, although not all problems, naturally, have been resolved. Difficulties are

encountered in supplying food products to cities and industrial centers, in particular, meat. Strictly speaking, this is precisely the reason for the urgent need to develop kolkhoz and sovkhos production at a more rapid pace.

Our most important task under the 11th Five-Year Plan again is to insure the further development of the well-being of the working people. This is precisely why the party is drafting a target food program, the stipulations of which were codified in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." The discussion of this document was a separate item on the conference agenda. The main speaker was L. P. Prokop'yev, Chuvashskaya ASSR Council of Ministers chairman.

Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the Chuvash kolkhozes and sovkhozes took decisive steps to intensify production. They involved, first of all, specialization and concentration and interfarm cooperation. Currently, specialized farms account for 70 percent of the total production of hops and vegetables, 40 percent of the pork and numerous other items. The best farms had achieved good results by the end of the five-year plan, thus proving how effective work can become if it is properly divided and highly mechanized. For example, the Aurora and Leninets kolkhozes in Yadrinskiy Rayon, the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev in Cheboksarskiy Rayon, the Yuzhnyy Hog Breeding Complex, the Yadrinskiy Sovkhos and the Cheboksarskaya Poultry Farm have become major suppliers of livestock products, and justifiably won positions in the ranks of winners in the all-union socialist competition. They have been awarded the Red Challenge Banner.

What can be said about the other farms? Most of them fall somewhere in the middle, and it is they of course who are responsible for the average production level which, moreover, is low. For example, grain crop yields average 14-15 quintals per hectare. Naturally this causes substantial difficulties in fulfilling the plan for the marketing of agricultural commodities. The republic has been quite unsuccessful in "straightening out its lines" and organizing a confident common advance along the entire front. It is true that weather conditions were unfavorable to these intentions, to a certain extent, although circumstances were the same for all. But the end results of the work of the leading farms bear no comparison with the work of the laggards. The gap is widening with every passing year. Potato, vegetable and feed crop yields have remained at a low level. Annual and perennial hay crops never exceed 17-19 quintals per hectare. Corn for silage averages 115 to 120 quintals. This is why the livestock farms can meet only 50 to 60 percent of their needs. In the past 5 years, the republic failed to deliver 226,000 tons of grain, 589,000 tons of potatoes, and large quantities of vegetables and livestock products to the union food fund.

Production costs have gone up as a result of reduced output and violations of the regimen for economy in the use of material and financial resources. Many rayons fail to implement the comprehensive organizational and economic measures drafted by republic organs in order to urge the stragglers on.

In the course of their extensive analysis of the situation in agriculture, the speakers noted that the party obkom, its agricultural department in particular,

often fell short of the needed persistence and consistency in guaranteeing the implementation of measures. This was reflected in the status of the animal husbandry sectors in particular. Good results were achieved by the farms which used opportunities for cooperation in the very first stage of the sector's reorganization, results which were subsequently consolidated. The following example was cited: as a result of joint effort, the Sovkhoz imeni XXV Partii"yezda in Urmarskiy Rayon mastered the planned capacity of the calf fattening complex rapidly. During the five-year period, the farm sold 5,300 pregnant heifers instead of 4,500 as planned. This improved the cow breed at all rayon farms substantially, and this was subsequently reflected in the overall productivity of the milk herd.

Practical experience has shown that specialization combined with cooperation is the only true method leading to the further development of our agricultural production, and a guarantee of successful implementation of the party's food target program. As experience has shown, stable rates and economic growth are achieved when farms specialize and when various sectors adopt industrial work systems.

However, major errors occurred in the organization of large livestock complexes. Some rayon and farm managers failed to take consequences into account and tried to resolve animal husbandry development problems without adequate scientific support or the necessary level of comprehensiveness. "The planned capacity of our complexes," said P. A. Kovrigina, head of the large stock farm of the Mayak Kolkhoz in Poretskiy Rayon, "is 200 tons of pork per year. However, we will fall far short of this target, for some of our premises are not yet ready and therefore, the technological cycle has been violated."

Without question, the future belongs to the large livestock farms. Naturally, however, when undertaking the implementation of such a responsible project, all the arguments should have been weighed more carefully, and on that basis, an accurate course should have been charted and the existing forces and potential should have been accurately estimated. Unfortunately, those in charge of the reorganization did not bother to undertake the necessary studies. This created an insurmountable gap between the program forecasts and the actual current potential... After investing substantial funds in the development of animal husbandry, many farms failed to obtain the estimated returns. The following fact was pointed out: in Kozlovskiy Rayon, a hog breeding complex to accommodate 24,000 animals was completed more than 6 years ago. However, like that in the Mayak Kolkhoz, it has not by any means reached planned capacity. The speaker quoted summarized figures for the republic: by the end of the year, the production facilities at interfarm hog and cattle-breeding complexes were operating at only 60-90 percent of capacity.

In a word, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses failed to make the best possible use of the tremendous resources which were appropriated for the development of agrarian production in the Nonchernozem. The bulk of the funds went to animal husbandry, with a smaller amount being channeled into crop growing. Obviously, the elementary peasant truth to the effect that the land is the mother of all wealth received too little attention here.

What use was made of the funds not utilized for crop growing? To serve the best interests of the project, a considerable percentage of such funds should have been

channeled into upgrading the breeding quality of the herds and the building of feed shops. It was precisely this which the farsighted farmers did. However, they were in the minority. The bulk of the funds went into the building of livestock premises which are currently half empty. Furthermore, there is a shortage of feed, for the funds needed to strengthen the fodder base were not appropriated.

"The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress emphasized the need to improve economic management and to increase the responsibility of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises and their managers for their assignments and for work results, for insuring the strict implementation of the assignments of the national economic plan and the decisions of directival organs, as well as the strict observance of state and planning discipline," said M. I. Korotkov, first secretary of the Tsvil'skiy Rayon Party Committee. "This must become a social law. In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the work style of the republic's Ministry of Agriculture. Lately, the apparatus and the organs, trusts and associations of the ministry have expanded considerably, and they employ several hundred people. However, their influence on the situation in the sector is not meeting current requirements. The ministry's personnel engage in paper shuffling. They resort to bureaucratic methods and rarely visit the farms."

Other delegates also criticized the agricultural department, which strange as it might seem, devotes a great deal of effort and time to intermediary indicators. It controls the areas planted to crops and the existing cattle herds, as well as the ways and means of implementing farm campaigns, but it shows hardly any interest in the extent to which basic production capital--the land--is used. Instead of providing specific aid to farm workers on the spot, self-evident instructions are issued. For example: "Each hectare of farmland must yield maximal returns;" "each hectare must have its master;" "each kolkhoz and sovkhov must improve the structure of the areas planted to crops;" "inter-row cultivation must be prompt and of high quality;" "grass crops must be mowed on time;" and so on. The following example was given: a clearly unplanned planted crop area structure was imposed upon the kolkhozes and sovkhoves in Alatyrskiy Rayon. Barley accounted for the lion's share--50 percent. "Officials" no land was left fallow. This reduced yields and did tremendous harm to the farmland.

The system for the selection, placement and training of cadres, particularly those on the middle level, was analyzed carefully at the conference. Many so-called practical workers, lacking the proper education and training, are still heading brigades, livestock farms, sectors and other production subunits in kolkhozes, sovkhoves, construction organizations and industrial enterprises. Only 22-26 percent of such responsible positions in Alikovski, Krasnoarmeyski and Krasnochetayski rayons are occupied by specialists with degrees. Few of the newly arrived reinforcements of VUZ and technical school graduates are assigned to sectorial subunits. There are several reasons for this, the main one being that few managers of labor collectives and local power organs show true party concern for the young specialists, especially those on the front lines in the production process. Yet there are examples in the republic of the successful solution of the cadre problem involving this category of personnel which could be cited. It was generally acknowledged that the successful work of the farms in Yal'chikski Rayon was due to the fact that most of the positions in the decisive production sectors there



are held by highly skilled personnel. The people there did not limit themselves to determined replacement of the inadequate and professionally incompetent managers of livestock farms, brigades and sections. The plan for the social development of labor collectives called for the systematic saturation of production sectors with specialist-organizers. This is being accomplished in two ways: by appointing young VUZ and technical school graduates to command positions, and by organizing the training of promising managers and practical workers in retraining and skill improvement courses.

The delegates expressed the view that the lag allowed in agrarian production could be overcome more rapidly and successfully if the oblast party organization and the party gorkoms and raykoms paid more attention to training cadres in a spirit of innovation and creative activity. As the experience of the best labor collectives and primary party organizations indicate, success depends greatly on the extent to which decisions are planned and substantiated and result from a serious and thorough study of the situation and profound collective analysis.

It was thus that the Chuvash party members analyzed the various aspects of their activities from the standpoint of strict contemporary requirements. "The only source from which the national wealth can be multiplied is labor," the CC CPSU draft guideline for the 26th congress emphasize. "Society can distribute only that which has been produced. Therefore, the better the results of labor, the more powerful the socialist homeland will become, the better personal and social needs will be satisfied, and the higher the living standard of the Soviet people will be."

The execution of the tremendous tasks and plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan will demand intensified political and organizational work in all areas of social life of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs in Chuvashiya. The speakers emphasized that particular attention should be devoted here to improving control, upgrading the level of economic management in all economic units, and developing the initiative and creative activity of the toiling masses. A great deal remains to be done with a view to increasing the effectiveness and improving the quality of the work of workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia, through the systematic pursuit of a policy of strengthening the scientific and technical potential of all economic sectors.

Expressing the will of the party members and all of the working people in the republic, the delegates to the Chuvashskaya Oblast party conference voiced their firm determination to orient their organizational, political and ideological work toward the further development of the socialist competition for the successful implementation of the 11th FiveYear Plan and the important assignments which will be formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress.

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## SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 87-98

[Article by Marshall of the Soviet Union and Twice Hero of the Soviet Union K. Moskalenko, USSR deputy minister of defence, on the occasion of the centennial of K. Ye. Voroshilov's birth]

[Text] The date was 30 January 1934... the Ninth Session of the 17th VKP(b) was being held. Chairman P. P. Postyshev gave the floor to Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, people's commissar for military and maritime affairs. The delegates to and guests at the congress welcomed the civil war hero and head of the Red Army with a stormy ovation as he mounted the rostrum. They listened with particular attention to his speech, for naturally, the question of strengthening the country's defense capability was regarded by those present as a vital matter affecting the party and the entire people. It was this speech which informed every party member and Soviet citizen, our friends and our enemies abroad, of the drastically increased technical equipment provided to the armed forces of the proletarian state as a reflection of the achievements of the Soviet people in the development of the national economy, and the high level of combat readiness and the excellent political-moral condition of the personnel achieved as a result of the unparalleled successes achieved in the spiritual development of Soviet society and the strengthening of its moral-political unity.

Voroshilov emphasized that thanks to the tireless concern of the communist party, "We have an entirely modern army today, loyal to the cause of socialism, strong, in a word, good. Our armed forces are fully consistent with the level of development in our country, the tempestuous growth of which they have not failed to match, and behind which they would not dare to lag even by one step" ("XVII S'yezd Vsesoyuznoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii (b). 26 Yanvarya-10 Fevralya 1934 g. Stenograficheskiy Otchet" [17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). 26 January-10 February 1934. Shorthand Report]. Partizdat, Moscow 1934, p 228). This confident statement, made from the most authoritative rostrum, reflected not only the assessment of the first workers and peasants army in the world, but also its aspiration to increase its combat might steadily and to insure the reliable defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov was born on 4 February (23 January) 1881 into the family of a railroad worker in Lugansk. Beginning at an early age, he was familiar with the hardships of exploited hired labor and the injustice of the bourgeois-landlord system. Most of his education consisted of contacts with rebellious

individuals and the reading of revolutionary publications. At the age of 17, worker Klim Voroshilov had already realized that the only proper means for the struggle against tsarism was the unification of the proletariat and the awakening of its class consciousness. His first revolutionary step was to participate in the organization of a workers circle at a plant belonging to the Donetsk-Yur'yev Metallurgical Company (DYUMO) in 1898.

The members of the circle, who began with self education, and in particular the study of the "Communist Party Manifesto," broadened their links with the working people, conducted political agitation work among them, and explained to them the reasons for the intolerable situation of the working class in Russia. It was here precisely that K. Ye. Voroshilov began his career as a professional revolutionary. His name is linked with all of the subsequent struggle waged by the Donetsk workers. In his search for work, Voroshilov crossed the whole of the Donbass, and a considerable part of the Ukraine. In 1903 he returned to Lugansk, and found a job at the Gartman Plant. It was there, in a proletarian environment, that his further development as a revolutionary and as an acknowledged workers' leader occurred. It was there that he became a soldier in the inchoate Leninist party.

By the time of the 1905-1907 Revolution, K. Ye. Voroshilov was already a Bolshevik, and he played an active role in its stormy events. In February, 1905, he became one of the organizers of the strike of the Lugansk workers and he formulated demands on their behalf which were presented to the management of the Gartman plant. Yielding to the workers' pressure, the entrepreneurs reached an agreement which they were in no hurry to honor. The workers' movement expanded and a meeting of workers deputies (which subsequently became the soviet of workers deputies) was established in Lugansk to manage it. K. Ye. Voroshilov was made a member of the executive committee of this proletarian organ.

In the spring and summer of 1905, a wave of strikes spread throughout the country. The movement spread to Lugansk industry, as well. As before, the movement was headed by the meeting of workers deputies, whose goal was to insure strict implementation of the February agreement reached by the plant owners and the proletariat. The police dispersed the July strikers in Lugansk fiercely. Many of the strike's leaders, Voroshilov included, were detained. It was thus that the young revolutionary became acquainted with tsarist jails.

Despite the repressive measures adopted by the authorities, the revolutionary wave was rising in Russia and gathering strength. The Donbass workers too energized their actions. They forced the tsarist oprichniks to release Voroshilov and his comrades, who immediately assumed the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

As was the case everywhere else in the country, the workers' uprising in Lugansk was suppressed. The Bolshevik organizations suffered severe losses. However, in the course of the revolution, the workers' masses realized that victory was possible and that the unification of their ranks was necessary.

To Kliment Yefremovich, the year 1905 was one of difficult trials and major revolutionary tempering. As the leader of the proletarian masses, he gained new

experience, derived lessons from defeat, and acquired a reputation as an unyielding combatant among the workers. It was thus that the young working boy developed into a fiery revolutionary, infinitely loyal to the cause of the proletarian party. In worthy fashion, he pursued the path of struggle for the liberation of the working class and for socialism, a path he had chosen in his earlier youth, to the end.

The defeat of the first Russian revolution aggravated intraparty relations. A variety of opportunists, liquidationists and secessionists opposed the Leninist line calling for the party and revolutionary forces to rally and to undertake preparations for a new upsurge in the class struggle. A struggle for the preservation and strengthening of the party developed, and K. Ye. Voroshilov took part in it as one of the active fighters in the Leninist guard. He was one of the organizers of the boycott of the First State Duma in the Donbass. He was elected a delegate to the Fourth (Unification) Party Congress as a representative of the Lugansk Bolsheviks, and he carried out extensive work in preparation for the congress.

K. Ye. Voroshilov adopted a firm Leninist position. His initial encounter with Vladimir Il'ich took place shortly before the congress began, while during it, he met many Leninist revolutionaries such as A. S. Bubnov, J. V. Stalin, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, and S. G. Shaumyan. Kliment Yefremovich became particularly close to M. I. Kalinin, F. A. Sergeev (Artem) and M. V. Frunze.

The resolutions adopted at the Fourth Stockholm Congress and Lenin's speech at the congress pointed the way for the envoy of the Lugansk Bolsheviks to the further struggle against autocracy. In Lugansk, K. Ye. Voroshilov headed the RSDWP Committee and the soviet of workers' deputies, and for all practical purposes, he assumed leadership of the revolutionary movement in the city and its environment. It was at his urging that DONETSKIY KOLOKOL, the first proletarian newspaper in the Donbass, was founded and published.

The active work done by the Bolsheviks among the workers contributed to the inflexible pursuit of the Leninist path by the bulk of the Donetsk proletariat in their revolutionary struggle. This was to the great credit of Voroshilov. He was elected by the Lugansk RSDWP organization, which had become a Bolshevik center in the Donbass, to be its delegate to the Fifth London Party Congress, where once again, he proved himself to be a consistent Leninist.

Between 1907 and 1914, K. Ye. Voroshilov engaged in clandestine party work in the Donbass, Baku and Tsaritsyn. He was arrested twice, jailed and sent into exile to the northern part of the country.

In May 1915, Voroshilov moved to Petrograd, where he immediately established contact with the Bolsheviks and joined in their revolutionary activities. During the February 1917 Revolution, he did particularly important work among the soldiers of the Izmaylovskiy Guards Regiment, and among the proletariat at the Putilov Plant. Under Voroshilov's influence, and at his urging, the Izmaylovskiy soldiers refused to fire on the workers during the 28 February demonstration. The

Izmaylovskiy soldiers elected him to serve as their representative in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. In the soviet, together with the other Bolsheviks, he opposed the bourgeois Provisional Government and the dominance of the Mensheviks and the S.R., who were betraying the revolution.

The interests of the revolution required that the Bolshevik influence be increased, not only in the capital but in the other industrial centers as well. The Lugansk party committee called upon Voroshilov to return to the Donbass. At the end of March 1917, on the instructions of the party's Central Committee, he went to Lugansk, where the Leninists, who knew their compatriot well, immediately elected him to serve as chairman of the Bolshevik committee and as a soviet deputy. Here again, a sharp struggle developed under his leadership against the Mensheviks, the S.R., and the representatives of the Provisional Government, who had seized power and were exerting a certain influence on the workers.

The struggle was becoming increasingly successful. In the spring, the Bolsheviks unanimously adopted Lenin's April theses as their guideline, and made Lugansk a party citadel in the south of Russia. In June, they organized a workers' demonstration under the slogans "All Power to the Soviets!," "Down With the Capitalist Ministers!," and "Long Live Socialism!"

The situation became tenser in the country by the middle of the summer of 1917. The firing on a workers' demonstration in Petrograd on 4 July, showing that the counterrevolutionary coup had become an accomplished fact, was the signal indicating the need to prepare an armed uprising. The Sixth Party Congress met in an atmosphere of frenzied reaction. The Lugansk Bolsheviks were represented by K. Ye. Voroshilov and A. Z. Kamenskiy. After the congress, the Lugansk Bolshevik committee concentrated on expanding its influence among the trade unions and the other workers' organizations. A salvation committee was established in order to defend the revolutionary gains. Workers' units were armed, explanatory work was carried out among the troops, reactionary officers were detained, while the soldiers took the side of the Bolsheviks. A parade of revolutionary troops was held in Lugansk on 30 August. Real power there shifted to the soviet, headed by the Bolsheviks. In reporting this fact to the RSDWP(b) Central Committee, Kliment Yefremovich wrote: "...We in Lugansk have seized not only all plant committees, trade unions, the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, but the city дума as well... The mood of all workers is better than excellent... We enjoy infinite influence, not only in the town but in the uyezd..." The influence of the Bolsheviks in Lugansk was so great that the counterrevolution there did not dare to undertake any kind of organized action.

The Lugansk workers welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution and the decrees of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets with jubilation. They sent Bolshevik K. Ye. Voroshilov and Yu. Kh. Lutovinov to the Constituent Assembly.

Voroshilov reached Petrograd at the end of November 1917 to participate in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, and he remained in the capital for some time. The Soviet government assigned him the task of dismantling the Petrograd city authorities and setting up a special body to preserve revolutionary order in

the city. He was appointed a member of the VChK [All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage], and he was made chairman of the committee for the protection of Petrograd, as well as its commissar in charge of civil affairs. In the process of carrying out his numerous and complex duties, Kliment Yefremovich met frequently with Lenin and Dzerzhinskiy, and he learned from them how to work. K. Ye. Voroshilov's long and fruitful activities in the area of defense of the socialist fatherland began at the end of 1917.

The situation in the country was alarming in January 1918. The kaiser's German troops had resumed military operations against the young Soviet republic. The party's Central Committee and the Soviet government were taking urgent steps to preserve the revolution. A decree establishing the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was passed by the Sovnarkom on 15 January; Lenin's decree-appeal "The Social Fatherland Is in Danger!" was issued in February.

K. Ye. Voroshilov participated actively in the implementation of these decrees. As Petrograd's commissar and head of its defense, he took part in raising detachments of volunteer workers, organized their training and directed the building of defense installations. The initial success achieved by the Red Army at Pskov and Narva somewhat eased the tension in Petrograd. The danger of further counterrevolutionary sallies increased, however, and the party did everything possible to arm the workers and to create a reliable revolutionary army. To this end, the arsenal of the revolution was being developed in the Donetsk-Krivoy Rog Basin. The party assigned Voroshilov the task of strengthening the management of this sector of such great importance to the strengthening of the defense of the Soviet republic in February 1918. He was elected a member of the bureau of the Southern Oblast National Economic Council, and he did active organizational and economic work there. However, this period was of short duration.

The German interventionists were advancing in the Ukraine, and once again the party gave Kliment Yefremovich the assignment of participating in organizing the forces to repel the enemy's invasion. Together with A. Ya. Parkhomenko, D. P. Rud', and other Bolsheviks, he developed armored train crews and partisan detachments and, heading these groups, he went to the front in March. On 27 March, the partisan detachments commanded by Voroshilov joined the aggressors in battle in the vicinity of Konotop. This marked the beginning of the combat activities of the proletarian military leader.

Partisan detachments consisting basically of workers, evidenced courage and determination in battle. However, the circumstances deteriorated because of the advance of White Cossacks on the Donbass. This important industrial area was defended by the Fifth Ukrainian Army, commanded by K. Ye. Voroshilov. Surrounded, his troops fought hard and then, under pressure from superior enemy forces, they withdrew toward Tsaritsyn.

At the beginning of July, on orders from the commander of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Military District, the forces making up the Third and Fifth Armies, which had retreated toward Tsaritsyn, and some other units and formations in the area of the city were merged with the 10th Army, headed by K. Ye. Voroshilov. Furthermore,

Kliment Yefremovich was appointed deputy commander and a member of the revolutionary council of the Southern Front Revolutionary Council. He became one of the organizers of the legendary defense of Tsaritsyn, headed mobilization operations, improved troop command, and developed flexible troop formations, columns of armored trains and partisan detachments. Voroshilov fought personally at the height of the defense battles. His fiery words and personal heroism inspired the troops.

It was to K. Ye. Voroshilov's tremendous credit that, together with G. K. Ordzhonikidze, J. V. Stalin and other Bolsheviks, he waged a decisive struggle against the attempts of Trotskiy and his supporters to break down the southern front. Tsaritsyn was defended successfully, at the cost of tremendous effort and sacrifice, and the initiative was assumed in all the key directions. At the Eighth Party Congress, Lenin said that the heroism of Tsaritsyn's defenders would rank high among the deeds of the Russian revolutionary movement. He also criticized the supporters of the military opposition for their refusal to use military specialists, their insistence on partisan methods in the organization and combat operations of the troops, and their slow conversion to a regular, strictly organized and disciplined army.

The revolution in Germany in the autumn of 1918 made it possible to abrogate the harsh Brest Peace Treaty. The Soviet system was restored on the territory liberated from the enemy's invasion. A provisional worker-peasant government, in which K. Ye. Voroshilov participated, was established in the Ukraine in November. Voroshilov was appointed to serve as the republic's people's commissar for internal affairs. He was made secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine at the Third Communist Party of the Ukraine Congress in March.

K. Ye. Voroshilov played an important role in the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet system in the Ukraine. His organizational talents developed even further there. He was elected to membership in the VUTsIK [All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee] at the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, and subsequently became a member of its presidium. Combining the duties of a member of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine Central Committee, a VUTsIK Presidium member, and people's commissar of internal affairs, K. Ye. Voroshilov worked extensively on the organization of the defense of the republic against the counterrevolution, to create militia organs, and to eliminate gangs and counter-revolutionary conspiracies. In May 1919, he headed the liquidation of a large anti-Soviet mutiny led by Grigor'yev, a stooge of the bourgeoisie.

After the defeat of the Grigor'yev gangs, the party once again sent Voroshilov to his native region. Together with V. I. Mezhlauk and other Bolsheviks, he accomplished tremendous work in organizing the means and forces for the defense of the Donbass and for resistance against the enemy. On orders from the RVSR [Republic Revolutionary Military Council], K. Ye. Voroshilov was appointed commander of the newly organized 14th Army and commander of the Internal Ukrainian Front, in June 1919.

The southern front became crucial in the summer of 1919. Thanks to the counterrevolution in the center of the country and the foreign imperialists, Denikin was

hoping to capture Moscow in the autumn. The young Soviet republic found itself in an extremely difficult situation. The party and the Soviet government were taking every possible step to organize the resistance to Denikin's troops. Once again, Lenin's call "All in the Struggle Against Denikin!" was heard. The party organizations sent their best forces and command and political cadres to the front.

The battle against Denikin, who commanded vast mounted units, demanded that substantial mounted forces be mobilized by the Red Army. The republic's Revolutionary Military Council decided to expand the Cavalry Corps into the First Mounted Army. S. M. Budennyi was appointed army commander, while K. Ye. Voroshilov was made a member of the Revolutionary Military Council. Much effort was devoted to turning the semi-guerrilla mounted formations into a regular, well organized cavalry force. Not only Voroshilov's command talents, but his outstanding merit as a commissar-party member and organizer of the political education of troops and commanders, were brilliantly displayed in his work with the First Mounted Army. Noting these qualities in his fellow soldier, S. M. Budennyi wrote: "His name is closely linked with the history of the First Mounted Army as one of the central figures in the command of its combat operations, and in particular, the management of party-political work in this quite complex and specific combat body" (S. M. Budennyi, "Krasnaya Konnitsa" [The Red Cavalry], Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p 40).

Kliment Yefremovich was always in the heart of the Red Army masses, and he enjoyed a tremendous reputation with the troops. His skill as an army commander, inordinate organizational talent, and experience as a revolutionary-Bolshevik who knew how to rally the people served him well here. In the battles for the Donbass and Rostov, the Red Army cavalry displayed mass heroism and high levels of organization and discipline. In this connection, the army Revolutionary Military Council and K. Ye. Voroshilov personally, merit great credit. He devoted a great deal of attention to the selection of command cadres, the improvement of the political apparatus, and upgrading the effectiveness of party-political work. It is important to note that the structure of the First Mounted Army was quite heterogeneous. It included workers and farmhands who had organized partisan detachments, the revolutionary segment of the cossacks, and mobilized peasants. Within a short time, this disparate mass became ideologically and organizationally united, and revealed its high combat capability, revolutionary conscientiousness and profound understanding of class objectives. Party-political work, organized by the Bolshevik K. Ye. Voroshilov, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council, was the most important means of strengthening this army.

This army was often used in trench warfare, and suffered casualties in men and horses which were difficult to replace. However, this did not diminish the heroism of its troops and commanders. The political and party organizations maintained the high political and moral spirit of the troops. At difficult moments, Kliment Yefremovich marched in attack together with his troops and inspired them to dedicated struggle against the enemies of the revolution. Here is a description of an unexpected night battle by O. I. Gorodovik:

"...At the Torgovaya Station, General Pavlov's cavalry attacked the positions of the mounted army unexpectedly. The units wavered. The strike was sudden, the night was dark, and the temperature was 20 degrees below zero. The troops began to



panic. Suddenly, however, a troop of horsemen galloped down the streets of the settlement led by Voroshilov, riding his horse, Mauser.

'Comrade soldiers!' he shouted. 'Back to the counterattack! Better death than such a shame... Forward!'

"Individual squads rallied to support him. At the edge of the settlement, he was joined by two squadrons in proper formation. An hour later, all units had rallied like a power fist. Pavlov's attack was repelled."

In heavy fighting, elements of the First Mounted Army pushed the White Guards back toward the Black Sea, occupying Tuapse and Sochi. By order of the Republic Revolutionary Military Council dated 26 June 1920, K. Ye. Voroshilov was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for heroism and courage in these battles.

The exploits of the First Mounted Army have gone down as brilliant pages in the history of the civil war. Its campaigns, from the southern to the Polish fronts, the battles against Pilsudski's forces and the mass heroism of its troops and commanders in the battles against the Vrangeli White Guard forces have become legendary.

On 25 November 1920, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Presidium presented Voroshilov with an honorary revolutionary weapon "for personal participation in all the battles waged by the mounted army on the southern front and tirelessly inspiring the troops to exploits which led to the total rout of the Vrangeli forces."

The last major campaign of the Entente against the Soviet republic ended in defeat. However, this did not mean the end of the war for the Red Army cavalry. Its units participated in the liquidation of the Makhnov forces and the many gangs in the Ukraine and Northern Caucasus.

The participation of this proletarian military leader in the work of the 10th RKP(b) Congress, at which the problem of military construction was discussed, among others, was a major landmark in his life. The Leninist appeal to maintain the Red Army at all costs won out over the Trotskiyite opposition. Together with other 10th Congress delegates, Kliment Yefremovich participated in the liquidation of the Kronstadt anti-Soviet mutiny, for which he received his second Order of the Red Banner.

With the civil war battles over, the country embarked upon peaceful socialist construction. However, for many years to come, K. Ye. Voroshilov was involved in the defense of the socialist fatherland and the building and strengthening of the army of the state of the workers and peasants. In April 1921, he was appointed commander of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Military District then being organized. His capacities matured and strengthened in the difficult struggle against the gangs of kulaks and bourgeois nationalists. The commanding officer demanded ever greater effort of commanders and political workers with a view to upgrading the combat readiness of the units and formations. He personally headed campaigns and exercises with the command personnel, and applied the experience acquired in the civil

war in his training of the troops. At the same time, Voroshilov was engaged in extensive party and social work: he was a member of the Southeastern Bureau of the VKP(b) Central Committee, a member of the USSR Central Executive Committee, and a delegate to party congresses and soviets. He was awarded his third Order of the Red Banner for his successful command of the troops participating in the liquidation of the gangs in the Northern Caucasus.

The country suffered a grievous loss in 1924. Lenin, the leader of the party and the people, passed away. Addressing the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets on behalf of the Red Army and Navy during those sad days, K. Ye. Voroshilov voiced the sharp pain which filled the hearts of Il'ich's fellow workers, the Soviet people and the proletariat the world over. His words rang out like a pledge: "...in this time of difficulty for us, ...the Red Army will increase its vigilance tenfold. It will do everything necessary to preserve the gains of the working class. It will do everything it can to bring the cause of Vladimir Il'ich to its completion" ("Vtoroy S'yezd Sovetov Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik. Stenograficheskiy Otchet" [Second Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Shorthand Report], Moscow, 1924, p 48).

Major changes occurred in the life of the armed forces in 1924-1925. A military reform was implemented, embodying a number of Leninist ideas in the field of military construction. The size of the Red Army was stabilized, and the Trotskyites were removed from leading positions in the RKKA [Workers' and Peasants' Red Army]. The party called for a renewal of the membership of the USSR Revolutionary Military Council, headed by M. V. Frunze. One of its members was K. Ye. Voroshilov, commander of the forces in the Moscow Military District.

Kliment Yefremovich invested a great deal of strength and energy in the streamlining of the mixed system of staffing and training the troops and maintaining a high level of mobilization and combat readiness. In November 1925, he was appointed people's commissar for military and maritime affairs and chairman of the USSR Revolutionary Military Council. This experienced party and military worker was fully aware of the responsibility he had taken on. His appointment occurred in the difficult days of the struggle for a socialist path of development and for the preservation of the country's sovereignty. Voroshilov was in the thick of this struggle. At the 14th party congress, he was elected a member of the VKP(b) Central Committee, and subsequently, as a member of the Central Committee Politburo.

K. Ye. Voroshilov, the Bolshevik Leninist, headed the USSR armed forces for almost 15 years. He steadfastly implemented the party's provisions for strengthening the country's defensive ability.

The solution of these problems was not easy. The measures implemented during the military reform were merely the beginning of the strengthening of the Red Army and Navy. The threat of a military attack and the numerous provocations devised by the imperialist countries called for a greater defense effort. The military exercises of 1926 exposed major shortcomings in personnel training. They demonstrated the need to upgrade the mobilization and combat readiness of territorial forces, to strengthen military discipline decisively, to strengthen military

cadres and to improve the technical equipment of the army and navy. "As in the past," Voroshilov wrote at that time, "the weakest link in the defense of the state remains our war industry" (K. Ye. Voroshilov, "Stat'i i Rechi" [Articles and Speeches], Partizdat, Moscow, 1937, p 27).

The insufficient development of defense sectors and scientific research in the field of military ordnance hindered the speedy implementation of major changes in the technical equipment of the army and navy. The attention of the party focused on strengthening the defense capability of the country. The VKP(b) Central Committee, the Soviet government and the USSR Revolutionary Military Council took every possible step to make the development and manufacturing of military equipment systematic and planned. The 15th VKP(b) Congress held in December 1927 emphasized the need for the development of industrial sectors which would have a decisive impact on guaranteeing the country's defense and economic resistance in wartime ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezдов, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 4, p 33). This demanded that the Revolutionary Military Council and the People's Commissariat for Military and Maritime Affairs undertake extensive work in planning the production of armaments and supplying them to the army and navy. K. Ye. Voroshilov devoted great concern to implementing this task and to the strengthening of the links between the people's commissariat and industry and design organizations. He paid frequent visits to defense industry plants, spoke with their managers and workers, and appealed for steady improvement in the production of armaments. The people's commissar knew and supported the inventors and designers of prototypes of new weapons and military ordnance, and he encouraged their fruitful work.

Industrial progress made it possible to convert to series production of tanks, airplanes, new artillery systems and communications equipment by the end of the 1920s. Problems in the technical equipment of the army and navy were systematically discussed at the meetings of the RVS [Revolutionary Military Council], which were attended by heads of industrial people's commissariats, plants and design bureaus.

The structure and combat and political training of the armed forces personnel were improved on a parallel basis. The new regulations of the Red Army were enacted under the guidance of the USSR RVS in 1927-1929. They provided answers to the most important problems in military construction and indicated the basic directions for the training of the army and navy to repel imperialist aggression.

The major changes in the construction of the armed forces in the second half of the 1920s were the result of the intensive work done by the Revolutionary Military Council, People's Commissariat for Military and Maritime Affairs, and commanders and political workers. "By 1928," K. Ye. Voroshilov noted, "the Red Army had changed from an organizationally backward army to a modern armed force which had derived all the necessary organizational-training conclusions from the experience of the recent wars" (K. Ye. Voroshilov, "Stat'i i Rechi," p 565). The VKP(b) Central Committee gave the armed forces a high rating in its 15 July 1929 decree "On the Status of USSR Defense."

However, the Red Army had taken only the first steps in its new capacity as a highly mechanized army capable of facing any imperialist army in battle. International circumstances called for increased efforts to strengthen the country's defense capability and for the further advancement of the Soviet Armed Forces. On this basis, the 16th VKP(b) Congress noted in its resolution that the accelerated development of the respective industrial sectors was a task of prime importance. The conference drew the party's special attention to the need to strengthen the defense capability of the USSR and the power and combat readiness of the Red Army, Navy and Air Fleets on a comprehensive basis (see "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 4, p 409).

The successes achieved by the Soviet people in industrialization and in the cultural revolution made the technical reconstruction of the Red Army and Navy possible in the 1930s. New branches and arms were created, and major changes were made in the structure and the combat and political training of the army and navy. The military administrative bodies were reorganized. The People's Commissariat for Military and Maritime Affairs became the People's Commissariat for Defense, while the RKKA staff became the General Staff. New administrations and departments were established, and the USSR Revolutionary Military Council was abolished. K. Ye. Voroshilov became the people's commissar of defense. He was at the heart of all the measures adopted in the field of military construction, many of which he initiated.

In September 1935, by decree of the USSR Central Executive Committee and Sovnarkom, the military rank of Marshall of the Soviet was introduced. One of the first individuals promoted to this rank was K. Ye. Voroshilov.

The ability to single out the main problems in army and navy life and to direct attention to their solution was one of Kliment Yefremovich's outstanding qualities. The 1935 Kiev exercises, which were held on the initiative and at the request of the people's commissar of defense with a view to summarizing the results of military construction, developed into an important event in Red Army history. The exercises demonstrated the increased combat capability of the troops, but they also revealed many shortcomings in their training. The people's commissar demanded that the personnel make better use of armaments and military equipment, that commanders and political workers assume increased responsibility for the combat readiness of units and subunits, and improved interaction among and control of the troops. A study of the exercises indicated a need to improve the quality of military cadre training. Military school curricula and programs were revised, and the network of military schools and academies was expanded. K. Ye. Voroshilov repeatedly asked the VKP(b) Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee to assign young party and Komsomol members to the military schools and courses.

The vast amount of work done to improve the training and upbringing of the personnel and the training of military cadres resulted in increased combat power and a high moral-political status of the Red Army. This was convincingly demonstrated in the battles against the Japanese militarists at Khasan Lake and at the Khaikhin-Gol River.

The measures adopted to improve the Soviet armed forces continued through the end of the 1930s, when the inevitability of a military conflict with imperialism

became clear. The Chief Military Council, chaired by K. Ye. Voroshilov, was created in March 1938. The conversion to the cadre system of training and staffing was effected, in order to upgrade combat capability and augment the size of the Red Army. In addressing the Fourth Extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet Session in 1939, K. Ye. Voroshilov stated that the moral and political unity which had been achieved by the Soviet people made possible the passage of the new "Law on Universal Military Service." The people's commissar of defense reported to the deputies that, thanks to the concern of the communist party and the efforts of the Soviet people, major successes had been achieved in military construction. The Red Army and Navy were being supplied with new military equipment and armaments.

K. Ye. Voroshilov directed the solution of all the military construction problems and made a great contribution to the organization of mass defense work in the country, with his typical communist energy and persistence. At party and Komsomol congresses and in meetings with the working people, he reminded the participants of the increasing threat of war and called upon them to prepare for the defense of the homeland and to master defense skills. He delivered a memorable speech at the 18th party congress, in which he discussed in detail the preparations which the imperialist countries were making for an attack upon the USSR. He warned that "The peace loving countries, which include our closest neighbors, are doing little to strengthen the peace or to prepare to resist the aggressor. Therefore, we must rely, as in the past, on ourselves alone" ("XVIII S"yezd Vsesoyuznoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii (b). 10-21 Marta 1939 g. Stenograficheskiy Otchet" [18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). 10-21 March 1939. Shorthand Report]. Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1939, p 188). The orders, articles and the speeches he delivered to the troops and at military schools are imbued with the concepts of steady enhancement of the combat capability and preparedness of the army to repel imperialist aggression. He demanded that commanders and political workers study combat experience and master the science and art of winning.

As head of the military department of the Soviet state, K. Ye. Voroshilov undertook extensive party and public work as a member of the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo, and a member of the Central Executive Committee and, subsequently, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. He struggled to achieve the consolidation of the socialist social and governmental system. In August 1939, he was assigned by the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo to head the Soviet delegation to the military talks involving the USSR, Britain and France. However, the suggestion made by the communist party and the Soviet government that a system of collective security in Europe be established was rejected for lack of support by the other parties to the talks.

In May 1940, K. Ye Voroshilov was appointed to the high combat positions of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and chairman of the Defense Committee of the Sovnarkom. In these positions, he continued his efforts to strengthen the country's defense capability. Voroshilov participated directly in the implementation of the decisions of the communist party and Soviet government on the preparation of the country and its armed forces to repel imperialist aggression. At that time, the army was receiving new model airplanes and tanks and prototypes for artillery guns and infantry armaments. The experience acquired in the battles in Finland was being mastered on the basis of the decisions of the March 1940 VKP(b) Central Committee Plenum; the system of personnel training and

education was undergoing a revision. The country and the armed forces were preparing for harsh trials.

The Great Patriotic War demanded the mobilization of all forces and means of defeating the enemy. In the shortest possible time, the party reorganized the country on a military footing, and created emergency bodies for the management of the national economy and the armed forces. Voroshilov became a member of the State Defense Committee and Supreme Command Headquarters. As such, Kliment Yefremovich undertook to organize resistance against the aggressors in Belorussia, and in July 1941, he assumed command of the northwestern area.

K. Ye. Voroshilov was one of the organizers of the defense of Leningrad, Murmansk, Soviet Karelia, and the Baltic area. As area commander in chief, and subsequently commander of the Leningrad front, together with A. A. Zhdanov and with the help of the Leningrad Oblast party organizations, he mobilized all the available forces to defend the cradle of the October Revolution.

During the war, K. Ye. Voroshilov was headquarters representative at the Volkhov front and in the Crimea. He was assigned by the State Defense Committee to undertake the raising and training of strategic reserves. In September 1942, he was appointed commander in chief of the partisan movement. It would have been difficult to find a more suitable person for this position, in view of the rich experience he had had in the organization of the partisan movement in the civil war. The very fact that a Central Committee Politburo, state defense committee, and headquarters member was appointed commander in chief demonstrated the great importance ascribed by the party to the development of the people's war behind the fascist aggressors' lines.

In 1943, K. Ye. Voroshilov became chairman of the captured materials committee of the State Defense Committee and the Commission on Armistice Problems of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. At the end of that same year, he participated in the formulation of the plan for and the implementation of the operations to liberate the Crimea. He participated consistently in the discussion of supreme command headquarters operational plans, and was a member of the Soviet delegation to the Moscow (1941) and Tehran (1943) conferences of heads of member nations of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In February 1945, K. Ye. Voroshilov was appointed chairman of the Allied Control Commission in Hungary, where he made a major contribution to the establishment of equal and friendly Soviet-Hungarian relations.

Kliment Yefremovich shared his experience in military leadership and governmental work generously with party, state and military cadres. His speeches at the party congresses, soviets, party and all-army conferences were vivid and profound. His books constitute worthy contributions to Soviet military science. They include "Stat'i i Rech'i ot XVI do XVII S'yezda VKP(b)" [Articles and Speeches From the 16th to the 17th VKP(b) Congress], Moscow, 1934; "Oborona SSSR. Izbrannyye Stat'i, Rech'i i Pis'ma" [Defense of the USSR. Selected Articles, Speeches and Letters], Moscow, 1937; "Krasnaya Armiya na Zashchite Sotsialisticheskoy Rodiny. Rech'i, Prikazy i Privetstviya (1937 i) 1938 g" [The Red Army in the Defense of the

Socialist Homeland. Speeches, Orders and Greetings (1937 and) 1938], Moscow, 1939; and "Rasskazy o Zhizni (Vospominaniya)" [Stories About My Life (Memoirs)], Vol 1, Moscow, 1968, 1971.

In the difficult postwar period, K. Ye. Voroshilov involved himself actively with the organization of the rebuilding of the national economy and the formulation of plans for the further economic and social development of the country. At the 19th party congress, he was elected a Central Committee member, and at the Central Committee plenum, he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium.

In March 1953, the party and the people entrusted a tremendous responsibility to K. Ye. Voroshilov. At the USSR Supreme Soviet session, Kliment Yefremovich was elected its Presidium chairman, which high governmental post he held for more than 6 years. Under his guidance, the Supreme Soviet Presidium devoted great attention to the implementation of national economic plans and to upgrading the role of the local soviets in the management of social life and industrial and agricultural production. The party's policy of strengthening the soviets as organs of the people's system and upgrading their role in the administration of society was reasserted in the CC CPSU accountability report which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the 25th CPSU Congress and in the new USSR Constitution.

As head of the Soviet state, K. Ye. Voroshilov played a major role in the implementation of the Leninist peace policy. The Soviet parliament appealed to the U. S. Congress and the parliamentarians of Great Britain and the FRG to strengthen the peace and organize equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. Voroshilov's visits to many countries served these lofty purposes. The USSR Supreme Soviet gave comprehensive support to the further strengthening of the socialist comity. The Warsaw Pact, which became the most important factor in European and international security, was signed and ratified in May 1955. Friendship, cooperation and mutual aid treaties were confirmed between the USSR and the other socialist countries. On behalf of the Soviet people, Kliment Yefremovich enthusiastically welcomed the victory of the revolution in Cuba in January 1959. He made a substantial contribution to the assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. This line was further developed in the program for the struggle for peace and international cooperation and the freedom and independence of the peoples formulated by the 24th and 25th party congresses.

As USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, K. Ye. Voroshilov evidenced the wisdom of a statesman, high party-mindedness, principle-mindedness and persistence in the implementation of the party's domestic and foreign policies. Recalling that period, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in "Tselina" [Virgin Lands]: "...Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov was among those leaders who were able to understand thoroughly or to anticipate the need to adopt one important governmental step or another."

K. Ye. Voroshilov's merits received high praise from the Soviet state. He was awarded noble distinctions, such as the title Hero of the Soviet Union (twice) and Hero of Socialist Labor, as well as receiving many orders and medals. To the end of his days, K. Ye. Voroshilov remained a CC CPSU member and a member of the USSR

Supreme Soviet Presidium. To his very last hour, he was in the Bolshevik ranks on the front line of the struggle for communism.

The outstanding and meaningful life of this revolutionary and political, state and military leader sets an example of infinite loyalty to the cause of the communist party and dedication and patriotism in the service of the working class, the Soviet people and the socialist fatherland. As Lenin's student and fellow worker, K. Ye. Voroshilov was an active participant in the three revolutions, an outstanding military commander in the civil war, a tireless builder of the Soviet armed forces in the period between the wars, a firm defender of the homeland in the Great Patriotic War, and a persistent and principle-minded promoter of party decisions in postwar times.

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## ALLIANCE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 99-110

[Article by B. Likhachev]

[Text] An international scientific conference on "The Joint Struggle of the Workers and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress," convened on the initiative of the SED and the journal **PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM**, was held in Berlin on 20-24 October 1980. The report submitted by B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU secretary, was published in our journal, No 16, 1980. Together with the addresses delivered by SED Central Committee General Secretary E. Honecker and M. Gremetz, French Communist Party Central Committee secretary, and S. Vieira, member of the FRELIMO Central Committee (Mozambique), it was presented at the first joint session. The participants in the conference gave the report submitted by the head of the CPSU delegation a high rating, as a vivid confirmation of the internationalism and continuing value of the revolutionary experience of the CPSU.

The October 1980 Berlin conference became a landmark in the struggle for unity among the revolutionary forces of today. It can justifiably be classified with the events which summarize the experience acquired in the course of years and decades of struggle.

This was a meeting which rallied the representatives of the political vanguards of the three basic revolutionary currents of our time. It was the first broad international forum with the joint participation of communists from socialist and nonsocialist countries, revolutionary-democratic parties, and national liberation movements; as was stated at the end of the conference, it was "the greatest and broadest meeting of its kind in the history of the revolutionary movement." Along with 77 communist parties, including 11 ruling parties from socialist countries, it was attended by 39 revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements, representing the most consistent anti-imperialist forces.

The very fact that it was convened, as Rodney Arismendi, Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee first secretary, said after the conference, represented a major achievement in the struggle for the unification of revolutionary forces.

It was a success for those fighting for national liberation, for it confirmed their involvement in the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress and the solution of problems determining the state of all mankind more forcefully than ever before. At the same time, the conference provided current confirmation that without abandoning their ideas and principles, communists are able to establish and develop active and effective relations with other revolutionary forces.

The Berlin meeting continues to arouse interested response, not only from the ranks of the liberation movements, but from the broadest range of the public. Nor has it been ignored by our ideological and political opponents, who made no effort to conceal the concern aroused by its success. Let us note that the topic of the conference was also a topic current in anticommunist "work" even before the conference convened. A very typical method was used in this activity: the bourgeois press, including such leading organs as the Paris LE MONDE, hastened to issue a "serious" warning to communist parties to guard against losing their independence as a result of participation in this international conference.

Actually, even considered from the most formalistic viewpoint, the Berlin conference provided no justification for anyone to fear loss of independence. As was announced from the very beginning, it was a scientific conference, an extensive and free exchange of experience and results of study of topical problems in the anti-imperialist struggle. By this means, the conference equipped the worldwide army of freedom fighters with a more profound understanding of the tasks encountered in this struggle, a clearer idea of the international conditions for and the scale of this struggle, and finally, a more acute feeling of international responsibility for the common cause. The assessments of the congress, which were provided by its participants themselves, served to confirm these results.

They included in particular views to the effect that the Berlin conference provided proof of the broadening scale of the struggle against imperialism, with emphasis on its international nature and the international significance of each of its "internal," national sectors. The conference confirmed the vital importance of contacts and interaction among the forces participating in this struggle, and it made a contribution to the development of interaction among them.

One of the main reasons for the success of the Berlin conference was its timely nature, intensified by the complex international circumstances, wherein the need for a united rebuff of the reaction has become greater than ever. However, the solution of this problem urgently requires that a specific and purposeful search be made for the most effective means of joint practical action and, in this connection, a search for answers to the new problem posed by reality.

The Berlin conference channeled these searches in the right direction, based on the current situation in the world and the living experience and actual potential available to the anti-imperialist forces. The participants in it revealed a deep interest in the experience in the struggle waged by other revolutionary detachments and, above all, the desire to find the resultant force, so to speak, which would lead them to fulfillment of their common goal. Hence its characteristic feature, as a free, open and comradely exchange of views based on unanimity in terms of basic problems, and the prevailing spirit of international solidarity, equality, mutual respect, optimism and purposefulness in practical action.

## The International Nature of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

In the broad variety of problems in the anti-imperialist struggle, the participants in the congress singled out mainly those they all shared. The Berlin meeting proved that no "fundamental barrier" stands between the international and the national aspects of this struggle, as reactionary propaganda, attempting to incite nationalism, tried to insinuate. It showed that the solution of purely international problems may become an urgent national need, while the national tasks of one country may become the common concern and common cause of the revolutionaries of several countries. This thought, which was emphasized in the addresses delivered by the delegates from Czechoslovakia, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Laos, Afghanistan and a whole series of African countries, was set forth clearly by A. Nunes, the Portuguese communist: "We have always considered our national tasks to be inseparably linked with our international obligations."

"Interrelationship Between the Struggle for Peace and Socialism and the Struggle for National Independence and Against Imperialism;" "The Struggle Against Neocolonialism and For the Democratic Reorganization of the International Economic Relations;" and "Experience and Problems in the Struggle for National and Social Liberation;" the very names of these three sections within which the conference conducted its proceedings expressed the integral internal view on world problems which makes it possible to identify the links binding it. The participants were firm and unanimous in their clear and unequivocal political choice of the main binding link for joint action and in regarding preventing a new world war and insuring international peace as a primary task one which under the present circumstances, involves the preservation and development of the policy of detente, and effective rebuff of the aggressive course being pursued by the imperialists and the other reactionary forces allied with them, the termination of the arms race and the adoption of practical and realistic steps toward disarmament.

However, they did not by any means limit themselves to the proclamation of this commonly held attitude. The materials of the conference provide expanded substantiation of this position. They demonstrate the vital need for the struggle for peace and detente to end the arms race and for disarmament. They prove that this struggle, which is consistent with the interests of mankind, is most closely linked with the struggle for social progress.

The participants in the conference voiced their firm conviction that peace and the policy of detente which leads to it offer the most favorable circumstances for advancing the vital interests of the people. H. Safari, the representative of the Iranian People's Party, stated, as did many of the preceding speakers, that this is most clearly confirmed by the experience of the national liberation movement in the past decade, which has been characterized by the historical triumphs of the peoples on the Asian, African and Latin American continents.

Naturally, these victories, like the success achieved by all progressive forces in the period of detente, do not mean at all that detente is like some of a "Trojan horse" in global politics, the false reactionary propaganda claims notwithstanding. It was the imperialists precisely who tried to transform detente into a subversive counterrevolutionary tool.

This was mentioned by the delegates of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries--Czechoslovakia, and Cuba, as well as a number of other delegates, who exposed the subversive intent of the ideological campaigns of the imperialists and their political actions which, as O. Poikolainen, the representative of the Communist Party of Finland, stated, represent a break with the principles codified in the Helsinki Final Act. Furthermore, as Henry Winston, national chairman of the U. S. Communist Party, said, the imperialists, realizing that their hopes of using detente to conceal the expansion of their efforts, has failed, have resumed their policy of power confrontation and material and ideological preparations for war.

In contrast to this policy, detente is indeed oriented toward the achievement of general democratic objectives in international relations. It is not a substitute for the revolutionary struggle in one country or another, nor could it be. However, the dialectics of the democratic struggle in our age is such that consistency and principle-mindedness in this struggle demand that ever further new steps be taken to counter imperialism, and above all its aggressive efforts. This is precisely why the policy of detente rallies all political and social forces which favor democracy and remain loyal, in one way or another, to the democratic ideals. Conversely, a retreat from this policy, not to mention opposition to detente, just as inevitably means a break with democracy.

This imperative logic was seen with particular clarity by the national liberation movement, for as V. I. Lenin wrote, there can be "only one solution to the national problem, to the extent to which such a solution is possible in the capitalist world. The solution is consistent democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, pp 137-138).

Hence the decisive shift in the positions of the national liberation movement in favor of detente, which was vividly confirmed at the Berlin conference.

The participants in the meeting waged a battle against all types of equivocation and false objectivism in the assessment of the main constructive forces in the contemporary world. The notorious concept of the "two superpowers," and the spinoff from it, in the form of the idea of "equal guilt" for the aggravation of the international situation, were exposed as the ideological tools of proimperialist policy.

"Today," F. Mohamed, the delegate from Guyana, said, "the proper nature of Lenin's battles for peace and peaceful coexistence and the indivisible links between it and the comprehensive struggle being waged by the peoples of the world against imperialism, reaction and national oppression are becoming ever clearer and are reinforced by new proofs. The struggle for peace cannot be separated from socialism. It is the actual cornerstone of the foreign policy of the socialist comity."

On the basis of the experience of their own countries and peoples, the participants in the congress demonstrated that the USSR and the socialist comity as a whole, functioning in the world arena, thanks to the strength of their positive and constructive example, are providing a basic prerequisite for and guarantee of progress in the struggle for international security and national liberation. Such

is the objective role of world socialism, independent of whether or not one detachment of the liberation movement or another is aware of it. The very possibility of converting one country or another to socialism, Z. (Kairi), a communist from Iraq, said, is inconceivable without an alliance and close cooperation with the socialist comity, the USSR in particular.

The culprit in the current aggravation of international circumstances, which has been wholly and deliberately created by the most oppressive international imperialist circles, was clearly identified at the conference. The imperialist attacks on international peace and security represent the direction of its main striking force today against social progress, and the focal point of its policy of "social revenge."

"This is why," E. Honecker, said at the meeting, "imperialism is aiming its main strike at the socialist states, real socialism, and the global communist movements.

The class objective of international imperialist policy is clearly revealed by the actions in connection with the workers and democratic movements in the developed capitalist countries. The party members in these countries gave evidence that anti-Sovietism is the focal point of the anti-workers strategy of the imperialists, with a tireless attempt to involve the workers' and democratic movements in a variety of anti-Soviet campaigns pursued in a spirit of the most shameless demagoguery, using hypocritical sermons about "human rights," "trade union freedom," and the myth of the "Soviet military threat." They also exposed the imperialist maneuvers designed to bring about the further militarization of the economy, politics and the whole social life in their countries under the banner of anti-Sovietism, and, on this basis, to justify the need for an effective struggle for international security to protect the vital interests of their own peoples. In this connection, the meaningful aspect of the address by Australian delegate T. McDonald was noteworthy. The developing countries and the national liberation forces as a whole are the focus of particular attention in the militaristic plans of the imperialists. What do the spiraling arms race, the provocation of military conflicts, declared and undeclared wars, reliance on terrorist dictatorships, and the pressure exerted through military bases established, among other places, on the territory of liberated countries, mean to them? What does the very intention of the imperialists to include overseas countries in the sphere of their "vital interests" and to maintain their armed forces in them mean?

Not surprisingly, the participants in the conference, whatever area on earth they were discussing--the Persian Gulf, Central America, the Mediterranean, Southeast Asia, or the Pacific or Indian Oceans--spoke of the need to wage a joint struggle against militaristic intrigues and to convert their vital areas into zones of lasting peace. Never before have the peoples of the countries in the area of the national liberation movement felt such a heavy and growing burden as that created by such intrigues.

The burden is not only an economic one, although it is this sector precisely, under the conditions provided by already backward economies, that the burden of military expenditures has grown more rapidly than anywhere else in the past 20 years and has shown an increase not only in absolute figures, but in terms of percentage of the national product.

It is not solely a political burden, although it means a direct increase in the dependence of many countries on imperialism, and the weakening and even the loss of historical gains such as national sovereignty. Domestically, it means the undermining of political stability, suppression of democratic trends, and the establishment of reactionary and repressive regimes. Finally, it means a prohibition on any possible discord within and among such countries, and even attempts to promote their reciprocal annihilation through internecine conflicts instigated by the imperialists.

The Berlin Conference proved beyond question that imperialist militarism, in all its forms, means prolonging the social backwardness of the liberated countries and often even regression.

It is precisely this feature of the Berlin Conference--that it led a specific struggle of the international political situation toward socially defined conclusions--which enables us to see why the participants in such a broad and structurally varied encounter were able to arrive at coordinated and, where the decisive items were concerned, unanimous, views on the tasks in the joint struggle for peace and termination of the arms race, which is the most dangerous instigator of international tensions today. This is an urgent requirement of political life and, furthermore, an initial prerequisite for social progress in all directions. The enemy--international imperialism--in this struggle can be clearly identified. Those who ally themselves with the imperialists and on whom they rely adventuristically, were also identified quite clearly. This is true in particular of Beijing, which has perfidiously betrayed the interests of the liberation struggle, as well as the most reactionary regimes, including fascist dictatorships, which are assuming the role of provocateurs and mercenaries in international politics.

In the light of this analysis which the conference provided of the overall situation, a political awareness of the role which each of the revolutionary forces must play in the joint struggle, including the national liberation movement, was defined.

At this point let us note one thought--the stimulating significance of solidarity with the national liberation movement on the part of the workers' movement in the developed capitalist countries. This was frequently voiced at the conference, beginning with the address by M. Gromets. Actions and campaigns, or more accurately described, directions in communist activities, such as solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and the Chilean democrats, the struggle against the export of weapons and the involvement of their countries in neocolonialist adventures, and the exposure of racist ideologies and politics have become a school for mass action and for gaining practical experience in forming broad democratic alliances for many communist parties such as those of Austria, Sweden, the FRG and The Netherlands.

A characteristic feature of the conference was that the participants in it did not conceal the difficulties encountered by the national liberation movement in its intensified confrontations with the imperialists and some of their partners, such as Beijing. Such difficulties will arise, and in accordance with the requirements of the global class struggle, the only possible solution must be found. A clear

confirmation of this fact can be seen in the growing understanding of the truth about the Afghan revolution and related international events, and the comprehension of their essential meaning in terms of the destiny of the national liberation movement and hence the growing international solidarity with the revolutionary Afghan people, basically expressed by the conference as a whole.

This topic was discussed by representatives from all continents, and their speeches covered a wide variety of facets of the positions of revolutionary internationalism which they all share. D. Sarlis, the Greek communist, exposed the lack of any foundation for the attempts to describe Soviet aid to Afghanistan as the reason for the aggravation of the international situation. He pointed out that the imperialist efforts to return to the cold war had started long before that. The Ethiopian delegate K. Gine demonstrated that the purpose of the propaganda hysteria about Afghanistan is to aggravate the international situation, and to urge the arms race on. M. Rakotobe, the representative of Madagascar, emphasized the legitimacy of the steps taken by Afghanistan to defend its sovereignty. Chilean communist J. Insuans described Soviet aid to the Afghan people as an act characterizing the type of international solidarity vitally needed for the defense of the revolution in the face of imperialist intervention. The same topic was discussed by M. Rakman, Communist Party of Bangladesh Central Committee secretary. Finally, the Pakistani comrade condemned the "unholy alliance" agreed upon to the detriment of revolutionary Afghanistan by the American imperialists, Chinese chauvinists, and Arab reactionaries. "We are familiar with the events in Afghanistan," he concluded firmly. "We know that the national democratic revolution enjoys the support of the broad popular masses."

It is true that isolated voices, questioning or disagreeing with this position, were also heard at the conference. However, they were unable to provide any arguments going basically beyond the worn out cliché of "bloc politics."

The main response to them was provided by S. A. Keshtmand, deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee Politburo. His speech was welcomed with particular attention. From the rostrum of the Berlin conference, he described the Afghan revolution as an indivisible part of the global anti-imperialist movement. He concluded with a reiteration of his invitation to representatives of all progressive forces to visit his country and see for themselves the success achieved by the Afghan people along the path of social and democratic change.

The fact that the baselessness of the "bloc" label was demonstrated by the members of the national liberation forces themselves, and the nonalignment movement in particular, was quite important. Let us point out that the place in the anti-imperialist struggle occupied by this movement was discussed at length in Berlin. It was a question not only of the important role it had already played and is now playing in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, against the arms race and the policy of confrontation, and against the use of various kinds of violent methods in international relations, since the discussion of problems pertaining to the very nature and essence of nonalignment set forth the erroneous-ness of the thesis of its "equidistance" from the two social systems of our times.

Without question, as an essentially anti-imperialist concept, nonalignment favors general democratic principles in international relations and regards the protection of national sovereignty won after a hard struggle as the cornerstone of its policy. The anti-imperialist direction of the movement is of cohesive significance, and allows it to play a positive role in world politics. Those who undermine the democratic foundations of nonalignment are the imperialists and their stooges.

As we know, the nonalignment movement was born as a protest against the incorporation of the liberated countries in imperialist blocs and the attempts to challenge their national independence. In their counteractions against imperialism, these countries resorted to solidarity based on positive neutrality, consisting of the principles of peaceful coexistence, universally familiar today, signifying mainly refusal to participate in aggressive blocs. Need we specify that the inclusion of these countries in the military-political organization of the socialist comity was simply never raised?

### Economics and Politics in the National Liberation Struggle

The offensive waged against peace and international security by the imperialists had a painful effect on the national liberation movement. The pressure exerted by the imperialists spread to virtually every region and subregion involved in the national liberation struggle. It was the developing countries precisely which often became the direct targets of aggressive imperialist aspirations and actions, often implemented by dividing these very countries and setting one against the other. The participants in the conference focused seriously on the exposure of this predatory imperialist tactic and its characteristic combination of the oft-proclaimed "flexibility" with quite obvious "rigidity," and clearly intensified aggressive pressure with the demagoguery of the reformist versions of neocolonialism.

We should note that it was in this connection precisely that the theory and practice of the international social democratic movement were criticized. This criticism was also voiced by the Western European communists.

The discussion of the struggle against neocolonialism, regarded by the representatives of all revolutionary trends as their common cause, also formed a part of the discussion of ways and means of pursuing the struggle for peace and detente and against aggressive imperialist policy.

These problems pertaining to international economic relations are noteworthy among these problems. The acquisition of national independence inevitably raises the question of liberation from capitalist exploitation. Such problems are both internal and external, for their target is imperialist domination of the global economy. The external aspect of the problem was described in the program for the democratic reorganization of international economic relations, currently quite familiar, the drafting of which represented an important and promising step toward change in the dynamics of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In their detailed and thorough discussion of these problems, the participants in the conference took as their basis a study of the objectives and methods of



contemporary neocolonialism. They described the vast scale and refined methods of imperialist exploitation, and the specific characteristics of imperialist actions in individual areas and countries, as well as their connection with neocolonialist strategy as a whole. They focused attention on the role of "collective neocolonialism," and the inclusion in it of such countries as the United Arab Republic. The delegates clearly exposed the predatory role of the multinational corporations, which were described as the striking force of contemporary neocolonialism, the common exploiter and the class enemy of the working people and the developing and developed capitalist countries. On the whole, neocolonialism was presented as an interrelated system of imperialist actions, pursuing both economic goals (for example, the transfer to others of the responsibility for crises, inflation and other difficulties, including those of a technological and ecological sort, which accompany capitalist development) and political objectives (subordination of these countries to imperialist dictates, the undermining of anti-imperialist solidarity, and isolation of the national liberation forces from world socialism and the working class within the citadels of capitalism), as well as social objectives (such as the strengthening of conservative social groups and maintaining the developing countries within the capitalist system, in a peripheral world, bound by the strings of dependence).

In their speeches, dozens of delegates mentioned the fact that the democratic reorganization of international economic relations could serve as a major tool in the struggle against contemporary neocolonialism. This clearly confirms the fact that a step forward has been made in a consistently anti-imperialist interpretation of this task.

This is mainly confirmed by the clearly indicated link between the potential and methods available for resolving the problem and the struggle for peace and disarmament. The reduction of the arms race and disarmament constitute the most important source of funds which could be used instead for aid to overcome backwardness, whereas the resources extracted by means of imperialist exploitation today are being spent on the arms race.

Secondly, the participants in the conference had high praise for the role which world socialism has played historically and is playing today in the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations. The very fact of its presence in the world bears out this role and the initial principles formulated by Lenin himself. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, they emphasized, have established economic relations of a qualitatively new type with the developing countries. They provide a living example of true equality, and it is in the socialist comity precisely that the developing countries find their most loyal ally. This is why the concept of the "rich North" and the "poor South," whereby an effort has been made to equate the socialist and the imperialist states in terms of historical responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries and to conceal the responsibility imperialism bears today for neocolonialist plundering, were rebuffed in the speeches by communists from Sri Lanka, Uruguay, the FRG and other nations. Characteristically, the weighty exposure of this plundering, in which "their own" bourgeoisie is engaged, was set forth by communists from the largest and best developed socialist countries--the United States, France and the FRG.

"In only 30 years after the collapse of the colonial system," the Swiss communist B. (Degen) reported, "the industrially developed capitalist countries extracted more real value from the young national states than their former mother countries extracted from their colonies in the preceding 300 years."

The participants in the conference also proved that reformist plans for the reorganization of international economic relations are full of internal contradictions, and that in the final analysis, they serve only the interests of the multinational corporations and imperialism at large. They stressed that true democracy is only possible based on a principled struggle in the global economic area, with the active participation of the masses. They rejected reliance on imperialist "philanthropy" which is included in such plans. They emphasized the need for the mobilization of domestic forces and resources.

Finally, while fully aware of the difficulties and the vastness of the tasks to be carried out (and incidentally, exposing the maneuvers of the imperialists, who are literally trying to pirate this notion, expressing their willingness to discuss the matter but not to take practical steps), the participants in the conference stated firmly that backwardness is not the result of any sort of exploitation and domination. They expressed an optimistic view of the prospects for a democratic reorganization of international economic relations.

They specifically said that an undeniable opportunity exists for the satisfaction of many specific, if only partial, demands included in the program for this reorganization. Where many developing countries are concerned, taking the current socioeconomic disparities among them into account, this means if not the elimination of their dependence, a substantial reduction in it at least.

However, this does not cover the entire problem. It is a question not of awaiting the favor of "equality" as a gift from imperialism, but of actually forcing the imperialists to accept democratic norms in this area. Naturally, the Marxist-Leninists realize clearly that hereto the answer to the problem is to be found in the current ratio and deployment of forces in the world arena. The materials of the Berlin conference are of great importance for the achievement of a deeper understanding of this problem, and for strengthening the specific and realistic demand for a democratic reorganization. They characterize the basic elements in a ratio of forces in global economics which includes the crisis which has affected the very structure of capitalist exploitation and has aggravated all the contradictions in the global economy, on the one hand, and the economic levers available to world socialism, the developing countries and the international working class as a whole, on the other. These include, for example, its struggle against the multinational corporations. Most important, the materials of the Berlin meeting revealed a broad spectrum of political opportunities for the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations, beginning with the fact that these can be achieved to a great extent through governmental channels, and ending with the tremendous potential offered by international solidarity among the anti-imperialist forces. The new international economic order, the delegate said, could be regarded as a structural element in the struggle for the democratization of all international life, and a structural component of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The very rich experience acquired in the struggle for national and social liberation was subjected to discussion at the Berlin forum. The conference

materials are meaningful and instructive, for they reflect many of its aspects. We will try to describe the most important of these.

In their speeches, the fighters for freedom gathered in Berlin depicted the vast scale of the national liberation movement spread throughout the world. This merits mention, solely perhaps because of the fact that despite all kinds of "forecasts" following the wave of the 1960s, the national liberation struggle did not wane, but on the contrary, a number of new centers developed in the struggle, and its very content became more meaningful and took on a new quality. The triumph of the Ethiopian and Nicaraguan revolutions, which followed the historic victory of the Vietnamese people, provide clear proof of this fact.

Furthermore, one of the most outstanding characteristics of the Berlin Conference was the specific variety in the experience acquired in the struggle which were discussed and presented in summarized form, as individual problems, making it possible to see the general laws governing the dynamics through the living fabric of regional and national situations. This was particularly true since this material covered almost all the "hot spots" in the national liberation zone, containing not only a positive analysis, but principled and self-critical assessment of the errors and defeats incurred. The analysis of the practical actions of the imperialists and their allies is of particular interest. This too makes it impossible to see the reasonably clear lines pursued in the political and ideological pressure they have exerted with a view to winning back lost positions. Their tactics also include nationalism, disguised by revolutionary phraseology, and the ever more perceptible strategic reliance on the "social democratization" of the developing countries, seen in particular in anticommunist and antisocialist maneuvers in connection with the proposed creation of an African "Socialist International," support of the local exploiting classes, in the hope that they will betray national interests, and exertion of the baldest pressure, including the threat of armed intervention and support of terrorist dictatorships of a fascist and racist nature.

In the course of their discussion of this wide variety of experience, the participants in the conference emphasized in particular the real, the actual, aspects of internationalism and the tremendous importance of international aid provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and through the interaction of the various detachments in the national liberation movement itself. The materials of the Berlin encounter, and in particular, the striking addresses by the delegates from Zambia and Zimbabwe, are most valuable in this connection, both for the historical data they provide and from the viewpoint of current practice. M. Rakotobe, the delegate from Madagascar, recreated an impressive picture of internationalism in action by describing the international support which the liberation struggle waged by his people has been provided throughout its entire history by the homeland of the October Revolution and the French communists, and the solidarity with the movements of the African peoples and other countries. This solidarity is still being evidenced toward Madagascar, which is building a new society. It is characteristic that exposure to the experience of the national liberation struggle, particularly that in countries such as Vietnam, which have progressed far in building a new society, was assessed by many speakers as one of the effective forms of mutual international aid.

Finally, the aspect of the Berlin discussion leading to an understanding of historical guidelines and the final goal of the national liberation struggle was the study of the specific forms of interrelationship between national and social liberation. The Berlin conference demonstrated that the problem of choosing a path for socioeconomic development has taken on a critically topical nature under the pressure of the urgent tasks of preserving and guaranteeing independence and improving the situation of the masses. The participants in the conference emphasized that capitalism is unable to resolve these vital problems, and that the alternative to capitalism is a socialist orientation, the course of building a new society on the basis of scientific communism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The realistic aspect of this possibility has as its backing reliance on world socialism and the international working class. Noting that the whole solution of these complex problems demands adequate time, if only because of the need for the organization of the required social structure (and, in the case of many countries which are simultaneously involved in the complex process of shaping a nation, as S. Vieria emphasized), the delegates focused attention on the need for a creative search for what some of them describe as a "realistic optimum," or bridgehead for the advance from the statehood gained to true liberation and, in the future, to socialist goals.

The discussions of these problems were imbued with the concept of priority and decisive significance for politics in the range of instruments used in today's national liberation struggle. Despite the great variety of specific conditions governing the anti-imperialist revolutions in progress today, the problem of actual political power--winning it, preserving it and consolidation of it, against the opposition, pressure and intrigues of imperialists and local reactionaries--occupies a leading position.

The role of the popular masses and, in particular, the growing working class, in bringing down the old state apparatus, establishing and strengthening rule by the people, and the pursuit of a socioeconomic policy serving the interests of the working people; the role of broad democratic alliances, representing unity in the struggle for political independence, and their role after it is won, under the conditions of emerging class differentiations; the choice of the methods and means of struggle, relying once again on the nature and level of mass participation, including readiness for armed struggle, which represents the only path to victory under some circumstances, and the precise determination of the positions of the armed forces; the ideological education of the masses and in particular the mastery of revolutionary theory and, finally, the establishment of revolutionary parties, parties of the vanguard type, as a decisive prerequisite for guaranteeing the democratic activity of the masses and actual progress toward socialist objectives--these were the most important of the problems considered by the participants in the Berlin conference as constituting the key to the solution of the problems in the national liberation struggle today.

Naturally, none of this in the least reduces the significance of economic factors, or negates the fact that reliable support of true freedom demands economic independence and a corresponding level of economic development. "Economic policy is the most important area of activity for the vanguard parties," B. N. Ponomarev noted at the conference. He emphasized that "Here, the achievement of a situation

in which the working people can really feel the results of the revolution, not only in the moral and political sense--on the level of human dignity and respect for the toiling man acquired--but on the level of a noticeable improvement in living conditions as well, is a decisive step, a turning point, which guarantees the successful outcome of the socialist revolution."

Practical experience has demonstrated to those fighting for freedom that there is no path leading to economic liberation other than ever more consistent and ever better developed political struggle. The anti-imperialist potential of the national liberation movement is revealed today more fully than ever before in the course of the political confrontation with imperialism and the deepened sociopolitical meaning of this movement. In other words, it is revealed in the consistency and radical nature of democratic gains in the fields of domestic and foreign policy.

Naturally, the development of "social-mindedness" in the national liberation movement is uneven and circuitous, and the participants in the conference devoted attentive consideration to the complexity of and contradictions within this process. However, their speeches confidently expressed the belief that success in this area can be guaranteed by the internationalist policy of a party guided by the ideas of scientific socialism, and that an important criterion for the social content of the national liberation revolution is its links with world socialism and the revolutionary workers' movement. This is the guarantee that a successful struggle can be waged in all directions which was subjected to a scientific and political assessment at the Berlin conference: struggle against the imperialist export of counterrevolution, against the arms race and for international detente and peace; struggle against imperialist economic expansion; and struggle for the common goals of revolutionary development and social progress.

Lenin taught that "while not expecting the impossible--the rapid achievement of total unity based on cohesive and precisely formulated views, we must try to achieve a precise determination of the basic trends and directions in contemporary internationalist socialism, and subsequently, in order to acquaint the working masses with such trends, we must discuss them comprehensively and test them against the experience of our own practical movement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 32).

The Berlin conference provides new opportunities for collective effort, which has always led to the creative development of revolutionary thinking. It provides a potential for the formulation and discussion of new issues and for the practical solution of the problems encountered in the anti-imperialist struggle.

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## BEIJING'S HEGEMONISM AND THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 111-118

[Review by M. Altayskiy of the book "Kampuchiya: Spasenie Svobody" [Kampuchea: Freedom Rescued] by V. N. Skvortsov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 192 pp]

[Text] The whole world is aware of the long, tireless and heroic struggle waged by the Kampuchean people against American imperialist aggression and, subsequently, against the bloody Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique. With the active complicity of the Beijing hegemonists, it appropriated the results of the people's victory in the anti-imperialist revolution and, by means of the most cruel terrorism, installed a regime which pursued genocide with a view to transforming Kampuchea into a "Chinese backyard" for the growing of rice and the extraction of valuable raw materials.

Today, now that the courageous Kampuchean people, led by the United Front for National Salvation, are building a new life, the propagandists of Beijing and the imperialists have not lowered their tone. They are continuing to slander this long-suffering country which has been bled white by the terror of Pol Pot and its leadership, and misrepresenting the international aid provided by socialist Vietnam as "aggression." It is precisely the press of Beijing and America and their mouthpieces in some Southeast Asian countries, who are trying to push the full blame for the tragedy of the Kampuchean people--the unparalleled difficulties caused by the total economic disorganization and dislocation, hunger, destruction of cities and centers of economic activity, breakdown of the structure of cadres, workers and engineering and technical personnel, and practically the whole of the intelligentsia--in a word, the responsibility for everything inherited from the bloodthirsty clique headed by Pol Pot and his Chinese advisers onto the patriotic forces and their allies, whose selfless struggle saved the country and its people from total annihilation.

Incidentally, even the bourgeois press occasionally carries more or less objective information on Kampuchea. For example, the journal FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, which is published in Hong Kong and is popular in Asia, recently carried an article entitled "Kampuchea: Pol Pot's Horrifying Legacy," in which the hypocrisy of the Western supporters of "human rights" was quite justifiably criticized. The inability of some people to realize that the continuing recognition of Pol Pot is insulting to the people of Kampuchea, whether they live in the country or abroad, said the article, and it provides justification for the assumption that not everyone as yet realizes the full extent of the nightmare created by the rule of

this regime. The tales of eyewitnesses to the "days of Pol Pot tyranny," the author emphasized, "paint a picture which makes the blood run cold in one's veins."

The book by PRAVDA correspondent V. N. Skvortsov presents an objective account of the tragedy experienced by the people of Kampuchea and their finest representatives--the communists. The author submits documented proof of not only the monstrous crimes committed by the supporters of Pol Pot, who were acting on direct instructions from Beijing and with its total support, but also the birth of resistance to the bloody clique and the development of a movement for the salvation of the homeland. The book contains outstanding descriptions of the victory won by the people's revolution and the rebirth of Kampuchea to new life.

The book contains additional facts which enable us to derive certain summations and conclusions concerning the role of nationalist extremism, which is a threat to the national liberation and communist movements. They have to do with the way in which internationalism was ignored, approval of the cult of violence, and the most indiscriminate use of means and methods. The materials of V. N. Skvortsov prove the exceptional topicality of the words by K. Marx to the effect that "ignorance is a demoniacal force... which will serve to cause many more tragedies" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 112).

China today and, still quite recently, Kampuchea, serve as convincing examples in this connection, for ignorant doctrinarism, represented as the latest achievement in revolutionary thinking, and the establishment of barracks-equalizing and reactionary concepts of socialism not only discredit the objectives of the revolution and the socialist ideals, but cause the country to regress greatly from the viewpoint of its historical development.

The events which occurred in Kampuchea in the aftermath of the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution, when the pro-American Lon Nol regime was overthrown, cannot be understood except in conjunction with Beijing's hegemonistic policy and its efforts to export the ideas of the "Great Helmsman."

The Kampuchean tragedy is to a great extent the result of the Maoist policy and China's notorious "cultural revolution." In this connection, how can we forget the strategic objectives of the Beijing leadership which Mao proclaimed, and the corresponding tactic of "conquering the globe" and creating a "powerful state." But the globe cannot be conquered immediately. As Mao said, one cannot consume a full plate in one swallow. It must be consumed "spoonful by spoonful and bit by bit." Southeast Asia was to be this "first bite" on the hegemonistic table.

Beijing took its time in choosing its target. It hesitated between Indonesia and Vietnam. "Preference" was given to Indonesia. Consequently, with the active participation of Beijing, the now familiar events of September 1965 took place in that country, culminating in the total elimination of the communist party, which had adopted Maoist ideology and intended to bring about a "revolution" from the top, "in accordance with the Beijing prescription. This plan suited no one but the reactionaries, who were quick to seize the opportunity to deal a harsh blow to all left-wing patriotic forces in the country. The calculations of the Maoists, who hoped to establish a Beijing-Djakarta axis in order to turn Indonesia into a

stronghold for Chinese domination of Southeastern and Southern Asia and the national liberation movement as a whole, which led to vast and senseless casualties, collapsed.

It was then that Beijing switched its attention to Indochina, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, most of all, all of them engaged in an adamant struggle against imperialism. Paradoxical though it might seem, it is a fact that Beijing at that time was acting together with the United States, which, having instigated the "Bay of Tonkin" incident, used it as a pretext for launching open aggression against Vietnam. The fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea became the victims of American aggression as well.

In China, this was regarded as an opportune development. Representing itself as a sincere friend of the peoples of Indochina, who needed support in that difficult period, Beijing decided to hitch these countries to the chariot of its hegemonistic policy. At the very peak of the American bombing of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, Mao let Washington know (in his talk with E. Snow in 1965) that his country would continue to wage only a "paper war" against the United States, i.e., a war using "serious warnings," "loud slogans" and anti-American demonstrations as its weapons.

As far as the real war was concerned, it was fought and won by the peoples of Indochina, with the tremendous and comprehensive fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and all the progressives forces on earth. From the very start, Beijing rejected the proposal made by the CPSU and the other communist parties for unity of action in the struggle against imperialism and American aggression in Vietnam. Furthermore, the Maoists did everything possible to prevent aid to the struggling peoples of Indochina. This clearly revealed their reliance on the fact that an exhausting war with the United States would lead to the destruction of all Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean, and that the warring countries would be mutually weakened, to Beijing's advantage.

When Beijing realized that its hopes of making the heroic Vietnamese people and their vanguard--the communist party--subordinate to China had failed, it adopted a course of malicious subversive activity, using its influence over the Chinese community in North and South Vietnam. At the same time, it attempted to undermine the fraternal relations between Vietnam and its brotherly comrades in arms, the Lao and Kampuchean patriots. It was at this point that Beijing began to rely mainly on Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. This was made easier not only by the fact that they were of Chinese origin, but also the fact that both fully shared the chauvinistic ideology of Maoism.

In this connection, we can trace a whole series of coincidences which are hardly entirely fortuitous. In 1965, Mao urged that Southeast Asia be "picked up." That same year, on their return from Paris, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary settled in Beijing. They did not go to Kampuchea, fearing reprisals from the government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. With the agreement of their Beijing masters, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary began to play a treacherous double game, with a view to taking over the country's communist party leadership. They represented themselves as decisive supporters of the anti-imperialist struggle and Vietnam, and they criticized Sihanouk's government, his proimperialist vacillations, and his feudal customs.



This enabled them to gain political credibility as "firm revolutionaries," and to take over the leadership of the clandestine communist party. Here Beijing's support played a decisive role.

After acquiring their ideological-political training in China during the "cultural revolution," Pol Pot and Ieng Sary decided to create their own "Kampuchean socialism" based on Maoism. Having become one of the top leaders of the communist party, Pol Pot charted a course designed to isolate the party from all contacts with the international communist and other progressive movements from the very beginning. Imitating his teachers in Beijing, and following the instructions of numerous Chinese advisors, Pol Pot took the system established by Mao Zedong in the CPC as his model: cult of personality, despotism, secrecy, mistrust, encouragement of mutual surveillance, spy-mania in the party and in relations among its leaders, promotion of "reeducation" campaigns, and reliance on the illiterate segment of the peasantry as the true bearers and guardians of "revolutionary purity" and "innocence of bourgeois influence."

The author describes all of the occurrences in the struggle for leadership in the Kampuchean Communist Party in detail. Under Pol Pot, the party even abandoned its name. It was given the mystifying and fearsome appellation "Angka"--a kind of omnipotent organization, unknown and secret both to its members and to the ordinary citizens of the country, something like a brotherhood or a triade--the name given to the secret terrorist organizations of the Chinese expatriates in this area.

The Lon Nol puppet regime fell on 17 April 1975, as a result of the brilliant victory won by the Vietnamese people in the struggle against American imperialism and its stooges, and the complete liberation of South Vietnam. It might have seemed that the Kampuchean people would henceforth live a free and happy life. However, this was not to be. That course of events would not have suited the hegemonistic plans of Beijing and its Kampuchean stooges. Therefore, a terrible tragedy took place. News of it shook all honest people on earth, just as mankind was shaken when it learned of the atrocities committed by the German fascists and Japanese militarists. "Another 44 months of hard struggle, with countless casualties, had to be fought against the handful of traitors to the national interests and socialism who had usurped power and who relied on great-China hegemonism before the freedom won in April 1975 could be recovered," the author writes (p 7).

The main question which troubles all honest persons fighting for social progress is how the freedom won by the Kampuchean people was stolen from them, and how it could have happened. V. N. Skvortsov's book helps us to understand the situation.

After the imperialist stooges had been expelled, what happened in Kampuchea in 1975 could be described in Marx' terms as follows: "The entire nation, which assumed that it had accelerated its progress by means of revolution, found itself suddenly thrown back into the past" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 8, p 121). Here is what (Rokh Samay), one of the noted leaders of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, said in this connection: "Neither the population of Phnom Penh, which welcomed us joyfully then, nor we ourselves suspected that treachery was being plotted behind our backs, or that Beijing had

long since established a clique of unprincipled politicians who proceeded to profit from the results of the people's victory, to deal with the true communists, and to establish a terrorist regime of a Maoist type...." (p 23).

As we pointed out, as early as the mid-1960s, the Pol Pot clique adopted the Maoist method of struggle to establish its undivided rule over the party and the country. In less than one decade, it was able to accomplish what Mao and his stooges had been able to accomplish in the CPC over a period of 30 to 40 years. In a certain sense, the tragedy of Kampuchea and its people represents the concentrated tragedy of the Chinese people and the CPC.

As early as the 1940s, Mao launched the "movement for streamlining the style of" and "reeducating" the members of the CPC in the spirit of his own nationalistic "ideas," with a view to asserting his political and ideological rule. A similar campaign was waged by the Pol Pot people. During it and under the guise of "reeducation," they got rid of unsuitable leaders and promoted an atmosphere of individual dictatorship by Pol Pot.

The violation of basic democratic norms in China and in the CPC, total arbitrary action and illegality, secret denunciations and sadistic public trials were the features of the regime organized in the period of the "cultural revolution." Under the guise of "labor training" and "socialist reeducation," tens of millions of people, the intelligentsia above all, the educated youth, workers, party and state cadre personnel, who had shown even the slightest evidence of displeasure with the Maoist excesses, were taken from the cities and resettled by force in remote rural areas. According to the official admissions of the authorities in Beijing today, more than 50 million people in China were exiled from the cities during the "cultural revolution" and more than 200 million more, i.e., a quarter of the entire population then, were subjected to various repressive measures and forms of persecution. According to incomplete data, as many as 10 million people, mainly CPC members, were tortured and physically eliminated.

Within a shorter period of time in Kampuchea, the Pol Pot executioners plunged into such butchery that they can be termed most apt pupils of their Beijing teachers. Pol Pot and his stooges wasted no time in stirring matters up, but unlike Mao, they did not resort to any kind of distracting maneuvers. The Kampuchean patriots had barely liberated Phnom Penh in the spring of 1975 when the strictest possible order was promulgated without delay: the active participants in the national liberation movement were ordered to remain where they were at that point. Only a limited circle of individuals, personally loyal to Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, gathered in Phnom Penh. The civilian population of the capital and the other cities was ordered to leave the cities immediately and to settle in "cooperatives," which had been especially created in the countryside, on the model of the 1958-style Maoist "communes." Basically, these "cooperatives" were concentration camps. At the same time, the mass elimination of party and army activists loyal to the ideals of socialism, the interests of the national liberation struggle and the friendship between the people of Kampuchea and fraternal Vietnam, was undertaken.

In three and a half years, the Pol Pot executioners destroyed more than three of the eight million people living in the country. This was a purposeful campaign

designed to provide "Lebensraum" for the subsequent settlement of the country by Chinese. It was thus that Mao's urging to "pick up" Southeast Asia was implemented.

The Maoist leadership, in pursuit of its objectives, took action in various directions. On the one hand, with the help of Pol Pot's supporters, the native Kampuchean population was being destroyed. On the other, by encouraging the Pol Pot clique to launch a fratricidal war against the Vietnamese people, Beijing hoped to weaken it seriously, to prevent the building of socialism in united Vietnam, and to destabilize the situation in that country. Subsequently, the Maoists committed their "fifth column" as well to support the actions of Pol Pot--the agents in the Chinese communities in North and South Vietnam. In betraying the interests of Kampuchea and its people, Pol Pot reached the acme of cynicism, which can only be compared to Mao's misanthropic expatiation about the possibility of sacrificing a half of humankind and a half of China's population in order to achieve hegemonistic goals. "If we sacrifice two million Kampucheans in order to destroy 50 million Vietnamese," the Pol Pot people stated cynically, "we will still have six million left to help build socialism" (p 56).

As Kampuchean cadres were being eliminated in the cities and in the government, the number of Chinese advisers and various "specialists" increased rapidly. At the same time, the country's national resources, valuable raw materials and rare metals above all, were beginning to be shipped to China at a faster pace. "...It was as though Beijing had entered the country on its books and was quoting prices for it on the foreign market, financing its transactions and seeing to it that revenues exceeded expenditures" (p 147).

It is impossible to read the pages describing what the Kampuchean patriots who had liberated Phnom Penh from the gangs of national traitors and executioners found at the beginning of 1979 without painful shuddering. Only six youngsters--the children of escaped prisoners--could be found in an area of 50 square kilometers, where more than a million people had lived in 1975...

The country's economic, political and cultural life had not been dislocated or paralyzed. No--it had been very simply destroyed, reduced to naught. Higher and secondary schools had been closed down, while the professors and teachers had been murdered. Libraries and museums had been closed and then wrecked. The premises of schools and hospitals had been converted into medieval jails where human beings were tortured and systematically destroyed.

It is difficult for the mind to absorb all this today.

Having assumed leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party, the Pol Pot clique converted it into a weapon for the establishment of its absolute rule and the implementation of the hegemonistic plans to subordinate the country to Beijing. Some of the factors which facilitated Pol Pot's assumption of power were the conditions under which the communist party was operating and its methods. Having functioned in clandestine fashion for a long period of time, the communists headed the national liberation movement while relying exclusively on the rural sector and guerrilla warfare methods. The party's links with the working class were extremely weak. It had isolated itself from the international communist movement and the

world socialist system. It was also affected by negative Maoist influences and the absolutization of Mao's tactics of "encirclement of the town by the countryside." The creation of revolutionary strong points in the countryside, which was suggested by the comintern in its time as a tactical maneuver, was dictated by the specific conditions in the class struggle in China after Chiang Kai-shek's 1927 counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and the suppression of the reactionaries in the main centers of the workers' movement in the country. It was this tactical maneuver which Mao developed into the cornerstone of the "new model of revolution." It is noteworthy that today's Chinese ideologues are again emphasizing it. According to this "model," it is not the proletariat but the petit bourgeois rural strata, the peasantry, and various declassed elements which are regarded as the bearers of revolutionary spirit. The petit bourgeois equalization concepts, which come down to the idea of equality among petty producers, are presented as the true ideal of "proletarian" socialism. In writing about such "ideas," V. I. Lenin said that they are reactionary, "an attempt to regress rather than to progress in the solution of the problems of the socialist revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 15, p 225).

The cult of violence, absolutization of the armed method of struggle, and voluntarism are inherent in such a petit bourgeois, lumpen social nature of the movement. The adverse consequences of the absolutization of the guerrilla movement and the extension of its methods and traditions to all social life, the undermining of the ideological and organizational foundations of the party, and the distortion and misrepresentation of its socialist principles have never, anywhere else, reached the levels they did in China and Kampuchea.

The harsh lessons of Maoist rule in China and the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea reconfirmed the accuracy of Lenin's instruction to the fact that "The party of the proletariat must never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even the main, means of struggle; this means must be subordinated to others, made consistent with the principal means of struggle, and enhanced by the enlightening and organizing influence of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 14, p 9).

The rejection of the historical experience of the international revolutionary workers' movement by the Maoists and their stooges in many parties in Southeast Asian countries has led to extremely serious consequences. As to Kampuchea, there a clique of ignorant doctrinarian-nationalists have seized power within the party and the country, proclaimed all contemporary culture without exception to be a "bourgeois putrefaction," and the town a place where "class enemies" have accumulated and must be eliminated once and for all "for the good of the people." In this connection, Pol Pot even outdid Mao. The Maoist thesis according to which "the countryside encircles the town" was developed by Pol Pot into the thesis according to which "the countryside absorbs the town."

The elimination of the consequences of the tragedy which struck Kampuchea under Pol Pot, the elimination of the regime of genocide and the rebirth of the party and the country convincingly demonstrated the great vital force of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The fraternal support which the Vietnamese people, the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity provided aided the Kampuchean patriots to unite rapidly at a critical time and, with Vietnam's direct military assistance, to expel the treacherous Pol Pot clique.

It was the restoration of truly internationalist relations by the Kampuchean patriots precisely which helped Kampuchea to emerge from its total isolation, paved the way for the national recovery of the country, and made it possible to regain the lost victory. The merit of the Kampuchean revolutionaries, and the internationalist forces within the communist party, above all, the author stresses, lies in the fact that they were able promptly to realize the threatening, mortal danger which Maoism posed, and could maintain their loyalty to progressive socialist objectives.

The tremendous power of internationalism is manifested today too, as the USSR, Vietnam and the other members of the socialist comity are helping Kampuchea to restore its industry and transportation system, to eliminate hunger and epidemics, to rebuild electric power plants and hospitals, and to defend the interests of the Kampuchean people in the international arena.

The Kampuchean example clearly and convincingly confirms yet once again the indivisible links between true patriotism and internationalism, which nurture and enrich one another reciprocally. Narrow-minded and ignorant nationalistic egotism inevitably creates discord in the national liberation movement, and not only leads to conflicts with other nations and countries, but may even degenerate into a policy of genocide directed against one's own people.

As to the international significance of the events in Kampuchea over the past decade, we must agree with the author that they reveal the complete bankruptcy of Maoism, and the danger to the people of any attempt to establish Maoist "preserves" outside of China. "Anyone who may have still been nurturing any illusions about the present leadership in Beijing has been unable to realize the treacherous, reactionary and chauvinistic nature of its foreign policy course and the fact that it shares nothing with socialism. The mass uprisings of the oppressed, who were destroyed by the Khmers, not only discredited and brought down the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, but struck a blow at Maoism, shaming it and demonstrating its inhuman nature" (p 190).

The elimination of the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime improved the situation in Southeast Asia. Under these circumstances, the attempts on the part of the reactionary forces in some countries in the area to support the vestiges of the Pol Pot gangs, who went into hiding, fearing the retribution of the people, in the areas of Thailand adjacent to Kampuchea, appear even more hypocritical and dangerous to the cause of peace.

No less hypocritical and self-revelatory are the actions of the present Chinese leadership, which is doing everything possible to prevent the inevitable and definitive collapse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang and to revive these political corpses, who are being dispatched to various international forums, including the United Nations, on Chinese passports, with the support of American "defenders of human rights."

There is also something else which is noteworthy. In China itself, today's leaders are trying to "rein in their horses" on the edge of the precipice, and to separate themselves from the "cultural revolution" and the policy which, by their own

statements, "led the country to the brink of catastrophe." The leaders term the order established in the country during the "cultural revolution" "feudal-fascist dictatorship." They condemn the mass repression of that time, and have even rehabilitated many of its victims. Furthermore, they are criminally prosecuting (!) the supporters of Lin Biao and Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, who have now been charged with all these crimes.

However, it is the very same Beijing leaders who are protecting the Pol Pot clique which has adopted the "cultural revolution" methods in their entirety, systematically pursuing the precise policy for which Lin Biao and the Gang of Four are now being blamed in China. This "false bottom" logic which the Beijing leadership uses reveals its hypocrisy. All of this, more than anything else, confirms that today's Chinese leadership opposes neither the "cultural revolution" nor the mass destruction of the fighters for socialism. What they find unsuitable is the members of the Gang of Four, who have come to represent a hindrance to them in the power struggle. This is why the Beijing leaders are trying the Gang of Four on the one hand, while on the other hand they defend its loyal "students and followers," who are destroying the Kampuchean people.

The author writes with great optimism about the restoration of life in Phnom Penh and other Kampuchean cities and the rebuilding of factories, ports and electric power plants. All of this gives us firm confidence that the just revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people will win out.

Always loyal to its international duty, the Soviet Union was one of the first nations to come to the aid of this ancient and long-suffering country. As the author points out with justification, the tremendous and selfless aid and effective support provided by the USSR demonstrated true internationalism in action yet once again, and made an important contribution to the speediest possible elimination of the consequences of the rule of a genocidal regime in Kampuchea and promotion of a national renaissance in the country.

The visit made to the Soviet Union by a party and government delegation from the Kampuchean People's Republic, headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea Central Committee, and chairman of the National Revolutionary Council of the Kampuchean People's Republic in February 1980 strengthened the indestructible bonds of friendship between the Soviet and Kampuchean peoples. The Soviet-Kampuchean declaration concerning the results of the visit, which was signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Heng Samrin, states: "The Soviet people fully support the efforts of the Kampuchean people with a view to building a peaceful, independent, free, democratic and nonaligned Kampuchea, which is pursuing the path toward socialism. It intends to continue its support of the friendly people of Kampuchea in the struggle against imperialist intrigues, Beijing hegemonism and international reaction."

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## TRACING GRAMSCI'S LEGACY

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 119-123

[Review by V. Naumov, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works] by Antonio Gramsci. Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury, Moscow, 1980, 421 pp]

[Text] The name Antonio Gramsci, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, who died prematurely, at the age of 46, in a fascist jail, occupies a worthy place among the names of the great fighters whose life exploits and contributions to the revolutionary theory and practical actions of the working class are now an eternal part of the history of the international communist movement. It has become a symbol of courage and loyalty to revolutionary duty. To this day, thanks to his powerful and innovative thinking, A. Gramsci continues to struggle, shoulder to shoulder with millions of party members, for the victory of the great cause of social liberation of the proletariat and all working people, wherever they have not as yet triumphed.

The main works of this outstanding revolutionary did not become accessible to the Italian and international public until the end of the 1940s and the 1950s. They immediately became a major phenomenon in the development of the science of the proletarian revolution and world culture as a whole. Since then, A. Gramsci's theoretical legacy has been the subject of lively discussions and polemics among various political forces. Many books and articles and special scientific conferences have discussed his life and works. For example, in December 1977, a representative international conference was held in Italy on "politics and history in A. Gramsci's works." The conference materials were published in a two-volume work. Naturally, there have also been attempts to belittle the significance of A. Gramsci's works, to pit them against Lenin's theory and the experience of the October Revolution, and to narrow their theoretical conclusions, representing them as applicable only to Italy or to the industrially developed West.

At present, the study of A. Gramsci's legacy has taken on particular significance in connection with the intensified ideological pressure being exerted by the imperialists on the communist parties and democratic forces and the socialist countries.

The new book containing selected works by A. Gramsci, which with few exceptions are being published for the first time in the Russian language (some of them were published in **KOMMUNIST** No 6, 1977), put out by Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury, will arouse certain and entirely understandable interest in the Soviet

reader. The contemporary reader will be aided in entering the creative laboratory of the Italian revolutionary and will become more familiar with the events of the 1920s and 1930s by a reading of the thorough introductory article by G. P. Smirnov, and the comments by I. V. Grigor'yeva and K. F. Mizioanov.

The collection was released on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Italian Communist Party and the 90th anniversary of A. Gramsci's birth. Both of these dates, which fall in the month--January--are observed with great reverence not only by communists, but by all the Soviet people.

The works included in the book enable one to trace the development of the revolutionary's theoretical ideas throughout all the basic stages of his career, and to understand not only with the mind, but with the heart as well, the basic theme which runs through his work--socialist revolution and the ways and means of implement it, particularly in Italy, his homeland, but also in the other developed capitalist countries. We do not exaggerate in speaking of feeling with the heart, for one cannot help but admire A. Gramsci's perfect literary form and extremely clear and refined presentation style on reading his speeches and articles. Let us note that the Russian translation successfully captures these characteristics. Researchers often forgot to mention Gramsci's publicistic talent.

Specifically, the anthology includes some ideas set forth by A. Gramsci on the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat which have already achieved widespread familiarity, and his view of the problems of the state, the policy of working class alliances, internationalism, party construction, and the interconnection of the economic, political and ideological struggles.

A. Gramsci is characterized as a theoretician and a man of active and practical effort by his creative and truly scientific approach to the great revolutionary doctrine--Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the international revolutionary movement, and the development, on this basis, of his party's policy. We can understand therefore, why A. Gramsci focused his attention primarily on Russia, the victorious October Revolution, and the building of the first socialist state in the world in his search for revolutionary paths for Italy. He relied on the familiar Leninist concept of the possibility and even necessity of adopting a variety of means leading to socialist revolution, consistent with differing historical circumstances.

Based on the Marxist theory of unity in the world revolutionary process, A. Gramsci assessed the social and historical experience of the Russian proletariat mainly as the embodiment of the experience of the international working and peasant class, which, as he put it, was given state form by the Bolsheviks through the act of the October Revolution (see p 56). The further course of universal history today can no longer be imagined without this greatest of events, or without its impact on the fate of all mankind. The Soviet State became an "inseparable aspect of the unstoppable process of the development of human civilization and the first nucleus of the new society" (p 57). A. Gramsci's attitude toward Leninism as an international revolutionary doctrine can be traced on the basis of this and many other statements.



His articles and speeches on the lessons of the great October Revolution and the worldwide significance of the Soviet republic and the strengthening of internationalism are characterized by an inflexible belief in the rightness of the cause of the working class and the inevitability of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. In his article "Russia and the International," A. Gramsci wrote: "The Russian proletarian revolution was the first great proletarian revolution to culminate victoriously with the seizure of power by the proletariat in the largest capitalist country in the world...The historical experience of the revolutionary working class in Russia is of tremendous importance to the whole of the international proletariat and its struggle for liberation (p 116).

The conclusion as to the need for a thorough study and utilization of the Bolshevik experience is found in many of his other works. In his article "Disintegration and Genesis," which was published in ORDINE NUOVO, he wrote: "By undertaking its revolution, the Russian proletariat provided its brothers throughout the world with actual historical experience, which served as a powerful material support for the spirit and actions of the proletarian International" (p 50).

The example of the socialist revolution in Russia, the successes of the Russian proletariat, which undertook the building of the first proletarian state in the world, and V. I. Lenin's theoretical and practical activities were studied and analyzed thoroughly by this Italian revolutionary. He took as his basis the fact that the October Revolution provided a general direction for the revolutionary actions of the proletariat the world over. His writings about the revolution and Lenin are imbued with great revolutionary pathos and respect for the Russian working class and the Bolsheviks who accomplished this great historical deed. In the article "Tribute to History," A. Gramsci wrote that the Russian communists "enriched the traditions developing out of the life of the proletarian class, the life of the workers and the peasants... the state of the soviets...became the state of the entire Russian people; this was achieved thanks to the constant and persistent efforts of the communist party and the enthusiastic faith and loyalty of the workers, thanks to the active and tireless efforts in the fields of propaganda, education and upbringing of those outstanding people, the cadres of the Russian communist movement, guided by the clear and inflexible will of their common teacher--Lenin" (pp 56-57).

However, A. Gramsci did not reduce the mastery of Leninism to a mere repetition of the formulae or duplication of the experience of the October Revolution. He emphasized the need for the revolutionary proletarian party to pursue an "independent, creative policy" (p 147). He regarded the October Revolution not as a complete and independent factor, separate from other movements, but as the beginning of a revolutionary process on a global scale. A. Gramsci turned his attention to how this process could be developed throughout the world, and in Italy, where he had firm links with the labor movement. It so happened that in the period of the upsurge of the world revolutionary movement, inspired by the Russian example, the Italian Socialist Party proved incapable of formulating a truly revolutionary program for action in its homeland. True, the party did not follow the bourgeois government or yield to militaristic intoxication, as the other socialist parties in Western Europe did. But by retaining its nature as a purely

parliamentary party, it remained unable to become the organizer of the masses or to head the struggle for the socialist reorganization of society.

Motivated by this objective, A. Gramsci launched the weekly ORDINE NUOVO, together with a group of young socialists, in May 1919. It became the printed organ of the Marxist wing of the Italian Socialist Party. In the articles published, he developed the most important theoretical problems in the revolutionary movement, and explained to the working class in his country that to be successful in the class struggle, it must become hegemonistic and rally the working people in a united democratic front. A. Gramsci formulated and substantiated the problem of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the unity of the people's masses, and the leading and organizing role of the proletarian revolutionary party, under Italian conditions. He studied the Leninist doctrine of the party of the working class and looked for ways to apply it to the Italian reality.

The Italian Communist Party was born as a result of the withdrawal of the communist faction from the Italian Socialist Party. The communist faction consisted of two heterogeneous groups: the sectarian group, headed by A. Bordiga and the ORDINE NUOVO group, headed by A. Gramsci, P. Togliatti, and U. Terracini. At first, A. Bordiga's line prevailed. Its adverse effects on the combat capability of the young communist party soon became apparent. The party proved unable to organize armed resistance to the advent of fascism. The struggle to establish a party of a new type within the Italian workers' movement developed under the direct and immediate influence of the experience of the Bolsheviks who headed the victorious October Revolution. A. Gramsci clearly saw the role of a progressive revolutionary party in the organization and leadership of the broad movement of the toiling masses and the building of a new life, based on the fact that the Russian communists, at that time, provided a brilliant and essentially exclusive example of how to play this role. "The Russian communists," he said, "are a stratum of first rate leading cadres.... They have broken with the past and yet are its continuation. They have broken one tradition, but at the same time they have developed and enriched another. They broke with the historical past, dominated by the "haves," and continued, developed and enriched the traditions deriving from the life of the proletarian class, the life of the workers and the peasants..." (pp 55-56).

The proletariat cannot become the hegemon spontaneously, without the guidance of a progressive revolutionary party, described by A. Gramsci as the "collective intellect." The establishment of such a party occurred under the guiding influence of the ORDINE NUOVO group, which Lenin described at the Second Comintern Congress in July of 1920 as "the closest Italian line to the Communist International" (see "Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 254). We know that in his work "The Left Wing Infantile Disease of Communism," Lenin provided a brilliant rebuttal to Bordiga's profoundly erroneous and schematic concepts and political line. All of A. Gramsci's activities were focused on the struggle against sectarianism and for the drafting of the party's new political line.

At the May 1924 Party Conference, A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti were able to rally the majority of the party's leadership in support of their open opposition to A. Bordiga's theses. A. Gramsci and his group mounted an unyielding struggle to

orient the entire party toward Leninist positions. This struggle ended in victory at the 1926 congress in Lyons, at which A. Gramsci presented his famous "Lyons Theses." They set forth problems in party strategy and tactics and pitted Bordiga's sectarian views against the effective principles of the mass struggle. In particular, they called for a "workers' and peasants' government" as a revolutionary alternative, based on the support of the people, to fascism, which was gaining strength in the country. The party's unity was restored and strengthened. However, this took place at a time when the revolutionary workers' movement in the main Western European countries had already passed the peak of this upsurge. The merit of A. Gramsci's effort lay in the fact that, under the circumstances provided by the temporary stabilization of capitalism, after Lenin, and conditions demanding that the proletariat wage protracted "trench warfare," he developed the foundations of strategy and tactics designed to provide the organizational and ideological preparations and to gather strength for the future decisive storming of the bastions of ruling class domination.

Under such circumstances, he wrote, "the proletariat can become the leading and ruling class to the extent that it is able to create a system of class alliances enabling it to mobilize the majority of the toiling population against capitalism and the bourgeois state" (p 9). Thus the struggle against fascism, posed for the Italian working class as the priority task of the times, was linked by A. Gramsci with the potential for struggle for a proletarian revolution in Italy. He regarded the origins and social nature of fascism and the process of Italian fascistisation in terms of his study of the policy of the Italian bourgeoisie and Italian capitalism. He anticipated some aspects of the basic importance of the evaluation of this phenomenon provided by the Comintern at its Seventh Congress in 1935: "Essentially, fascism means armed forces serving the interests and functioning on the orders of the capitalist plutocracy and the agrarians" (p 156). Therefore, as the Lyons Theses noted, the power capable of waging a persistent antifascist struggle should be sought within historical enemy of capitalism--the working class.

The influence of the October Revolution on A. Gramsci's development as a proletarian revolutionary theoretician and politician was not by any means merely limited to his adoption of the Leninist doctrine of a working class of the new type, or the development and application of that doctrine in terms of the Italian reality.

He adopted the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian dictatorship in its entirety, in particular as applicable to the age of the general crisis in capitalism, substantiating the need for it by his own study of sociopolitical developments under the conditions provided by the capitalist system. The dictatorship of the proletariat, A. Gramsci pointed out, reflects "the will of the majority," which develops essentially within the capitalist society, but which is prevented by the bourgeoisie from finding itself," and from becoming a majority in real political life. "The main accomplishment of the Russian revolution," A. Gramsci noted, "was the establishment of a state of a new type--the state of the soviets" (p 31).

A. Gramsci reflected at length on how to apply the concept of the soviets in Italy. He reached the conclusion that it was the plant committee or council which

could be compared, in terms of their nature, to the soviets, and which would function as the offshoots of a labor government in Italy. Such councils had developed on the initiative of the trade unions even before World War I, and they had become independent organs elected by the enterprise workers as a whole. His basic idea was to create something similar to the soviets in Russia on the basis of the factory-plant commissions existing at the enterprises. They could become the political organs for "workers' self-management" and for the revolutionary struggle for socialism in Italy. A. Gramsci campaigned for the soviet experience. In his words, the soviets were "a specific form of the proletarian state," representing the initial nucleus of the new society. In discussing the feelings of the Italian proletariat, he wrote that "the conviction that the proletarian state was embodied in the system of soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies has become rooted in the masses... For this reason, we must undertake the organization of a network of proletarian institutions as of now..." (p 68), consistent with the specific conditions in Italy and playing the same role as in Russia. The works of A. Gramsci make it clear that it was a question of a creative approach to the use of the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution, fully consistent with the Marxist revolutionary method.

The problem of the motive forces for socialist revolution in Italy was of tremendous importance to the Italian communists and to their proper understanding of the means by which it could be accomplished. Here again, A. Gramsci turned to the experience of the Russian Revolution. He made a thorough study of the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks in the matter of class alliances. This meant a development of the familiar Marxian concept as to desirability of combining the proletarian revolution and any possible recurrence of the peasant wars in a single stream. He pointed out that "The workers and peasants in Russia...were united in their joint struggle for their common objective... The class struggle of the workers and the peasant war linked their destinies with an eternal bond..." (Antonio Gramsci, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya v Trekh Tomakh" [Selected Works in Three Volumes]. Izdatel'stvo Inostrannoy Literatury, Moscow, 1957, Vol I, pp 97-98). A. Gramsci regarded the prevention of southern Italy from becoming a mass base for the reactionaries and "capitalist counterrevolution" as one of the most important tasks of the Italian working class and the communists, its revolutionary vanguard. He presented the communists with the idea of a political alliance between the workers of the north and the peasants of the south, a concept which remains valid in today's struggle as well.

The formulation of this concept was preceded by a thorough study of the situation of the Italian peasantry, which was presented in the work "Some Aspects of the Problem of the South." A. Gramsci wrote that the Italian peasant problem developed historically; there was no peasant problem in general, he said. The peasant problem in Italy developed in two typical and characteristic forms: the problem of the south, and the problem of the Vatican. A. Gramsci linked its resolution with the attitude of the communists toward believers and the church, which exerted a great influence on the peasantry and represented a serious obstacle to the alliance between workers and peasants under Italian conditions. He wrote that the Roman Catholics "are trying to preserve their base in a reality which is slipping away from their control. Religious myths, as an ideology which has penetrated the mass mind, and which through its value system, directs all types of activities and

institutions in individual and collective life, can be broken down--both in Italy and in other countries--and can be converted into the ideology of a specific political party" (p 47).

The threat of fascism which faced the proletariat in all its magnitude, forced A. Gramsci once again to address himself to the problem of the ways and means by which the proletariat could achieve political and ideological leadership of the working people under the new circumstances. "Fascism," he wrote in this connection, "has only postponed the proletarian revolution, but it cannot prevent its implementation indefinitely..." (p 163). He believed that under the prevailing circumstances, it would be difficult for the revolutionary proletariat to seize political power in one fell swoop, with a single attack upon capitalist power. A. Gramsci envisaged a lengthy daily struggle on the part of the working class to win over the majority of the people, through a variety of ideological-political and moral efforts, such as to achieve ideological domination by the proletariat in all realms of social life. This demanded, above all, that the revolutionary workers' movement itself stand firmly on proper ideological positions.

Noting that the Italian labor movement had always underestimated theoretical work (see p 177), A. Gramsci devoted great attention to the party's ideological and educational role, and the ideological training of the communists. "...An intensive and systematic effort must be pursued in the field of ideology. The party must make it incumbent upon its members to become familiar with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, if only in general terms," he wrote in May 1925, in the article "On the Need for Mass Ideological Training" (p 178). "Our party," he said at the Central Committee plenum, "lacks a profound knowledge of Marxist theory and Leninism." It must "drastically change the state of affairs" (187). Throughout his struggle and all of his writings, A. Gramsci proved the universal significance of scientific proletarian theory and the possibility and necessity of making use of its basic stipulations under conditions quite different from those in Russia, including those in the Italian reality.

A. Gramsci did much to improve the ideological and political upbringing of party cadres and to organize the work of party schools. "We are a combat organization. All organizations and individual members of our ranks are studying with a view to improving and advancing their combat capabilities and in order to be able to understand both the enemy's positions and their own more fully" (p 173).

The Italian communists were the first among the class brothers in the various European countries to face the ugly and cruel enemy represented by fascism, of which A. Gramsci himself became a victim. He was detained in 1926, and after being shifted from one jail to another, he was sentenced by a fascist court in June 1928 to 20 years and 4 months' imprisonment. The fascist rulers were aware of the extent of the danger which the communist party and its acknowledged leader represented for them. The prosecutor said to the court cynically: "We must deprive this brain of the possibility of functioning for 20 years." However, the fascists were unable to achieve this. Although ill, and rising above a serious ailment, he filled more than 2,800 notebook pages during his years of misfortune. His "Prison Notebooks," a record of an outstanding combination of experience and ideas,

acquired through struggle and suffering, became a priceless treasury of Marxist-Leninist thinking. At the same time, these records had a great impact on the development of Italian political and spiritual life.

The works of A. Gramsci are topical to this day. His ideological-theoretical legacy is a powerful weapon in the hands of the Italian communists, who base their strategy and tactics on it, and the international proletariat, which utilizes it in its struggle against imperialism and opportunism in the workers' movement and in training the broad masses for socialist revolution.

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CSO: 1802/8

## CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION IN ECONOMIC LITERATURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 pp 123-127

[Review by V. Voropayev, candidate of economic sciences, and E. Gorbunov, candidate of economic sciences, of the following books: "Effektivnost' Kapital'nykh Vlozheniy" [Effectiveness of Capital Investments] by T. S. Khachaturov. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1979; "Faktor Vremeni v Planovoy Ekonomike. Investitsionnyy Aspekt" [The Time Factor in a Planned Economy. Investment Aspect] (V. P. Krasovskiy, editor). Ekonomika, Moscow, 1978; "Faktor Vremeni v Obshchestvennom Proizvodstve. Ekonomiko-Statisticheskiye Ocherki" [Time Factor in Public Production. Economic-Statistical Essays] by Ya. B. Kvasha. Statistika, Moscow, 1979; "Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskaya Effektivnost' Perspektivnykh Vlozheniy" [Socioeconomic Effectiveness of Long-Term Investments] (V. G. Lebedev, V. K. Poltorygin, and V. I. Kuchlin, editors). Mysl', Moscow, 1979; and "Sovershenstvovaniye Stroitel'nogo Proizvodstva" [Progress in Construction Output] by I. K. Komarov. Stroyizdat, Moscow, 1979]

[Text] The economic publications in the second half of the 1970s have devoted considerable attention to problems in the development and improvement of capital construction in the USSR. This review considers some of what are in our view the most important works published in 1978 and 1979. They are characterized by a broad national economic approach to capital construction as a public production sector.

T. S. Khachaturov's monograph is a theoretical study of the effectiveness of capital investments based on an analysis of macroeconomic processes in the national economy, bearing in mind the dynamism of its structure and the increase in the country's investment potential. It considers all Soviet economic sectors (infrastructure and nonproduction area) and it analyzes problems in capital investment effectiveness in socialist CEMA-member countries and the developed capitalist nations. The other works being reviewed cover individual problems in capital investment effectiveness: the time factor is considered in the collective monographs edited by V. Krasovskiy and authored by Ya. B. Kvasha, respectively. Problems in long-range planning of the capital investment process and scientific and technical progress are considered in the book edited by V. G. Lebedev, V. K. Poltorygin and V. I. Kuchlin. Finally, the monograph by I. K. Komarov deals extensively with capital construction practice, and provides a theoretical summation of the progressive experience acquired in the different sectors and parts of the country.

The authors devote serious attention to methodological problems. Contemporary capital construction has developed into a huge public production subdivision.

Along with increased volume and structural complexity, the economic relations of the sector have become more complex and its links with the whole of planning, cost effectiveness and the material incentive system used in other sectors and in the national economy as a whole have become closer. Naturally, this makes the concept of capital investment effectiveness, its conceptual apparatus, and the tools used in the applied calculations more complex. From this viewpoint, T. S. Khachaturov's monograph and the collective work edited by V. P. Krasovskiy are the most interesting.

In the first mentioned, the category of capital investment effectiveness is studied on the basis of changes in national economic effectiveness. The author emphasizes that effectiveness expresses the quality of economic management (see p 24). He shows how, on the basis of the high rate of development in scientific and technical progress and improved planning, organization and management of public production, the number of factors influencing the capital investment effectiveness indicators has increased, and their economic content has changed. The monograph emphasizes that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the capital investment effectiveness indicators pertaining to the manifestation and consideration of the time factor, increase most of all since this has to do with the amount of time required before economic results can be achieved and the pace of economic growth.

A wide variety of methods are used in estimating the time factor in the practice of planned socialist economic management and Soviet economics today. The problems which require consideration of the time factor include strategic aspects of economic development (definition of the share of accumulations in the national income and the corresponding rates of economic growth), as well as local problems involving the establishment of ratios between current and capital outlays, and their breakdown by construction periods for a specific project (construction site). The scope characterizing the interpretation of the reflection of the time factor in economic computations is typical of the three works which deal with methodological problems in assessing economic effectiveness on the basis of this factor. This is true of the monograph by Ya. B. Kvasha, as well.

T. S. Khachaturov singles out the following aspects and tasks in his consideration of the time factor, focusing mainly on the assessment of capital investment effectiveness: 1) planning and study of growth rates; 2) determination of the time required to obtain economic results; 3) comparison of capital investments as one-time outlays and cost of output in terms of current outlays; 4) consideration of the length of construction time and mastery of enterprises and projects, and determination of the volume of "frozen" funds allocated for construction and removed from national economic circulation; 5) assessment of physical and moral wear and tear on labor tools; determination of the optimal service life of capital assets, and procedures for amortization computations; 6) consideration of the economic disparity between outlay volumes which may be nominally equal yet made at different times and the effects thereof; and assessment of the various breakdowns of outlays and results by time periods.

Ya. B. Kvasha considers the whole range of problems pertaining to production time in industrial sectors, while the monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy studies the



duration of the full function cycle for material resources, including the time needed for transportation to the consumer, the stockpiling of materials, and the incorporation of mineral-raw material resources in national economic circulation. The author includes the economic analysis and forecasting of the speed with which equipment is distributed and output and technology are renovated in material production sectors, a study of the time requirement and mechanisms of productive capital turnover, assessment and consideration of capital investment lags, the speed of capital investment turnover, determination of the overall results of implementing comprehensive programs, and a study of planning deadlines and their influence on construction time among the tasks related to a consideration of the time factor.

The monographs devote considerable attention to clarifying the economic content of the reduction of outlays and results to a single time aspect, the determination of the size of the reduction norm, and its relation to the normative coefficient for comparative effectiveness of capital investments. The authors agree unanimously that the economic nature of these norms varies, so that there is no direct relation between the size of one and another. A very important conclusion drawn here has to do with the possibility of varying the reduction norm for planned periods of different lengths (see p 176 of the monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy) for different resources, products and investment lines (see p 168). In our view, the practical significance of this range of problems is very substantial, since the choice of one direction or another for capital investment, the distribution of outlays in time and their assessment are determined by the initial methodological prerequisites which are included in the economic computations. The use of the time reduction method for economic indicators in its most popular form (based on a system of complex percentage rates, with a single, firm norm) could lead to major errors, particularly in the assessment of medium and long-term projects. There is unanimous agreement on this by all the authors of the works being reviewed.

The next group of methodological problems related to the determination and study of production time in construction, where the time interval between the start of design work and the achievement of full capacity and other technical and economic indicators of completed enterprises is considered in terms of years, and in the case of major construction programs, even decades, is of no less practical significance.

Whereas a reduction in construction costs enables us to release a rather limited volume of resources, mainly financial and material, a reduction in the length of construction time, which affects cost as well, always represents a more extensive release of productive capital and manpower. However, this too often requires additional outlays, and this raises the issue of determining the optimal duration of construction time. The problem is considered in detail in Chapter 12 of the collective monograph and the work by Ya. B. Kvasha (see pp 140-142).

The most thorough economic-statistical study of the length of construction time is provided by Ya. B. Kvasha. Without question, the reader will be interested in the assessments the monograph provides production time in construction and in the method for systematic approximation of the average length of a construction

period, obtained initially on the basis of summarized data on the extent of unfinished construction and the commissioning of capital assets (see pp 127-140). The author's suggestion (see pp 142-144) on improving the balancing of investment plans with the financing potential, and insuring the availability of material resources by the establishment of a capital investment reserve is of practical significance in shortening planned construction time.

Along with the direct determination of production time, the computation of lag indicators, which describe the average time period during which assets are withdrawn ("frozen") in capital construction and the turnover speed of capital investments (a term introduced for the first time by V. P. Krasovskiy) has become popular in terms of the theory and practice of the investment process. The collective monograph offers a new aspect: it distinguishes between cost effectiveness and national economic turnover (see p 29); a specific set of tools is provided for assessing the indicators of capital investment turnover and lag, and the various approaches to the determination of investment lags are compared. The lag indicator is related directly to the determination of the volume of so-called "frozen" assets (T. S. Khachaturov, pp 158-159), and the indicator for the abstraction period for capital investments (monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy, p 143) and the time required for restoration and recovery of assets as a result of earnings.

The study of problems having to do with the turnover speed of productive capital, its service life and the role of amortization in the formation and renovation of labor tools is of major theoretical and practical significance. The monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy provides a detailed analysis of the nature and duration of the reproduction cycle for productive capital in our country for the period between 1950 and 1976. It proves that the period of active functioning of productive capital influences the growth rates of the material production sectors and the structure of national income and capital investment. The authors of all three monographs mentioned agree that the time has come to raise the amortization norms for renovation, reducing capital repairs and accelerating the renovation of productive capital.

The authors of the monograph on the socioeconomic effectiveness of long-term investments cite the active influence of the moral obsolescence of renovated productive capital as the main factor determining the accelerated amortization policy. In their view, higher amortization norms should be used in the initial years equipment is installed, with subsequent reductions while making active use of amortization withholdings as capital investments (see pp 205-209). However, the authors do not concern themselves with the question of the ratio between the value and the physical structure of the production accumulation fund, or the correlation between them in the implementation of an accelerated amortization policy.

On the other hand, the formulation of a number of problems in investment effectiveness having to do with the scientific and technical revolution, known as "long-term investments" (investments in science, education, the development of scientific centers, designing and development of technical systems) is of unquestionable value. Let us note that since investing in general is long-term in nature, a description of such investments might not be considered apt. However,

the reader will undoubtedly be interested in the considerable volume of analytical and factual data on which the study is based. The practical recommendations on improving the effectiveness of the operation of the scientific centers in the various parts of the country are particularly valuable.

Along with the accumulation of a whole set of scientific and technical factors which determine the development of the material conditions for upgrading capital construction effectiveness, the authors emphasize the tremendous importance of improving the economic mechanism. The monographs summarize the progressive experience acquired by enterprises in many sectors where the system of new methods for planning and organizational-management work have been tried out, make a detailed study of the experience at these enterprises, and single out the positive (and some negative) aspects of the means of applying measures the usefulness of which has been demonstrated to the national economy.

The work by I. K. Komarov is particularly rich in practical data. It covers the study of all the basic stages of capital construction: design, material and technical, equipment supply, and the building of the project as such. In this connection, the author undertakes a study of the problems pertaining to improving the assessment of the activities of design and construction organizations, and methods for organization, financing, procurement, material incentives, management and socialist competition in construction.

The detailed study provided by I. K. Komarov in his monograph concerning the familiar Belorussian experiment, in which a comprehensive system of measures was used to improve the economic mechanism of capital construction, is without question of very great value. It pertains above all to the practical utilization of new assessment indicators: the volume of industrial construction output and the commissioning of completed projects. This is supported by the application of a new system for the financing and organization of capital construction and management thereof. In this connection, the author demonstrates the advantages of continuous planning and the need for fixed lists of projects for which the necessary cost estimate documents and blueprints must be provided. The work describes the economic advantages of increased material incentives for enterprise collectives and providing design, construction and machine building enterprises with an opportunity to earn additional profits by reducing construction time, in proportion to the contribution made to the results achieved. A considerable proportion of the monograph is devoted to a summary of the experience in applying the brigade system, which as was noted in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, should become the basic form of labor organization and incentives.

In his study of the Belorussian experiment, I. K. Komarov emphasizes the urgent need to strengthen contractual discipline in relations between customers and contractors and between contractors and subcontractors. It is only through strict adherence to the conditions governing economic contracts, the author points out, that the group method of construction organization and net schedules can be utilized. In our view, however, the latter could also be used in the drafting of systems for the development and location of technically and economically substantiated major projects and the implementation of comprehensive investment programs.

The author's suggestion that design and construction organizations be combined, and that on this basis, large design-construction firms be established to

undertake contracts for comprehensive industrial construction, including design work, construction and the installation of technological equipment, merits careful study. The problem of involving large machine building organizations more extensively in capital construction as general contractors, and of using construction organizations as subcontractors, with a material incentive system to reduce time and upgrade the quality of the work, which is presented in the monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy, is also of some interest. If this were done, the cost of the technological lines, systems and machine units, whether in storage, in the process of assembly or already assembled but not yet delivered to the customer would, according to the authors, be included on the balance sheet of the main procurement plant, while accounts between the customer and the main procurement plant would be settled when the equipment has been completely installed and delivered, whether on the basis of the whole project, individual production lines, target complexes and sequences, or the completion of the entire enterprise.

As the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Minister decree notes, improving the organization and planning the construction and management of the complex call for increasing the use of financial-credit levers to encourage reducing construction time, by increasing the credit share in the financing of capital investment and crediting contracting constructing organizations on a larger scale, for the full amount of the cost of the enterprise under construction, as estimated for the entire time until the construction project has been fully completed. According to T. S. Khachaturov, the volume of capital investment credited should amount to 25-30 percent of the capital investment total for the national economy (see p 252).

The study of the problems in upgrading the effectiveness of capital construction in the monographs reviewed will without question make a contribution to the resolution of the problem of creating a single cost effectiveness capital construction complex (planning, financing, material and technical supply, organization and management).

The monograph by T. S. Khachaturov and the collective work edited by V. P. Krasovskiy emphasize the advantages of the program-target approach to the capital construction process. This presumes broadened vertical and horizontal links in the investment complex and involvement in the process of investing in new areas for the application of capital investments, industrial and social infrastructure projects, in particular.

In this connection, let us stress in particular the topicality of the concepts set forth in the monograph by T. S. Khachaturov, which are applicable to the methodology for determining the effectiveness of capital investments in the nonproduction area and in terms of ecology, problems which have not to date been dealt with extensively in economic publications.

The book on the socioeconomic effectiveness of long-term investments (edited by V. G. Lebedev, V. K. Poltorygin, and V. I. Kuchlin) points out that the process of "apportionment" of capital investments on the basis of economic programs rather than sectors represents "the use of programs instead of sectors." This, they allege, would upset the system of production relations (see pp 60-61). In our view, this contraposition of the program-target method and the principles governing sectorial planning is a mistake. An efficiently formulated national economic

program should reflect the interests of both the individual sectors participating in its implementation and the other partners--territorial organs, cities, enterprises, ministries in the nonproduction area, and others. It is equally important to find the proper functional methods for the planning, organization and management of resources in the implementation of each national economic target program. The use of program-target planning does not mean use of sectorial planning instead. Program-target planning, which leads to the full utilization of productive capital and insures its rational interlinking and interaction enables us to achieve substantial savings in capital investments and current outlays.

The books being reviewed cover important theoretical and practical problems in capital construction. They are not, of course, free of shortcomings. For example, the monograph edited by V. P. Krasovskiy, in our view, should have dealt more extensively with the social aspect of the time factor. In his work, T. S. Khachaturov erroneously defines investment effectiveness in the developed capitalist countries as "profitability;" furthermore, the calculation of these indicators, as applied, should have been more extensively linked with a number of new trends in the capitalist economy (such as the increase in production diversification, for example).

Nevertheless, the reader will find in these studies much useful data, from the theoretical as well as the practical viewpoint. Without question, they constitute an excellent practical foundation for the work of the planning and directival organs in developing and implementing the measures set forth in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 2, Jan 81 p 127

[Text] "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Kontrole i Proverke Ispoleninya" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Control of Execution]. In two volumes, Vols 1 and 2. Anthology prepared by K. M. Bogolyubov and F. P. Petrov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980. Vol 1, 511 pp; Vol 2, 359 pp.

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## OBITUARY OF VASILIIY PAVLOVICH STEPANOV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 81 p 128

[Editors' obituary announcement]

[Text] Vasily Pavlovich Stepanov, a party member for 55 years, a cadre party worker and legal affairs journalist, and a member of the editorial collegium of our journal, passed away in his 76th year.

Essentially, V. P. Stepanov's long and meaningful career was spent as a member of party organs. He began as an instructor at the Buyskiy Raykom of the VKP(b), Kostromskaya Oblast. With some interruptions, he worked as a member of the party's Central Committee apparatus as an instructor, consultant, deputy department head and department head between 1938 and 1956. During that time, he also served as deputy chairman of the USSR Sovnarkom Committee for Radiobroadcasting and Installation of Public Address Systems,, Gospolitizdat editor in chief, and deputy editor in chief and later editor in chief of the newspaper KUL'TURA I ZHIZN'. He worked as deputy editor in chief of PRAVDA from 1956 to 1962.

V. P. Stepanov was KOMMUNIST editor in chief from 1963 to 1966. After his retirement, he continued his exceptionally conscientious work as a member of its editorial board.

In our editorial collective, Vasily Pavlovich set a worthy example of party principle-mindedness and a creative attitude toward the work. In the whole of his conduct, he refuted the popular concept of retirement. At editorial and party meetings, he always provided the proper militant tone for the discussion of articles and theoretical problems. However, he never allowed even a hint of arrogance about his journalistic skill, practical experience or other merits. Many works, including editorials and editorial articles, carried in KOMMUNIST and other press organs were the apt products of V. P. Stepanov's pen. Bolshevik tempering, an acute political sense, extensive erudition, spiritual purity, goodness and responsiveness in his contacts with others, and noteworthy industry earned him his fine repucation and made him a true instructor of his junior colleagues.

Nor did the V. P. Stepanov falter in social work. He was invariably elected a member of the editorial party bureau. He was bureau chairman for the section of journalists specializing in Marxist-Leninist theory in the USSR Union of Journalists' Moscow City Organization.



The homeland awarded V. P. Stepanov's work a high rating. He was a recipient of the Order of Lenin and three Labor Red Banner orders.

In the final year of his life, V. P. Stepanov was seriously ill. However, he did not interrupt his literary work. His article "V. I. Lenin as Journalist and Editor" was published in our last issue of KOMMUNIST (No 1, 1981). Words taken from this article ring like the legacy left by V. P. Stepanov to his comrades and colleagues:

"It is a great honor for any Soviet journalist, wherever he may work, in a large press organ or a small one, to belong to the shop with which Lenin was affiliated, and to contribute to the press for which the foundations were laid thanks to Lenin's tremendous efforts. The responsibility of the journalist to the party, the people and history for each word written or printed represents a great honor but is a great responsibility as well."

Vasiliy Pavlovich always tried to be worthy of that honor and to measure up to this responsibility. This is how V. P. Stepanov will be remembered by all those who knew him.

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