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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 3, February 1981

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

CONTENTS

Sense of Mastery of the Country.....	1
Ascent (Vadim Kozhevnikov).....	14
Under the Leadership of the Party and Together with the People (S. Sokolov).....	22
Concentration on End Results (V. Zadorozhnyy).....	33
Important Theoretical and Practical Problem (E. Andreyev).....	44
Interweaving Earth and Space Research (I. Yanitskiy).....	48
More Impetuous Advance (N. Tyurin).....	50
Automated Systems--'Co-Authors' with Designers (M. Osin and Yu. Tyurin).....	54
Social Aspects of Production Development (M. Antonov).....	56
Climate of the Collective (A. Rassadin).....	59
Integration of Experience (L. Gol'din).....	63

Incentives for High Production Quality (A. Tkachenko).....	66
Valuable Form of Concentration (I. Nikolayeva).....	69
Rational Use of Timber Resources (A. Liseyev).....	72
A More Socialist Attitude Toward Soil Resources (V. Gorlov, I. Lozanovskaya and D. Orlov).....	77
Promising Young Sector (B. Neyman).....	81
Inspiring Document (A. Kalashnikov).....	86
Scientific Sowing for the People's Harvest (A. Kolesnik).....	89
Heeding the Wisdom of Nature (A. Venchikov).....	93
Remaining in the Ranks of Veterans (G. Zimanas).....	96
Esthetic Environment and Spiritual World of Soviet Man (L. Shepetis).....	98
Moral Potential of the Socialist Culture (Yu. Barabash).....	111
In a Spirit of Party Exactness and Comradeship (Ye. Bugayev).....	126
CPSU Congresses Are Milestones of the World Revolutionary Movement (Stefan Doernberg).....	140
Revolutionary Labor Movement: October and the First Post-October Years (Yu. Krasin).....	150
Wartime International Conferences (P. Zhilin).....	164
Topical Problems of Historical Methodology (N. Kuz'min).....	175

Short Book Reviews	
(S. Golyakov).....	178
Obituary of Konstantin Ivanovich Romanovskiy.....	181

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SENSE OF MASTERY OF THE COUNTRY

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[Text] We are the masters of our plant, K. Bondarenko, foreman at the Zhulyanskiy Reinforced Concrete Goods and Structures Plant, says. Here we must organize our own life and establish order by becoming united, by rejecting false philistine rumors, and by increasing our mutual exigency. Above all, we must concern ourselves with the project and its end results: increased effectiveness and improved quality in our joint work.

This, like thousands of other similar statements, is a concentrated expression of a characteristic feature of the Soviet individual--one of the most essential features of a personality shaped under socialist conditions, particularly noteworthy at the present level of the beginning of communism--the feeling that one is the master of one's society.

This feeling is developed in particular in the working class--the leading force of the Soviet people, a force whose outlook is shared by all the toiling strata under the conditions of mature socialism.

Was this not the reason for the broad scope of the pre-congress socialist competition and the new waves of innovative labor initiatives? Was this not the basis for the universal interest evidenced in the efficient discussion of the draft guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee for the 26th party congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990?"

In labor collectives, schools, military units, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, at meetings of the aktiv and party committee plenums in rayons, cities and okrugs, at oblast and kray party conferences and at the congresses of the communist parties of union republics, in the press, on radio and television, in the party, Komsomol and economic training systems, and in talks at home, the Soviet people, while warmly approving the party's economic strategy and social policy, voiced their comments, wishes, suggestions and additions in connection with this historical document.

Most such views have been distinguished by the mature political awareness of the working people in town and country and their ability to adopt a statesman-like approach to any specific problem in social practice, high civic-mindedness and competence in the assessment of one's aspect of the common cause or another, as well as readiness to participate actively. The activity in their life stance is

organic, for everyone can see in the tasks formulated by the communist party and the assignments of the new five-year plan a program for his personal work and the inspiration for a worthy contribution to the solution and implementation of these problems and tasks.

The main acquisition of socialism is the people it has created. How can we fail to remember here the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the June 1976 Conference of Communists and Workers Parties of Europe? "Under socialist conditions, the Soviet individual has developed a truly valuable quality: the sense of being the master of his country, well aware of the link between his work and the cause of the whole people, remembering and thinking of the common interest. This is manifested not in some kind of platonic feeling, but in the real accomplishment of millions of people."

The need and potential for the free and unhindered manifestation of this feeling of ownership the working people enjoy in all realms of social life were described with perspicacity by V. I. Lenin before the October Revolution, in his book "The State and Revolution." After overthrowing the exploiters, the leader asserted, the proletariat will establish an order in which "everyone will learn how to manage and will, in fact, manage public production independently and will see to accountability and control independently..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 102).

Lenin based his conclusion on the works of the founders of Marxism and the experience in the revolutionary struggle, that of the Paris Commune in particular, the 110th anniversary of which will be celebrated on 18 March. A brilliant and scientific prediction is to be found in the words of F. Engels, in particular: "The kind of unification possible for a people in a society which has previously opposed them, as if this were dictated from above by nature and history, now becomes their own free affair. Objective and alien forces which have thus far dominated history come within the control of the people themselves. It is only at this point that the people can begin to create their own history in full awareness. Only then can the social reasons they have put into motion lead to an ever increasing extent to the consequences they desire. This will mean a leap forward for mankind from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 295).

The Russian proletariat had the honor and good fortune to be the first group to implement this need realized as the ideal prerequisite in man's requirement, practically mastered, for the type of freedom which marks conscious control over the known laws of social development, the assumption of control of the natural and social conditions governing human activities, the elimination of the alienation of labor, and the assignment to it of a directly social nature. In the final analysis, it was precisely the elimination of capitalist ownership and the assertion of public ownership of productive capital which became the basic objective prerequisite for the shaping of the master of a new, socialist and collectivist type.

In speaking of the victory of the Russian proletariat, Lenin pointed out that "rule by a given class was secured when a practical solution was provided to the

problem of ownership" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 251); "after assuming power, the working class retains, preserves and strengthens that power, like any other class, aided by its changed attitude toward ownership and with the aid of the new Constitution" (Ibid., p 270). As of that point, the assertion of the new social relations was no longer marked by a surrogate of collectivity, as is the bourgeois state or any other community of private owners or "false collective" within which individuals have been united to date," which "pitted itself against them, claiming to be autonomous" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 75), but real, true collectivity, within which the joint and the individual reciprocally presume and substantiate each other. These were relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid among workers free of exploitation. Feeling no power ruling over them other than that of their own association, they were able for the first time in history to declare: "We are the state!"

When explaining the universal-historical meaning of this new social reality, as the head of the first state of the workers and peasants in the world, Lenin called upon the working people to evidence their sense of mastery of the new world more daringly and broadly. In June 1918, at the Fourth Conference of Moscow Trade Unions and Factory and Plant Committees, he stated: "We are the masters of industry, the grain and all the other products of the country. When the working class gains a profound awareness of this fact, and when through its own experience and work it increases its strength tenfold--only then can all of the difficulties of the socialist revolution be overcome" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 466). In dozens of reports, speeches and publicity works, the leader formulated, developed and enriched concepts related directly to the content of the historically new social feeling and the ways and means of molding, strengthening and developing it. The study and summation of all of these thoughts, scattered throughout Lenin's various works, would provide us with a streamlined system for scientific forecasting, summarization and recommendation--an organic part of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the origins and establishment of the new society.

V. I. Lenin defined the conditions under which the feeling of mastery of the production process, of being the "representative of the country," first emerges: the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat (the "period of political transition" referred to by Marx); the creation of economic prerequisites for the accelerated upsurge of the social production forces, and on this basis, the development of socialist production relations; the elimination of all forms of social inequality and the organization of "the strictest possible control of the volume of labor and the volume of consumption by society and the state..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 97); an organic link between the daily work of millions of people and state management and organization of the production process on a nationwide scale; comprehensive utilization of the advantages of the new system; and not only the involvement of the working people in the management of the national economy and society, but the tireless development of the proper qualities in them as well, as a result of which the participation of every citizen in these matters must be constant, mandatory and effective.

The bourgeois and antisocialist elements, which have not abandoned their plans for restoration, fear the firm rooting in the toiling masses, in the people, of a great awareness of direct involvement in everything affecting the country, most of

all. Resorting frequently to the propagation of consumerist and actually parasitic aspirations, unsupported by actual labor, they demonstrate thereby their obvious lack of morality. Imperialist propaganda is attempting persistently to impose the alienated feelings of the dominated individual, the isolated hired laborer who has "sold" his "ownership of himself"--his labor ability, upon the working people in the socialist countries. This is a feeling which was eliminated in the socialist countries along with exploitation. The propagandists slanderously depict the people's system (as they are doing today with regard to Poland, for example) as a power with which the simple worker cannot reach an agreement. This attains the proportions of a monstrous lie about the "community" of interests shared by entrepreneurs and workers, which is supposedly attainable in the capitalist West. The propagandists advertise this in the hope of discrediting the socialist organization of the production process. Although politically nearsighted people might still fall into the trap of such lies, all that this proves is that the sense of mastery of the country is a powerful moral and political factor in the socialist reorganization of life and the entire contemporary epoch, as is clearly realized even by our class opponents. The October Revolution made a great change in the thinking of millions of working people. It strengthened the willpower of the workers and peasants. The Bolshevik Party helped them to overcome their age-old "timidity," and to grow accustomed to the fact that "they are the ruling class today..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 199). The power, vitality and invincibility of the new system were manifested precisely in the fact that it awakened in the masses an attitude of ownership toward their own country, breaking down the slavish stereotypes in their minds and leading "the working people along the path of the independent making of a new life" (Ibid.). The leading feature of this new development, according to Lenin, was labor competition. "Not only does socialism not eliminate competition," he wrote, "but conversely, it offers an opportunity for the first time for its application on a truly extensive and mass scale, involving the real majority of the working people in the type of work in which they can show what they are, can develop their capabilities, and can reveal talents which are an untapped resource in the people and which capitalism eliminated, strangled or suppressed in thousands and millions of people" (Ibid., p 195). Lenin put the "conscientious and voluntary initiative of the workers in the development of labor productivity, the adoption of a new labor discipline, and creative work under socialist economic and living conditions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 18), and selfless concern on the part of "the rank and file workers," despite their arduous toil, "with increased labor productivity and preservation of each pood of grain, coal, iron and other products, not for the personal use of the working people or their 'friends,' but destined for 'strangers,' i.e., society as a whole, tens and hundreds of millions of people..." (Ibid., p 22) above everything else.

Labor discipline and creative competition contribute very greatly to the development of a true feeling among the masses of personal involvement with assignments, the development of a feeling of responsibility on the part of the individual toward society and the state, and the manifestation of a healthy collectivist initiative and spirit of innovation, as well as thrift in the use of resources and the people's property in all its forms. It is in the course of socialist competition precisely that the most determined and challenging heroism is manifested in mass daily work.

Loyal to the urgings of its leader, armed with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, and defining future developments and the domestic and foreign political line of the USSR at each stage, the CPSU has guided the great constructive activities of the Soviet people and given their struggle for communism a scientific nature, for more than six decades. The building of a state of a new type is the main weapon for the defense of the gains of the revolution and the building of a communist society. Public ownership of productive capital and true democracy for the toiling masses have been firmly established. Tremendous socioeconomic changes have taken place thanks to the efforts of the freed workers and peasants, headed by the CPSU, their tested vanguard. The exploitation of man by man, class antagonism and national hostility have been eliminated forever. The unification of the Soviet republics within the USSR multiplied the strength and the potential of the peoples within the country in the course of their historical creativity. The founding and development of the land of the soviets marked the beginning of a universal-historical turn in the course of mankind from capitalism to socialism.

The features of the Soviet individual as the master of the production process and of the country--a master of an entirely new kind--were formed in the struggle for the victory of socialism. This individual is the bearer of a new attitude toward ownership, involving the features of socialist ownership, use and handling of productive capital. What kind of features are these? They include an awareness of collective coownership of all public wealth and responsibility for it; the indivisible nature of basic personal and social interests; the coincidence of the main moral guidelines for individuals, collectives, classes and masses and the ideals of the communist party; and the close links between social activity and exigency with regard to oneself and everything occurring in the area of social labor and life.

These features of the Soviet individual are due mainly to the unfading exploits of the people in the Great Patriotic War, the historical victory won by the Soviet Armed Forces, and the strengthening of the prestige and international position of the USSR, which opened up favorable new opportunities for the development of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace the world over.

The further constructive activity of the working people insured the comprehensive development of our country and the improvement of the socialist system. The alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia strengthened, and the friendship among nations and nationalities within the USSR became closer. A sociopolitical and ideological unity developed within Soviet society, in which the leading force is the working class. After the dictatorship of the proletariat fulfilled its role, the Soviet state became a state of the whole people. The leading role of the communist party increased even further.

Developed socialism raised socialist democracy to a qualitatively new level. It broadened the real rights and freedoms of the citizens, and is insuring that these rights and freedoms are combined with obligations and responsibilities toward society.

Nationwide discussions of the most important problems in governmental life have become one of the vivid manifestations of socialist democracy. This was the ca

for example, with the discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution in 1977, which was the product of long years of intensive work on the part of a large and skilled collective. More than 140 million people--more than four-fifths of the adult population of our country--participated in the discussion. The Soviet people analyzed the draft fundamental law of their state profoundly and thoroughly. They expressed their opinions on this and other subjects affecting various aspects of life. "When we think of the speeches and letters," said Comrade L. I. Prezhnev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session which discussed the draft constitution, "we come to the conclusion that they reflect the tremendous victory of socialism, in terms of the existence of a new type of individual, one who does not separate himself from the state but takes the interests of the state, of the whole people, as his own."

Let us recall that soon after the end of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin noted that the legacy of the exploiting system included acute mistrust of anything governmental on the part of the masses. "Overcoming this," he stressed, "will be a very difficult task which can only be carried out by the Soviet system. However, it will also require a great deal of time and tremendous persistence" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 184).

The Soviet system resolved this problem with honor.

In these pre-congress days, we are witnessing and participating in an equally vivid manifestation of the creative activity of the masses--the nationwide discussion of the draft CC CPSU guidelines, which set forth the development of the country for the 1980s. Daily, the newspapers carry articles, letters, reports, and other correspondence discussing this major social and politically significant campaign comprehensively. At the same time, the Central Committee is receiving numerous reports on the achievements of enterprises, associations, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhoses: records are being broken, plan assignments overfulfilled, and higher obligations assumed. Such is the weighty word of the Soviet individual: an expression of a profound understanding of the party's policy and unreserved and total support of it.

The entire country is doing shock work. Socialist competition has taken on unprecedented scope. The workers, kolkhoz members, engineering and technical personnel, scientists and employees have undertaken an active search for reserves and opportunities for above-plan output. For example, more than 300,000 front-rankers in the capital have pledged fulfillment of their assignments for the first two months and the first quarter of 1981 before 23 February--the day on which the highest forum of the Soviet communists opens.

Production front-rankers and congress delegates Yu. T. Barulina, a rod maker at the Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev; V. M. Gridneva, a weaver at the Oktyabr' Worsted Association; N. A. Zlobin, head of the comprehensive brigade at the Zelenogradstroy Administration; Ye. P. Kop'yev, a turner at the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Association; V. A. Pogibeleva, a spinner at the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy Cotton Fabrics Combine; G. G. Reshetova, an assembly worker at the First Timepieces Plant imeni S. M. Kirov; and V. F. Sokolov, a locomotive engineer at the Moscow Marshalling Yard depot,

launched a patriotic initiative to provide a worthy welcome to the 26th CPSU Congress and to fulfill individual 1981 assignments ahead of schedule. They pledged fulfillment of their personal production assignments for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan by 7 November, and they published a collective letter in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA addressed to the party members and all the working people of Moscow, whom they urged to imitate their example, to set individual labor records, and to make the highest achievement their daily norm.

The frontrankers' socialist pledges are supported by economic calculations. They are based on extensive utilization of the reserves and resources available, more efficient use of equipment and tools, and comprehensive conservation of raw and other material and energy resources. Maximal output per work site will be achieved through further improvement in skills, the use of advanced labor methods, increased machine tool servicing, the mastery of related skills, application of the brigade method of labor organization and wages, and the energizing of rationalization efforts. The Moscow City Party Committee Bureau supported this initiative, which it regarded as being of major political and national economic significance.

The appeal by the group of delegates to the 26th party congress was a new incentive for shock work. In many parts of the country and in all union republics, labor collectives adopted, as urged, the obligation to complete the plan for the first 2 months of the year ahead of schedule, and to complete their annual assignments by the October anniversary.

Guided by the decisions of the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions on all-round increase in production of consumer goods as a task of prime economic and political significance, and in an effort to make a substantial contribution in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress, the frontranking collectives i. the construction and installation organizations of the enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, the USSR Ministry of Construction, the USSR Ministry of Rural Construction, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry launched an initiative and assumed socialist obligations for 1981 and the whole of the five-year plan in connection with the accelerated increase of light industry capacities.

This initiative was approved by the CC CPSU.

Addressing the 23rd Communist Party of Latvia Congress, F. Kornelius, party committee secretary at the VEF Production Association, described the initiative of several Riga collectives which launched competition under the slogan "For High Quality Labor at Each Work Site!" The people of Kiev launched a movement entitled "Highest Yields Per Working Hour!"

Enterprises everywhere are promoting competition calling for work with maximum labor productivity and the achievement of new production successes for the duration of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The party members set the tone for all of this.

The feeling of mastery of the country is made evident in each sector of the nationwide construction project. It means involvement with everything which occurs, the adoption of an active life stance, a conscientious attitude towards social duty, unity of work and deed as a daily behavioral norm, and intolerance of any negative phenomenon. This particular aspect was discussed by Hero of Socialist Labor I. Bushma, head of an assembly brigade at the SMU-3 Kiev Housebuilding Combine No 1, in the course of the discussion of the draft CC CPSU guidelines. "I always react when I see a leaking water main, when electric lighting is being used in the middle of the day... All of this is a waste of our national wealth and the result of slackness. But imagine a residential building scheduled to be delivered to a commission at the end of the year. One or two days before the deadline, a feverish effort begins in the building area "to put things in order." Bulldozers bury construction waste left lying around the house in the ground. The main thing is to deliver the project as soon as possible, and the cost of all this is regarded as a tenth-rate matter."

As a member of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and the party gorkom, he constantly draws the attention of many different organizations to problems of thrift, economy and the preservation and effective use of the people's wealth in the process of carrying out his obligations.

The feeling of ownership must always reveal its aggressive side. It presumes not just noticing one fact or another, but an entirely clear and unequivocal attitude toward the facts and persistent struggle against all manifestations of negligence, waste, slackness, slovenliness and so on. All of our material, financial and natural resources and our work time require a sensible, thrifty and economical approach.

We must take outlays of raw and other materials, electric power and funds into account. Everyone must consider this a personal matter, for the reduction of material outlays of goods produced by the country by even one percent today is the equivalent of increasing the national income by six billion rubles.

Vast capital assets have been created in our country thanks to the inspired toil of the people. Their rational use, rapid mastery of newly installed capacities, reduction of equipment idling, and an attentive attitude toward equipment, toward each machine, tool and instrument will in the final analysis produce tremendous savings. For example, increasing capital returns in industry by only one kopeck per ruble of capital assets would yield additional output for us totaling approximately five billion rubles. At the present output level, we produce more than 3.5 billion kilowatt hours of electric power, more than 1.6 million tons of petroleum, including gas condensate, about 1.2 billion cubic meters of natural gas, about two million tons of coal, more than 400,000 tons of steel, more than two million pairs of leather shoes, tens of thousands of watches, radio and television sets and a vast amount of other goods every calendar day. It is not surprising that the value of each hour or minute of working time today has increased sharply. Unproductive waste of this time is converted in tangible losses to the national economy. In 1979, for example, we failed to produce goods worth three billion rubles because of absenteeism, idling and absence with official permission.

In 1972, the Kuybyshevurmash Production Association applied a system known today as collective responsibility for the status of labor discipline. It was introduced at the suggestion of party member A. Manakov, who was at that time chief of the machine assembly shop and who is today deputy general director of the association. The workers took on the obligation not only to avoid violating labor discipline themselves, but also to prevent their fellow workers from losing working time. In order to assume not only moral but material responsibility in this connection, they suggested that the bookkeeping department reduce bonuses due the collective by five percent every time one working day in a month was lost through the fault of any shop worker. If there were recurrences, the bonus was to be reduced by 10 percent. At the same time, the workers saw to it that a new worker could be hired only with their permission. A social department was set up for each shift to make the acquaintance of the novices and to acquaint them with the requirements. The cadre departments put the novices on the payroll only with the permission of the shift.

The new system was implemented successfully in one shop initially, and subsequently in others... Later on, virtually the whole association collective adopted the system of collective responsibility for the status of labor discipline. Interestingly enough, man/day losses in the machine assembly shop dropped to one-tenth of the previous level beginning in 1972. Today such losses are at a virtual minimum.

Collective responsibility for labor discipline had a beneficial effect on the labor productivity of the entire association: it doubled in eight years. Output quality (drill bits, tool joints, pneumatic wedges, flanges, and other items) improved significantly. Losses due to defective goods declined by a factor of almost 11. Furthermore, cadre turnover declined by a factor of more than 3.5. The workers themselves benefitted, since their earnings increased.

Thousands of collectives in our country and their party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are engaged in the search for effective methods of strengthening labor discipline and reducing losses of work time. For example, the labor of 60,000 people was saved in Tul'skaya Oblast, over a period of 4 years, by reducing equipment idling, working time losses and cadre turnover. Working time losses at the large Azot Production Association in Shchekino have been reduced to 0.05 percent. Under the influence of the discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines at the Kirghiz Avtomash Production Association, Hero of Socialist Labor N. Alymbekov, a fitter-instrument maker, said: "Every worker must sharply increase his responsibility for the condition in the collective and for observance of the labor discipline norms and communist morality in his daily behavior."

The party regards the use of the experience of frontranking collectives as one of the important methods of upgrading production effectiveness under the new five-year plan.

Unity between personal interest in the success of the common project and collective responsibility for labor results has been convincingly evidenced in the brigade contracting system which has developed in the construction industry. As we know, it was initiated by the brigade headed by Moscow construction worker N. A. Zlobin, which considerably accelerated the construction of residential buildings.

The experience of this collective demonstrated that with the new work method, construction time is cut by nearly one-half, and labor productivity is increased by 30-40 percent. Working time losses proved insignificant, no more than one-tenth of one percent.

In 1979, the contract cost effectiveness method was used by more than 70,000 brigades. All brigades at the Moscow No 1, Orel, Tallinn and other housebuilding combines are working on the basis of contracts, and their work is planned one or even two years ahead. These combines have established major continuous design-construction systems.

The experience acquired in the brigade organization of labor at the Kaluga Turbine Plant, also known as the "Kaluga variant," has become quite popular. The collective of the enterprise abandoned the individual piece rate system in favor of the method using a brigade given extensive rights. It reorganized its labor system and norming and applied the system of payment based on the finished product comprehensively. A plan with differentiated assignments covering the whole range of jobs is issued to a brigade for an entire year in advance. Wages are paid only on the basis of final results. This energizes workers' self-management: machine tool workers participate not only in the distribution of earnings within the group, but in the allocation of labor assignments as well. Projects can no longer be divided into "profitable" and "unprofitable" ones, as the brigade develops a profound interest in the execution of all operations.

It is evident that this method will be further developed under the 11th Five-Year Plan, as the draft "Basic Directions" call for "the implementation of measures for the further expansion of and increase the effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and wages."

However, innovations, even those which promise definite benefits, do not always obtain the proper response or necessary support.

For example, only slightly more than a third of all brigades working in capital construction have adopted the Zlobin brigade cost effectiveness method.

Here is yet another example: the famous Shchekino method, which was positively assessed by the CC CPSU, was used by only 400 enterprises throughout the country at the beginning of 1978. A year later, the situation had not improved substantially.

One of the reasons for this conservatism lies precisely in the fact that the introduction of new and progressive experience demands more daring and organizational and other effort, patience and a certain willingness to take a risk on part of the collective, its management and its public organizations. Those who love to create a stir and who adopt some of the superficial aspects of a new development to enhance their reputation announce their intentions soon. However, as a rule they become quickly disappointed in the labor intensive method, which does not yield instant results.

A firm and active sense of ownership is vitally needed by a collective using the brigade contracting method. No success is possible without it. Let us listen to the opinion of the initiator of the method himself. "In itself, the method does not eliminate anything," N. A. Zlobin has said. "However, it develops the type of relations among people in which responsibility for the fate of the construction project is shared equally by managers and performers, and the worker at a construction site becomes its true owner and begins to manage it thriftily."

However, if such relations fail to develop in the collective, or if performers and managers lack the necessary endurance, being motivated essentially by the desire to show off, the results produced by this progressive method will be poor.

Tangible results are achieved through the participation of the workers in the permanent production conference (PDPS), which function under the management of party and trade union organizations. The decisions and suggestions adopted and checked on by the PDPS have a considerable impact on improvements in the production process. At the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the plant-wide and shop PDPS, totaling about 130,000 throughout the country, had a membership in excess of 5.4 million people. More than 51,000 workers and employees took part in such conferences in 1979 in Tul'skaya Oblast alone. More than 12,000 suggestions were made and the absolute majority of them were put into practical use.

The CC CPSU has included in its guidelines for the new five-year plan the task of "upgrading the importance of production conferences and the general meetings of labor collectives."

Workers' meetings are an important form of mass activity by the working people in the production management area. Basically, they provide unlimited opportunities for involving the people in the active discussion of tasks and plans, prospects and shortcomings in the work of their enterprises, kolkhozes or sovkhozes. On the subject of workers' meetings, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that "We must develop the type of practice in which managers of associations and enterprises and leading ministry personnel report regularly directly to the workers on their work."

Naturally, the true owner of the production process is also the builder, the creator of a healthy moral atmosphere in the collective, as well as its loyal guardian. He openly opposes all phenomena alien to the Soviet way of life, such as violations of ethical norms, antisocial behavior, immoral actions, and selfish and private ownership interests.

A morally rich atmosphere is a prerequisite for labor success and the creative growth of the workers. "It is this kind of atmosphere precisely which has been developed in our collective," S. Mamedova, a fitter at the household air conditioner plant in Baku, said from the rostrum of the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. "This is why we are happy and find our work and our lives pleasant." The experience acquired by the party organization at that enterprise in promoting moral upbringing was approved by the republic's party committee. The congress noted the need for more profound mastery of this experience by all the collectives in the republic.

The sense of ownership is not a process which develops spontaneously at all. Naturally, social and economic factors, lay a decisive role in this connection. No less important, however, is the set of measures pertaining to the communist upbringing and education of the new man. Next important, the influence of the labor collectives is very beneficial. "Indeed, wherever the collective feels responsible for each of its members and everyone feels responsible for the collective," N. Litovchenko, laureate of the USSR State Prize and head of a derrick installation brigade at the Surgutneftegas Association, says, "there is no place for indifference. Here waste-makers will not be tolerated with indifference. Here the absent or sloppy worker will be condemned."

The CC CPSU draft guidelines emphasize the need "to enhance the role and initiative of labor collectives in management and planning, and in educating the workers in a conscientious spirit, a creative attitude toward labor, and highly productive and social activity."

Every single initiative of value should be noted by the collective, encouraged by the management, and made available to the public. It is important that the initiator have the support of the collective. A person who knows that his voice is being heard and heeded, and that his viewpoint is truly taken into account in the formulation of social and economic plans feels like the real owner of the production process. This is how political and production tasks blend together.

The example set by party members is of the greatest importance, among the tools of social influence. Every party member has a statutory obligation to be always in the lead and to guide the masses. Let us recall Lenin's words, written on the eve of the October Revolution: "By raising a working party, Marxism is raising a proletarian vanguard which can seize power and lead the whole of the people to socialism, direct and organize the new system, and serve as the teacher, manager and leader of all working and exploited people in the organization of their social life..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 26).

Fully aware of their tremendous responsibility, and with deep faith in the creative strength of the working people, the party members, interacting closely and constantly with the masses, are organizing, mobilizing and inspiring them to the solution of socially significant problems. They engage in ideological-educational work with the masses and lead the masses. The soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the whole of the widespread system of other public organizations are like "transmission belts" linking the party with the masses. Each of them has its specific function, but it is together with the party that they pursue the programmatic objectives of the building of communism. Within each of these organizations, the working people gain one type of experience or another in social self-management, providing the production owner category with its unique content, while lofty economic and political concepts are translated into the language of daily practice.

In the forthcoming decade, all labor collectives and Soviet individuals will be faced with major tasks in the area of increasing our material-technical and cultural potential.

The scale and complexity of our constructive activities are increasing. Ever broader masses of the people are becoming involved in conscious historical

creativity. This poses new tasks for the party in the energizing and use of the creative initiative of the working people, which is in our view an irreplaceable resource for accelerating economic and sociocultural development. "Thousands upon thousands of labor collectives and millions upon millions of conscientious Soviet citizens think about and are concerned with the country and its economy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum.

The implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan will require comprehensive advancement in organizational and political work. Exigency in connection with the implementation of assignments, high level organization and efficiency in the work, and strict observance of planning discipline at all levels, from the enterprise to the ministry, will be intensified for the cadres. Raising the standard of economic management and developing efficiency, responsibility and initiative-mindedness in everyone will become a mandatory prerequisite for success.

Major and socially very significant projects lie ahead. They include in particular the full development of socialist competition for the implementation of the five-year plans, mobilization of all production reserves, the speediest possible application of scientific and technical achievements in national economic practice, and the rational utilization of everything created thanks to the efforts of the people.

Every Soviet individual must assume a high level of responsibility by virtue of his objective role as the master of the country and the creator of all such accomplishments.

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CSO: 1802/10

ASCENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 14-20

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor Vadim Kozhevnikov]

[Text] The all-round and harmonious development of the socialist individual is one of the main tasks posed by the Leninist party. This will imbue our actions, thoughts and labor, and it is as though it will draw from the future the spiritual features of the new man for the benefit of our contemporaries.

In these exciting days, illuminated with inspiration by the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, we realize with new force the tremendous party role of the working class of our great country in the building of communism, as we think of the stage covered in the life of the people and turn our thoughts to the coming five-year plan and the time remaining in the 20th century.

Closing the gap between physical labor and spiritual and intellectual creativity is a feature characteristic of the contemporary Soviet worker. The genius of freed labor, the symbolic tools of which are the hammer and the sickle, is the directing force in social development. Sooner or later, it will sweep the deadly weapons of war and annihilation from the face of the earth forever. This was predicted with perspicacity and passed on to us by the founders of scientific communism and the great Lenin. We are taught the same thing by the party, which is leading the Soviet people along the path of steady ascent toward the communist future. The progress our country is making in successful economic and social construction is becoming ever broader and more energetic. The active and constructive power of the working class is being manifested to an increasing extent. The Soviet working class is the creator of the material and technical foundations for communism, and of the indestructible basis for the great socialist changes taking place for the sake of universal happiness in the name of the man of the present and the future and the harmoniously developed socialist individual. The party teaches us that the true path to the collective implementation of great plans is the path to the human mind and heart, to the conscious awareness of the individual who believes that everything created by the people provides benefit for the people.

The working class is not only the main constructive force in material production, for it exerts a powerful influence on the ideological, moral and cultural development of the entire Soviet people. The shaping of the harmonious personality of our contemporary is insured by the socioeconomic conditions which are the results, above all, of the efforts of the working class which is establishing the material and technical foundations for communism. This was described with the

greatest clarity in the CC CPSU draft guidelines: "In the 1980s, the Communist party will continue the systematic implementation of its economic strategy, the supreme goal of which is a steady upsurge in the material and cultural living standards of the people and the creation of the best possible conditions for the all-round development of the individual on the basis of further improvement in the effectiveness of all social production, higher labor productivity, and increased social and labor activity on the part of the Soviet people."

As we summarize the results of our accomplishments and look at the guidelines for the future, we would like above all to note the qualitatively new levels which have become clearly apparent in the professional and spiritual development of the working class in our country. Their emergence is also connected with the activities of production brigades working on the basis of a single order. This movement became quite widely known under the 10th Five-Year Plan. It may appear to some to be applicable only to the production area. However, we should also see in it attempts at innovation, achievements and the new moral and sociopsychological features of the socialist individual, dictated by the very atmosphere prevailing in these initial nuclei of new forms of organizing the labor collective.

The brigade method is not new. In the past, however, it was based on the piece rate principle, with earnings based on output. No matter how high the individual initiative of the worker, his conscientiousness and dedication may have been here, the piece rate system encouraged individual work, with no concern for the collective as a whole. How one's fellow workers in the shop did their work was of no concern, had no appeal, to the workers' conscience, for as a rule this encouraged material incentive, for which reason it failed to promote the sense of being the true master of the production process adequately.

The times themselves, the period of developed socialism, gave new meaning to the older forms of labor organization. It was this novelty which was embodied in the single order brigade movement.

The single order concept represents workers' cohesion, unanimity, and the purposefulness of all the members of the collective, in which the work of the individual blends with the common effort. The individual skill of the worker is not in any way lost. Conversely, it becomes particularly important, for the more fully individual qualities are developed, the more effective the results of one's labor becomes and the more productive the final result of the work of the entire brigade will be. With the piece rate system, the worker's labor was assessed by representatives of the administration--either a foreman or the shop chief. Under the brigade method, the contribution of the individual to the common task is assessed by the brigade itself--the "wise power of the collective."

The search for a suitable brigade leader is a complex task. Many foremen are first-rate production workers who lack organizational and pedagogical capabilities. Occasionally, a contradictory situation arises: a person with excellent organizational aptitude may not be able to command respect from his comrades, for he cannot boast of substantial labor accomplishments. The head of a brigade working on the single order basis must develop in himself the qualities of an organizer, a highly skilled professional, and above all, a leader of men. However, we should

not think either that the leader and the members of a brigade should be chosen from among those who are already fully trained in the new labor method. The single order brigades do not consist of "supermen." They include "problem" adolescents and inexperienced novices, as well as some who can barely meet the exacting yet proper demands of the new spirit of collective work. It is such brigades which become a school for gaining a skill, a school of morality, a school for involvement with the best traditions of the working class. The single order brigades are still confronted with complex and lengthy tasks in connection with the upbringing of the people. This is the reason for the particular importance assigned to this initiative.

What is the main guiding factor in the relations developing in the brigade? It is the party group. It is the party group precisely which is the closest adviser and aid of the brigade leader, and the power controlling observance of the lofty party and moral norms inherent in the working class in all realms of activity, whether at work or at home. Here again, as has been the case always and everywhere, the role of the party members is augmented, since they help the brigade leader and every brigade member to develop a proper line of conduct and to become not only excellent specialists, but good organizers as well, real persons.

It is in these and other features of the method, for which there is a great future, that we find the humane and just principles which express the essence of the socialist society and, above all, the comprehensive strength of collectivism. The CC CPSU draft guidelines state the following: "Develop the competitive spirit, comradely cooperation and mutual aid in work." All of these principles and features are interdependent and are vividly manifested in the brigade method.

The quality and quantity of labor and the readiness of the individual member of a collective to share his knowledge and skills with his fellow brigade members take on basic importance in the organization of the work of a single order brigade. Neither the good nor the bad can be concealed from the collective. Occasionally, a foreman or shop chief is unable to assess someone's work as thoroughly and accurately as one of the numerous and exigent collective made up of fellow brigade members. Yet a just assessment of labor results is a sacred matter. It is of tremendous moral and political significance. Every working person is familiar with this truth. Errors in this area are fraught with the danger of inflicting spiritual wounds in a person which are slow to heal. Justice is a socialist category which covers all aspects of our life. The party has included the brigade form of labor organization in the draft guidelines for its economic and social strategy as consistent with the very essence of the developed socialist society. "To promote measures for the further expansion and increased effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and wages." These lines in the documents reflect a farsighted view in the economic, organizational and moral-political areas.

The brigade form enhances and develops the labor and recreation standards of the people and introduces new and more advanced forms of communication. The beneficial atmosphere of comradeship, reciprocal guarantees and attention to the requirements of other brigade members are enhanced. In other words, the level of "socialist humanity" reaches new heights.

On one occasion, a construction brigade leader described the psychological atmosphere prevailing in his collective, which works on the single order basis, to me as follows: "What does the brigade method bring us in terms of production work? Look at the honor board: it shows the indicator figures we have reached. Let me add this: in the past, everyone would go home immediately at the end of the shift. Now we are no longer in any hurry. When the working day is over, we like to stay on and talk with our comrades, not necessarily about the job, but about anything at all--the situation at home, or what is happening in the country and throughout the world. The boys are becoming interested in the opinions of other people. This is a manifestation of reciprocal respect. As I see it as a brigade leader, the collective has become far more united. This also means that we can take on greater obligations than in the past. A collective, if it is a true collective, is a great force!"

Thus it is that in a small construction cell, we see a manifestation of something great achieved thanks to the cohesion of the entire nation, which can accomplish anything. Cohesion and social unity, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, are the unique achievements of socialism. Is this not confirmed by the lines filled with true socialist humanism in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress which read as follows: "To show concern for improvement in the living and working conditions of the workers, to establish a creative atmosphere and a healthy sociopsychological climate in each collective, to enhance professional skills and to satisfy cultural needs...?"

What is particularly noteworthy, in my view, is the fact that the single order brigade movement is like a laboratory for the study of man and his moral development. Here the worker himself becomes a leader of men, for unless he develops this quality, he can hardly make the type of rich professional-production or purely personal contacts which are so urgently needed in the course of the labor process.

I will not venture to estimate the length of time which must elapse before we achieve the full building of communism. However, the brigade method does provide us with some idea of the features of the man of the future through the visible manifestation of the new levels achieved in socialist collectivism and its greatest economic accomplishments and the moral examples! Without in any way belittling the merits of our philosophers and sociologists, they can be criticized for failing thus far to undertake a profound study of the shaping and development of the brigade movement among the working class. The science of communism is being steadily enriched through the constructive practice of socialist society. It is this thought precisely which comes to mind when we read the section in the CC CPSU draft guidelines on the tasks in the social sciences for the years to come. This document emphasizes the need to focus our efforts on expanding studies of the theoretical problems in developed communism, the establishment of the material and technical foundations for communism, and the improvement of production relations. The new forms of labor organization of the Soviet people created as a result of the progress toward communism made by our society--whether we are discussing the brigade form of organization in industry or transportation, the Ipatov method in the kolkhozes, the Orel continuous work movement, or the Shchekino experiment--demand the closest attention of scientists and men of literature and the arts.

The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines have been accepted by every Soviet individual as the Leninist strategic plan combined with the labor and creative experience of the people. This is the reason for the nationwide approval of them.

Here is what fitter Petr Ivanovich Reshetnikov, a worker in a sel'khoztekhnika subunit in the Ryazan' area, told me about this document. "The 'Basic Directions' contain only one line concerning my direct production operations. But how powerful that line is! Now I will personally control not only every part, but every bolt. Anything which can be rebuilt will be made as good as new. This will result in substantial savings. Naturally, we do manufacture spare parts. But what can we do with parts that are worn out? Should we regard them as scrap metal and nothing more? This would be stupid and unconscientious. The line I mentioned demands that we do something different."

Speaking of the all-embracing democracy in socialist society, one of its most outstanding manifestations, in my view, is the fact that the party has submitted the most important, the most vital feature affecting our people--the great working plan for the country, a plan for labor and construction, filled with inspired optimism and oriented confidently toward the 21st century--for discussion by the whole of the people.

Let us take Atommash as an example, where our journal ZNAMYA established a literary-journalistic post. When one walks through the plant shops, one has the impression of an exhibit of the latest technology, represented by one-of-a-kind samples--such are the powerful mechanisms which generate our energy today and will do so in the future. An outstanding labor collective has developed at this enterprise, a collective possessing high production skills--the very ones which every worker will need in the future.

The character of the contemporary worker is an area susceptible to infinite scientific and artistic research. The cadre workers on whom our socialist production process relies firmly, always impress us with their spiritual generosity, scope and the level of their professional and purely human outlook, or intellect, if you wish.

Time forces us to reinterpret many traditionally developed concepts and views. Sometimes, a person with a higher educational diploma is classified as an intellectual. The concept is essentially vastly broader and more meaningful than this. Unfortunately, there are still many specialists holding diplomas who suffer from narrow-mindedness or an underdeveloped moral or general cultural range, or who simply lack basic good manners. Social processes and the development of culture among the working class, such as to enrich it professionally and spiritually, lead not only to the enhancement of the educational standard of the workers but to their stronger ideological and moral tempering, and the broadening of their conceptual views and overall outlook as well. The handling of the most complex equipment demands of the worker great mental effort, or as a scientist would say, a flexible mind, in addition to everything else. The considerable leisure time resulting from production mechanization and automation allows the worker to engage in intellectual labor and to reinforce his professional knowledge more rapidly.

In recent years, the rapid increase in the level of workers' education has become a focus of attention. There is a certain view prevailing as to the omnivorous appetites of some "consumers" of printed matter, people who are interested mainly in editions which are difficult to find and are beautifully bound rather than in a book's contents. If one visits the homes of our workers, he will often see not only large volumes, but thoughtfully, carefully and lovingly collected libraries. Furthermore, one finds here many books regarded by the critics as controversial, as well as works which are on the leading edge of literary discussion. The workers are becoming noticeably more interested in the theater and motion pictures and in art in general. At local readers' conferences and in their letters, the workers sometimes ask questions that are so profound that even a professional literary worker or a specialist in some area may be incapable of providing a simple answer.

Another important aspect of the intellect of the contemporary worker is the level at which he communicates. This too is determined by the ever increasing complexity of the production process which requires of people profound mutual understanding and a broadened range of immediate interest for the working person. In talking with frank workers, we soon realized that we were dealing with people personally involved with the concerns and affairs of the state. I see in this the visible features of a truly proletarian intelligence. The best representatives of the working class have been elected to the supreme organs of our party, the USSR Supreme Soviet or the republic and local soviets. The works of frankers, carried in the press or on radio or television, provide examples of the ability not only to think expansively but to summarize the course of events, analyze them properly and make efficient and important suggestions as well.

What is labor? On the surface, this question may seem somewhat rhetorical. Nonetheless, let us consider it. We are surrounded by a world of man-made objects, from the smallest to the largest, and from the simplest to the amazingly complex. This abundance of manifestations of a man-made environment is the actual embodiment of the labor of our distant forebearers and of our contemporaries. There is not one person on earth who does not owe his existence to the efforts of previous generations. Each object or item contains a small part of the life of the one who created it or designed it. The world around us is the world of labor. We regard it as ordinary, as any living being regards nature to be.

There is a concept defined as "material culture." There are even museums which show the history of man's material culture, which had its origins in the stone ax and the charred stick used to make a fire. A new and higher standard is developing in the course of the emergence of the new, higher type of human civilization--communism, which drastically changes man's attitude toward labor. Labor with a socialist content has become the yardstick for the dignity of the individual. Mankind has always revered the great philosophers, scientists, inventors, poets and painters. In the past, however, such "honorary citizens" failed to include the famous masters who discovered the means of producing things and items vitally needed by the people. Socialism introduced a substantial change in this connection, thus restoring historical justice. Today we identify and revere our great miners, steelmakers, construction workers, furnace operators, longshoremen and machine builders, thanks to whose labor new heights have been reached in the material culture of the socialist society.

This, for example, is how one such person thinks. I will not name him immediately, because of his extreme modesty. I have often used this individual's character in depicting the modern worker. I shall quote the words he addressed to a young boy in his brigade. "Look, they have given you an ingot. Who made it for you? The casting workers. Who are they? How do they work? They work in the 'hot' shop, on three shifts. They receive the ingots from the steel smelters, which gets them from the blast furnace men. The blast furnace men get the raw ore from the miners. In order to mine, the workers must open up the ground. Before that, geologists spent years seeking and working in difficult terrain. When we think of how many thousands of people have invested their priceless and irreplaceable effort so that you can have your ingot, it boggles the mind. From it, you must machine a part so that, along with other parts, a machine can be built for use by other people to produce things. There will be a part of your work in their efforts. You, however, regard the part as a mere piece of iron, and all you think of is how to machine it. You are looking at something without understanding its beginnings and its great purpose. I am not blaming you for producing a defective part, for this is the result of your inexperience. I blame you essentially for wasting the labor of a tremendous number of people thoughtlessly. That is what is bad. You must take a broad view of your work in order to measure up to it. You have not as yet acquired an awareness that you are the working class. The working class thinks on the scale of the country as a whole, and not just about what is on one's own workbench."

This conversation took place on the run, so to speak, triggered by circumstances. However, it made a great impression because of the profound sense of it, its moral sensible-mindedness, and the scope of the thought. This is a splendid and not by any means isolated example of the true standard of a highly skilled worker-instructor, a standard which is not only professional but entirely human as well. Now I can tell you where and from whom I heard these memorable words: it was at the Perm' Motor Manufacturing Plant imeni Sverdlov, Machine Shop No 2. They were spoken by Ivan Yefimovich Polzunkov, a war veteran. He spoke briefly about the war. "All of us fought without thought of our lives in order to finish it sooner." He added thoughtfully: "There could be no other way of life for us, for which reason we dedicate everything we have to it."

Once again, my thoughts return to the single order brigade movement, which embodies the best traditions and qualities of the working class. What caused this movement to develop? The initiative of frontrankers? Not only that, but the very course of the advancing, all-embracing development of Soviet society--the society of mature socialism.

"The society of mature socialism:" let us contemplate these words. They embody the outstanding revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of our workers, and the new features which have developed in our lives, together with technical and social progress. The monolithic unity of the entire Soviet people also triggers a growing need for the collective unification in a small group of people in the production process, as sociologists would say. We see before our very eyes the birth of what is new, resulting from the economic power, the moral and political unity of the socialist society. Day after day, our people are achieving unprecedented success in the development of science, technology and culture, everything which when combined constitutes the reliable foundation of a developed socialist society.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" draft guidelines, the offspring of the genius of the party, which has been submitted to the whole of the people for discussion, embodies the essence of our toiling, collectivistic and democratic system and the mature socialist society in which historical decisions have always grown out of the advice of the whole nation, taking on the force of law for the good and happiness of all Soviet people. There is no area of human activity in which improvement is not mentioned in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress as an irreplaceable component in the gigantic accomplishments of our time, representing the indestructible foundation for the future. Each line in this document contains a powerful charge which triggers the energy of the mind and contributes to the blending of labor with the spiritual creativity of the masses.

Our homeland is moving in an ascending line, congress by congress. A grandiose view of the country opens out before our eyes, in which we see a multinational family toiling tirelessly for the sake of peace and the communist ideals the visible features of which are becoming a part of our lives. We are the contemporaries, the witnesses, the participants in the great ascent of the Soviet people toward the bright peaks of communism.

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UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND TOGETHER WITH THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 21-30

[Article by Marshall of the Soviet Union S. Sokolov, USSR first deputy minister of defense]

[Text] This year, the celebration of Soviet Army and Navy Day coincides with a major event in the life of the communist party and the Soviet people--the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress. The congress will summarize the activities of the party over the past 5 years, define the strategy and tactics for the struggle in the forthcoming stage of the building of communism, and adopt a specific program for the economic and social development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the period through 1990. Inspiring new possibilities in all areas of communist construction will open up for the land of the soviets.

The army and navy personnel are welcoming the 26th Leninist party conference with great accomplishments in combat and political training. They are seeing to the strict execution of their sacred duty to the people--reliable protection of the socialist fatherland and maintenance of the state of permanent combat readiness, guaranteeing that any aggressor will be immediately repelled.

Our party is pursuing a firm and consistent policy of peace, combining it with the strengthening of the defense capability of the Soviet state. It is constantly concerned with the improvement of the armed forces. The wise and profoundly scientific efforts of the CPSU in this connection are designed to resolve problems in military construction which are inextricably linked with the economic and social development of the country and a consideration of the political climate in the world. "The whole of the experience acquired and the developing international situation, particularly of late," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman said, "make it binding upon us to 'keep our powder dry,' to be persistent and consistent in defending the cause of peace, remembering our historical responsibility for the fate of the homeland and all mankind."

I

Throughout the history of the Soviet state, our party has remained loyal to the great ideals of peace among nations. This is natural, for peace is necessary for the consolidation of the gains of the socialist revolution and the building of a classless communist society. It is only the conditions provided by the peace which are fully consistent with the interests of the working class and all working

people. This is why our government of workers and peasants has countered the imperialist policy of colonial oppression and aggressive wars, since the very earliest days of its existence, with a policy of international fraternity among working people and support of the struggle being waged by the nations for their national liberation and social progress and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

However, the desires and the will of the working people, the working class and its party are not the only factors. As soon as the masses in one country or another rise in a revolutionary liberation struggle and win victories, the international reactionaries make use of every possible means of suppressing the revolution by the force of arms. The problem of the armed defense of the new systems arrives, as an objective necessity. This law is manifested under different conditions, but its essence and requirements remain the same: taking the power of the state into their own hands, the working people must be ready to defend these gains with weapons in hand. Lenin, who summarized historical experience, formulated a thesis which has been retained as a manual for action in the military-theoretical and military-practical areas by all the Marxist-Leninist parties. "A revolution is worth something only if it is able to defend itself..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 122).

The creation of the armed forces in February of 1918 by Lenin and the communist party served an objective need. They were a mandatory prerequisite for the successful development of the socialist revolution and the protection of its gains. In the very first years of its existence, the young Soviet republic had to defend its freedom and independence against pressure from international imperialists and the domestic counterrevolutionaries, who tried to restore capitalism in Russia by the force of arms. The working people in our country were forced to neglect the resolution of problems of economic upsurge and the making of social changes, and to take up their rifles in order to withstand the pressure of the combined forces of the White Guards and the foreign interventionists.

After the defeat of the counterrevolution on the battlefields of the civil war, the strength of the Soviet system was tested repeatedly by the international reactionaries. On each occasion, however, our armed forces properly repelled the enemy, courageously carrying out their sacred duty to defend socialist gains.

The Soviet armed forces covered their battle flags with unfading glory during the Great Patriotic War. The treacherous attack mounted by Hitlerite Germany and its satellites against our homeland threatened the very existence of the first socialist state in the world. Acting in defense of the freedom and independence of the Soviet people, the army and navy drained the blood of the enemy hordes in fierce battles, and subsequently crushed them. The triumph of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War, which was an unprecedented exploit on the part of the Soviet people and their armed forces, in terms of greatness and importance, was legitimate. It was dictated by the very nature of the Soviet sociopolitical system, the leadership of the Leninist party, and the advantages of the military organization of the socialist state and the Marxist-Leninist ideology which rules our society.

As a result of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, many peoples in Europe and Asia were given an opportunity to engage in independent democratic development and the building of socialism. The communist and workers movements in the capitalist countries were galvanized. A national liberation struggle developed in the colonies of the imperialist powers.

The increased strength of socialism and democracy caused confusion and fear of the future among the exploiting classes. Immediately after the defeat of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan, the governments of the United States and Great Britain began to plan for a new war and to pursue a policy of nuclear blackmail directed against our country. Under the leadership of the communist party, the Soviet people were able within a short time to rebuild the economy destroyed by the enemy invasion and to achieve further economic, scientific and cultural upsurge. The country's defense potential and the combat power of the army and navy increased manyfold. Thanks to the will of the party and the toil of the Soviet people, the production of Soviet nuclear weapons was organized. An awareness of the inevitability of retribution on the part of the armed forces of the USSR cooled the hot heads of the promoters of a new war.

Our homeland deserves decisive credit for the fact that mankind has not experienced the disaster of a world war for 35 years. The defense power of the Soviet Union, achieved on the basis of the all-round development of production forces and social relations, is a powerful factor preventing the imperialists from fanning a military conflagration on a global scale. Together with the armies of the members of the socialist comity, the armed forces of the land of the soviets are the defenders of the revolutionary gains of their peoples and peace the world over.

The overall revolutionary process cannot be reversed. However, the most aggressive imperialist circles continue to nurture foolish illusions in this connection. Irrefutable proof shows that in the second half of the 1970s, the activities of the imperialist and reactionary forces against international detente were galvanized, in the United States in particular. Their purpose is to undermine the process of improvement in the political climate which was developing successfully thanks above all to the efforts made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Mankind entered into the 1980s under the conditions of a deteriorated international situation. "Influential Western politicians," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized during his recent visit to India, "decided to urge the arms race on, instead of limiting it. Their intention was to achieve military superiority rather than to maintain parity. They relied on dictates and blackmail instead of dialogue among equal partners and mutually profitable cooperation. They have succeeded in causing the substantial deterioration of global circumstances in recent years."

The forces of war and aggression are active in the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, Japan and other imperialist countries. As in the past, the main threat comes from the American imperialists, who consistent with their aggressive strategy, are promoting the strengthening of the NATO bloc and the intensification of military preparations in Japan, and are seeking a common language with Beijing on an anti-Soviet basis. As the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum noted, the partnership

between the imperialists and the present leadership in Beijing is a dangerous phenomenon in world politics. The Maoist anti-Soviet and antisocialist course contributed greatly to energizing the aggressive aspirations of the American imperialists, and to the formation of the sinister alliance linking the United States, Japan and China.

The steadily increasing military budgets of the United States and the other NATO-member nations are evidence of the intensity of their preparations for war. The imperialist countries, headed by the United States, are persistently pursuing an intensive arms race, with their tremendous arsenal of the latest weaponry, both conventional and nuclear, for the purpose of achieving military superiority over the USSR. The United States, which is pursuing an extensive program of preparations for war, is increasing its nuclear potential step by step. The reequipping of Minuteman 3 missiles with more powerful and accurate nuclear warheads was undertaken at the end of 1977. Work is continuing on the development and deployment of the new MX cruise missile. The U. S. Navy is obtaining strategic submarines equipped with the new Trident 1 missile, which will be replaced in a few years with the Trident 2 missile outfitted with highly accurate MIRVs. NATO's decision to deploy about 600 new medium-range American missiles on the territory of certain Western European countries, made under U. S. pressure, presents an obvious threat to peace. The deployment of this "Eurostrategic" weapon near the borders of the socialist countries could substantially alter the strategic situation not just in Europe, but in other areas as well. The socialist countries will be forced to adopt the necessary countermeasures.

The imperialists are trying to justify the increased military budgets and the intensification of the arms race in terms of a so-called "Soviet military threat." This is nothing new. Immediately after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "theoreticians" were to be found in the West attempting to cover over the imperialist crusade waged against the young Soviet republic by means of fabrications about "red militarism." The Hitlerite politicians and strategists too camouflaged their preparations to attack our country beneath the hullabaloo about "the danger of communism."

The servants of capitalism always resort to the myth of "Soviet aggressiveness" whenever there is a need to conceal imperialist military preparations in one part of the globe or another from the public. The aggression against the Afghan people, the proclaiming of whole sections of the world many thousands of kilometers away from the United States as spheres of U. S. "vital interests," the concentration of a powerful clenched fist in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, and its use for military-political blackmail of sovereign nations, and the creation of a "rapid deployment force" and new military bases on the Arab Peninsula and in East Africa by the American military, along with many similar occurrences, provide a clear idea of the true objectives of the international reactionaries, who are hiding hypocritically behind the bogeyman of a "Soviet military threat." The real military threat to mankind is to be found in the socioeconomic nature of imperialism, in its aggressive nature and in its policy of enslaving and seizing foreign lands and repressing revolutionary movements.

The Soviet Union is waging a systematic fight to put an end to the arms race and to bring about universal and total disarmament. Neither our country nor the other

members of the socialist comity are trying to achieve military superiority over the United States and its NATO allies. However, while steadfastly pursuing a policy of peace, our party and the whole of the Soviet people are watching the military preparations of the aggressive forces of imperialism and its accomplices closely. The CC CPSU and the Soviet government are taking all the steps necessary for the further strengthening of the combat capability of our country and an increase in a combat power and readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy.

II

In implementing their historical purpose, the Soviet Armed Forces rely on the achievements and advantages of developed socialism and on its political and economic system. The most characteristic features of the developed socialist society--powerful production forces, mature socialist social relations, progressive science and culture, a high level of organization and idea-mindedness and conscientiousness on the part of the working people--are tangibly evident in the armed forces. Their typical features as military organizations of a socialist type have been further developed and have taken on new meaning in the mature socialist stage.

The Soviet Armed Forces have been transformed from a weapon of the state of proletarian dictatorship to a weapon of the state of the whole people. Today they are characterized by dialectical unity of classes and nationalities. The armed forces guarantee the protection of the interests of all the working people, the entire Soviet nation.

The social base of the military organization has broadened in the developed socialist society. We do not need to staff the army and navy on the basis of class affiliations. This condition of historical importance has been codified in the USSR Constitution, according to which military service to the socialist fatherland and the protection of it are regarded as constituting one of the most important and honorable obligations and a sacred duty of the citizens of the USSR.

The further strengthening of the internal unity and moral-political cohesion of the personnel have led to changes in the social aspect of our armed forces. The upbringing of the Soviet troops on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist ideology is the guarantee of the inimitable nature of our spiritual potential. Today's defenders of the socialist fatherland--the young representatives of the workers, kolkhoz members, and the Soviet intelligentsia--are strong in their communist convictions, collectivism and discipline.

Their awareness of communist ideals gives the army and navy personnel an unwavering confidence in the justness of our cause and strengthens their resolve to sacrifice their blood and, if necessary their lives, to defend it.

Another characteristic feature of the development of the Soviet Armed Forces today is the strengthened unity between these forces and the people. The concern the Soviet people have evidenced for the technical equipping of the army and navy, the perfecting of their combat power and for the military and patriotic education and training of young people for the armed defense of the socialist fatherland and

Improving the material-living conditions of the personnel is becoming ever broader and more profound. The soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, Leninist Komsomol, DOSAAF, labor collectives at industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, scientific institutions and schools are participating actively in these efforts under the direct guidance of the CPSU Central Committee. The armed forces are the favorite offspring of the multinational Soviet people.

In turn as they resolve the important problems in the defense of the country, the army and navy are reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the Soviet people against foreign encroachment. They respond to the concern and love of the fatherland with their dedicated military efforts designed to upgrade the combat capacity and combat readiness of the armed forces. Whenever necessary, Soviet forces participate in the work of the Soviet people and in the solution of important national economic problems. They are citizens of the country who enjoy full rights and they participate actively in sociopolitical life. Members of the military serve as deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics, and local soviets.

Soviet troops are participating actively in the nationwide discussion of important party and state documents. On the eve of the 26th party congress, military collectives, like the collectives of working people, have discussed the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" with interest. Newspapers, journals, and radio and television stations have received many letters from privates, sergeants, seamen, petty officers, ensigns, warrant officers, commissioned officers and employees expressing warm approval of the contents of the draft guidelines and submitting specific suggestions and additions in this connection.

The Soviet Army and Navy are the living embodiment of socialist internationalism. They represent a single cohesive community sharing the basic interests of the family of the members of all nations and nationalities in our homeland. The friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR are one of the main sources of the power of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The further development of the Soviet socialist nations and nationalities is proceeding, and their rapprochement and the internationalization of social life are intensifying under the conditions provided by the state of the whole people. These trends are exerting a powerful influence on the further advancement of the military organization of the developed socialist society and will continue to do so.

Commanders, political organs and party organizations are devoting great concern to the unification of military collectives with a multinational composition. They are augmenting the effectiveness of the international upbringing of the troops and the development of their sense of the national pride of the Soviet citizen.

As a class principle in Soviet military construction, internationalism is also clearly manifested in the alliance and cooperation between our armed forces and the fraternal armies of the members of the socialist comity within the Warsaw Pact. Shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers and comrades in arms, the

Soviet troops are fulfilling their duty in the defense of the gains of socialism. Military skills are improving, the friendship among internationalist soldiers is strengthening and developing, and their great traditions, born in the battles against the common enemy, are strengthening and developing. Under complex international circumstances, confronted with the intensive military preparations being pursued openly by the aggressive NATO bloc, the Soviet Armed Forces are making their worthy contribution to the strengthening of the defensive fraternal alliance and to the maintenance of the combat readiness of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact on a proper level.

Another feature of the internationalism of the Soviet Army and Navy is their solidarity with the working class, the working people in the capitalist and developing countries, and all the revolutionary forces of our time. Our armed forces are the objective defenders of the basic interests of the international proletariat, of all working people. Soviet soldiers, raised in a spirit of respect for the working individual, will carry out their international duty to their foreign class brothers with courage, honor and dignity, should there be imperialist aggression against allied countries or others friendly to us. This has been demonstrated clearly by the aid provided by the Soviet Union to the Afghan people for the defense of the gains of the April revolution. In accordance with the 1978 Soviet-Afghan Treaty and the United Nations Charter, and at the request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a limited contingent of Soviet forces were sent to that country. Its task is to help the young republic in the struggle against imperialist intervention in its internal affairs. Our troops are successfully executing this international mission.

Under developed socialist conditions, the Soviet Armed Forces are playing an ever greater role in the upbringing and the ideological and physical training of our youth. The development of this role is based on the sociopolitical nature of the socialist military organization in itself, the great social significance of military toil, the technical facilities available for the purpose, the great skill of officer cadres, the uninterrupted and comprehensive nature of party political work, designed to mold a scientific outlook and an active life stance in the military personnel, and the availability of tremendous material facilities for ideological-political education. We are fully justified in saying that service in the Soviet Army or Navy develops loyalty to their duty, discipline and courage in the troops. As a rule, the young people with army or navy training enjoy an excellent reputation in civilian life in all parts of our great homeland. They set an example of industry, organization and high civic-mindedness in shock construction projects, plant shops, in agriculture and the universities. "The young people join the family of soldiers with no practical experience," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress. "However, they come back from the army as individuals trained in the school of firmness and discipline, with technical and professional skills and political knowledge." Naturally, the requirements for educational work are increasing steadily in the present stage of the building of communism, with a complex and conflicting international situation and the continuing aggravation of the ideological struggle between the socialist and the capitalist worlds. In the decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the CC CPSU demanded, among other things, the "implementation of measures designed to further intensify the educational role of the Soviet Armed

Forces." The conference of leading command-political personnel of the army and navy held in June 1980 considered the implementation of this Central Committee requirement and set forth specific measures designed to improve this work further.

The very nature of military work and the whole army and navy way of life are contributing greatly to the effectiveness of the upbringing of the armed forces personnel. In the course of his military service, an individual learns courage and discipline, firmness and purposefulness, and the ability to overcome difficulties. Military toil requires the tensing of one's total physical and moral strength. It develops firmness, self-control and readiness to carry out complex combat assignments in the soldier's character. All of this improves a young man's ability to engage in active effort in a socialist society.

Thus the increased economic, scientific and technical and moral-political potential of Soviet society in its current stage of development make it possible to train our armed forces successfully for reliable defense of the homeland and the gains of socialism.

III

The main source of the strength of the Soviet Armed Forces lies in the fact that the Leninist communist party--the guiding and directive force in our society--is their organizer, guide and educator. The leading role of the CPSU in military construction, in the Soviet Armed Forces, is increasing in the developed socialist stage. This goal and legitimate process is mainly determined by general political factors, such as the greater scale and complexity of the tasks pertaining to the building of communism; the unparalleled upsurge in the social activity of the masses; the further development of socialist democracy; the need to intensify the communist upbringing of the working people; and the need to equip them with a knowledge of the theory of scientific communism. The effect of these factors extends to our military organization, as a structural component of the social organism, as well.

A number of other circumstances deriving from the characteristics of the development of the military organization itself, and which also determine the augmented role of the leadership provided by the communist party in army and navy building, are present as well. They include the complexity of the international situation and the threat of war existing thanks to the imperialists; the complexity of the resolution of defense problems in connection with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress; the increased significance of the moral factor in modern warfare; and the need for further strengthening of military cooperation among the socialist countries and combat comity and interaction among their armed forces.

There is practically no area in the life of the Soviet Army and Navy which is not the focus of constant attention on the part of the party and its Central Committee. The organization of the armed forces is being perfected on the basis of CPSU policy in defense matters; army and navy forces are being equipped with modern weaponry and combat ordnance, and the personnel are being supplied with everything they need.

The major problems in training and educating military cadres and all categories of military personnel are being resolved as a result of the party's efforts and concern. The Soviet Armed Forces feel the daily guidance provided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and Marshall of the Soviet Union, his constant concern with the army and navy, and the tireless attention he devotes to all aspects of the life and activities of the forces.

Our party is developing Soviet military doctrine on the basis of an objective study of the processes of global development, the deployment of class forces in the world, and the aggressive preparations of the imperialists.

In more than 60 years of life under the Soviet system, our military doctrine has naturally been subjected to numerous changes. However, these changes, which have reflected the objective conditions in the international position of the country and its socialist development, as well as progress in military affairs, have not affected the main thing: essentially, the military doctrine of the Soviet Union has always been and will remain one and the same. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has defined it, "It is of a strictly defensive nature."

The military efforts of the Soviet Union and the defense expenditures of the state do not exceed the need to protect the socialist fatherland. The current steps being taken by the party to enhance the combat power and readiness of the army and navy, fully consistent with our military doctrine, derive not from a desire to achieve military superiority, but from a desire to maintain parity. However, the Soviet military doctrine stipulates that if aggression is committed against the USSR or the other fraternal countries to which we are linked by the ties of friendship, codified in treaty obligations calling for reciprocal military aid, our armed forces must in the course of their operations actively and firmly pursue the goal of total defeat of any aggressor.

In the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the army and navy forces further improved under the leadership of the party. Their fire and striking power and ability to maneuver increased considerably. In terms of technical equipment, the armed forces under developed socialism are entirely consistent with their historical purpose. They can carry out any assignment given to them by the communist party and the Soviet government successfully.

The army and navy have available to them modern nuclear missiles, a supersonic missile air force, nuclear missile submarines and radioelectronic and other modern military equipment. The further economic and social development of the country, the great prospects for which will be revealed by the 26th CPSU Congress, will make it possible to upgrade the level of the equipment of the Soviet Armed Forces, providing everything necessary to strengthen the country's defense capability.

Party leadership in Soviet military construction is notable for its profoundly scientific nature. It is based on a knowledge of the objective laws governing the armed struggle. The CPSU is always concerned with the development of topical problems in military science, and with its development on the basis of the reliable theoretical and methodological foundations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and the armed forces.

Soviet military science has made a number of recommendations for the further enhancement of combat readiness, the development of basic problems in the martial art, and improvements in the systems for technical equipment and management of the forces and their functional and combat readiness. The publication of the multiple-volume "Istoriya Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny 1939-1945" [History of World War II 1939-1945] and the eight volume Soviet Military Encyclopedia constitutes a substantial contribution to the development of military science and the whole system of scientific knowledge pertaining to war and the armed forces.

However, life poses new tasks for military science and formulates ever stricter requirements for the organization of military-scientific work in the armed forces. Some problems in the martial art need further development. The further study of the history of military science and the development of the armed forces remains a vital task.

The objective material and spiritual potential of the state to wage the armed struggle is manifested through the activities of the people, through the Soviet military art, which has reached a high level. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist outlook and methodology; it is guided by the requirements of military doctrine; it is developing in accordance with the experience in the wars waged in the defense of the socialist fatherland and the contemporary national liberation wars, as well as the whole of the experience gained in the building of the armed forces and in army exercises.

Soviet martial art relies for its development on the Marxist-Leninist stipulation according to which however advanced the means of waging armed struggle may be, they cannot in themselves provide the army and navy with the power needed. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "Success is determined by people armed with modern equipment and who have mastered it to perfection, people who are ideologically firm and persuaded of the justness of the cause they defend."

In its guidance of Soviet military construction, the party ascribes particular importance to party-political work in the armed forces. It regards the properly organized ideological and organizational activity of military councils, commanders, political organs and party organizations in the army and navy as a powerful means of insuring a high level of combat capability and combat readiness for large and small units and ships.

The purpose of active and uninterrupted party-political work is to develop communist idea-mindedness and loyalty to the cause of the party and the Soviet people in all of the personnel, and to promote in the personnel the will for victory under the conditions of tremendous physical and psychological difficulty which are inevitable in modern warfare, if it is unleashed by the imperialists.

The fact that the armed forces are now staffed by young people who, in terms of their level of development, literacy and comprehensive interests are more advanced than their forebearers, is taken into particular account in the organization of party-political work in the army and navy. Today almost 100 percent of the troops in the armed forces have completed higher, secondary or a part of secondary education (as compared to 39.4 percent in 1939). The percentage of military

personnel having graduated from higher or secondary educational institutions comes to about 80 percent (11.9 percent in 1939). The number of party and Komsomol members in the army and navy ranks has increased. Whereas in 1941, they accounted for 76.7 percent of the personnel, the figure today is about 90 percent. The political and military training of such young people requires highly skilled commanders and political workers and the continuing activity and militant effort of party and Komsomol organizations in the army and navy.

Through effective methods of persuasion, the army and navy party organizations are urgently promoting the full and high quality implementation of the plans for combat and political training. They are formulating and resolving problems in strengthening military order and discipline on a principled basis. Guided by the political organs, they are doing much to enhance the authority of commanders and to strengthen one-man command as the most important principle in Soviet military construction and management of the armed forces.

Our party organizations are showing particular concern with the further improvement of ideological work with the troops. They are trying to become the real centers of daily political-educational activities. This serves to upgrade the effectiveness of the party members' efforts considerably.

The armed forces of the Soviet Union are welcoming the 63d anniversary of their founding with new achievements. As Marshall of the Soviet Union Comrade D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, emphasized at the party conference of the Moscow Military District, "The combat power and the combat readiness of the army and navy have reached qualitatively new levels in the time since the 25th CPSU Congress. Field, air and sea training have improved, and so has the practical coordination of many large and small units. Modern weaponry is now being used more effectively."

The party and the people have given us everything necessary for the reliable defense of the socialist fatherland and the cause of peace and socialism, and the Soviet forces will spare no effort to fulfill this responsible and honorable assignment and sacred duty properly.

The army and navy are reporting to the congress and through it, to the whole of the party and the people, that the present generation of Soviet soldiers, like their fathers and grandfathers who defended the gains of socialism in fierce battles with the enemy, are standing vigilant guard on the sacred frontiers of the fatherland and over its great constructive accomplishments.

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CONCENTRATION ON END RESULTS

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[Article by V. Zadorozhnyy, general director of the Rostov Chemical Production Association imeni Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya]

[Text] As stipulated in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th congress, a complex of measures designed to improve the economic mechanism and intensify its influence on upgrading effectiveness and quality and improving the organizational structure of management and its style and methods of work will be put into effect under the 11th Five-Year Plan. This is not by any means a simple matter. "More than half a century of practical experience in socialist economic management," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has pointed out, "proves convincingly that economic management is perhaps the most complex and creative task of all those arising following the revolution... The economy is a complex and dynamic organism, the development of which in itself constantly creates new problems."

Today qualitatively new problems are confronting the economy of the developed socialist society. The most rapid possible resolution of them on all levels of economic management will determine the extent of the considerable further upsurge in the people's well-being and the all-round advance of the land of the soviets.

Visible Advantages

The red flag which was awarded to the collective of the Rostov Chemical Plant on 7 November 1923 for combat and labor accomplishments, including the development of a technology for the production on an industrial scale of dry zinc white, so urgently needed by the country for the restoration of the economy dislocated by the war, no longer exists. However, there are 10 red banners visible to anyone who crosses the threshold of our head enterprise, which in that same year of 1923, was awarded the honorary right to bear the name of the October Revolution, convincing proof that its collective, which became the first communist labor collective on the Don 20 years ago, is preserving and multiplying the sacred revolutionary and labor traditions of the Rostov chemical workers.

In these 20 years, 12 large shops and production facilities were built. Gross output increased by a factor of 5.5. The production of consumer goods increased by a factor of 13, while labor productivity tripled. Today our production association--one of the largest enterprises in the sector--is producing more than 50 different types of chemicals and pharmaceuticals. The last five-year plan was a

major landmark in the development of its production facilities and its technical retooling. The result was a major complex engaged in the production of synthetic resins, lacquers and enamels.

The collective's success can largely be explained by the fact that, while resolving urgent and vital problems at one point or another, it also proved capable to work for the future. In this work, we set three basic directions for ourselves: the first was the reconstruction of the shop's operating facilities in the existing areas, leading to the expansion of their production potential, through the modernization of equipment and increased unit capacity, the mechanization of processes and the introduction of automated and assembly lines. The second was the creation and introduction of basically new technologies, which enabled us to increase the volume of output, upgrade effectiveness and organize the production of new items. The third was improvement of the mechanisms and methods of economic management and interrelated planning of the economic and social development of the collective. In 1967, we were among the first in the sector to draft a long-term plan for social development. Since 1969, we have been working on the basis of a technical-industrial-financial-social plan, wherein social development indicators have been given a directive aspect the same as the others.

The pursuit of these directions is objectively inherent in the nature of the production association as the basic cost effectiveness unit in industry, the completion of which is planned for the immediate future. The production association represents not just several consolidated enterprises, but is a qualitatively new form of production, economic management and control organization providing extensive scope for the fuller utilization of the advantages of socialism, combined with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. As a single production, economic and social complex, the association can resolve key problems in technical, economic and social development better than individual enterprises.

The creation of the Rostov Chemical Production Association (completed in 1975) contributed to the solution of many problems which individual plants found it extremely difficult to resolve. The centralization of administrative services made it possible to simplify and reduce the time required for the solution of intraplant problems. The centralization of funds made it possible to reorganize existing capacities and to specialize. Following the creation of the association, the output increased by a half; consumer goods production increased by 17.2 million rubles. The volume of superior category goods rose from 18.0 to 38.1 percent of the total.

Another very important fact is that the labor collectives become consolidated within the association. This offers greater opportunities for the solution of social problems, the education of the people and the development of initiative and creativity. Let us note, however, that the creation and unification of this collective is a complex process, in the course of which negative phenomena and psychological barriers must be surmounted. For example, only one of the three managers who joined the association is still there. The other two took this as a demotion, because of a misconception of prestige. They felt that it was a demotion to become heads of production lines after having been enterprise directors. Many

people felt that they were "losing face" by joining the association. For quite some time, the old plant, now a production facility, was regarded by the workers as their own, while the association was "someone else's."

The shaping of a unified collective posed for us, as one of the most important tasks, the need to surmount the separate nature of the enterprises within it, to strengthen the unity of their interests, and to enhance the labor and sociopolitical activity of the workers.

We determined the level of administrative centralization on the basis of specific conditions and the level of development in the association and the enterprises which had become part of it. We realized that results could be expected from the production association only if its administration were given not only the rights and obligations of an economic administration organ, but could also influence the work of each subunit directly. However, we were unable to avoid errors in the course of structural reorganization.

For example, in 1971, two plants (Rostov's Khimprom and Taganrog's lacquer and dyes) were included in the association. It seemed that all the conditions necessary for joint work existed: the plants were within the same sector, their territorial location was suitable and so on. It is true that these enterprises were characterized by their low technical standards, and their collectives were poorly disciplined. Meanwhile, the collective of the head plant enjoyed a deserved reputation both in the oblast and in its sector. For this reason, ignoring the objections of the Gosbank, the management of the association took over the accounts of both plants, and had the Ministry of Chemical Industry approve the statutes of the plants. What happened? During the first year of joint work, the management of Rostov's Khimprom closed down its clearing account. The Taganrog plant retained its clearing account and its rights as a juridical person for 5 years. However, it too came to the conclusion that it should maintain only a checking account at the bank, to which the association would deposit wages and material incentive funds. It gave up its juridical independence. Had all of this been done promptly, losses due to wasting the opportunities provided by the association as a higher form of production organization could have been avoided.

Rostov's Khimprom was the least advanced technically of the members of the association. The potential existing for the functional handling of financial and manpower resources made it possible to reconstruct all of its sectors within 5 years. Its output doubled, and currently 60 percent of this output bears the state Emblem of Quality. Labor conditions improved. The first apartment building and hostel in the history of the collective were built with the resources of the association itself. Reconstruction was done at the Taganrog plant as well. Its workers too were provided with new residential premises and a sanatorium, rest center and preventive health-outpatient clinic were built for the collective of the entire association. Such are the real, the tangible advantages of the production association form, which has helped the individual workers to feel more like members of a single collective and has increased their interest in joint results.

Unity of objectives, dependence on the results of the work of others, the establishment of hundreds of production and social contacts, and spontaneous or

deliberately organized relations are all factors contributing to the unification of the collective of the production association, resulting in an increase in its social and creative potential and broader opportunity for the participation of the working people in production management.

In conjunction with the technical services of enterprises, our plant scientific sector, which includes a base central laboratory, a planning-design department, a voluntary research workers institute, and a section of the All-Union Chemical Society imeni D. I. Mendeleev, is maintaining close ties with 35 scientific research institutes, design organizations and VUZs. Could the collective of just one of the plants which are now part of the association even think of such scientific facilities in the past? For the past 3 years, we have been using a system of orders for participation in scientific research. These are submitted to the central plant laboratory by shop and production specialists. The main topics are being developed in accordance with the general trend in the development of the enterprise. Current production problems are being resolved at the same time.

The advantages of the association are also made clearly evident in the course of the application of the brigade labor organization method, with wages based on final results. No subunit within the association could have been able to engage in such extensive sociological studies as we are conducting now. They have helped us to determine the areas of possible conflict within the collective, to formulate sociopsychological recommendations concerning the structure and organization of the comprehensive brigades, and to establish the most favorable conditions for their operation. This is quite important, since a production collective begins with the brigades.

It is just as important today to optimize the external conditions for the activities of a complex socioeconomic formation such as the production association.

Innocent Victims

A party meeting was in progress at the first zinc white shop. Current problems in the work of the collective, complex current developments and future tasks were under discussion. V. Semerenko, senior tool operator, took the floor. "The plan is the law," he read from the poster hanging in the hall. "Its implementation is a duty and its overfulfillment is an honor." "However, why is it not the law for everyone? Why is it the law only for a shift, a shop or a plant? Why is it that we are having trouble with the muffle furnace?"

This is the reaction seen at the worksite to the errors made in our economic plans. Such errors, while having an adverse effect on public production effectiveness, are also and obviously costly, from the social viewpoint.

The previous history of the problem which was raised by the workers at the shop party meeting confirms how hard it is for enterprises to function when one item in the plan or another is out of balance. In 1978, all production facilities for dry zinc white found themselves in a difficult situation as a result of the fact that the Luzhskiy Abrasives Plant under the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry sharply curtailed its production of ceramic muffles needed for the

manufacture of this item. Usually, in such cases, each enterprise plunges into a vast effort to compensate for shortages and "to grab" what is available. This worsens the imbalance. More than 200 telegrams were sent to the ministry, the Soyuzabraziv, the USSR Gosnab, the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Leningrad Obkom, the Lushakiy CPSU Gorkom, and the Lushakiy plant. Meanwhile, Rostovskaya Oblast and the Rostov City Party Committee, the Administration of Materials and Equipment Supply of the Ministry of Chemical Industry, and the Soyuzkres. All-Union Association were also attempting to resolve the problem.

Possibly, all of this could have been avoided quite simply. Had the lack of coordination in the production of such an important item (needed by the tire, industrial rubber and cable industries) been detected in 1978, the 1979 plans could have been balanced, and the production of muffles at the Lushakiy plant could have been increased, or the manufacture of this product could have been organized at another enterprise. This was not done, and as a result, we were unable to fulfill the plan. The collective became the innocent victim. Production indicators deteriorated, and breakdowns developed in the organization of socialist competition and educational work. Our appeals for higher responsibility and conscientiousness were not supported by efficient organization of the work. This is a particularly clear instance of the gap between words and deeds against which the party warns us.

We were forced to establish a primitive sector ourselves for the production of muffles (a similar sector was established in Chelyabinsk as well). Primitive means manual labor, low quality and losses of zinc, i.e., everything we try to prevent in our efforts to improve economic management.

When plans are out of balance, considerable difficulties also occur in resolving long-term problems in production development. For example, what happened with the construction and commissioning of the enamel shop? This is not simply a shop, but a new production line on the plant level, with a number of servicing shops and departments. The capacity of the newly commissioned shop, however, went underutilized as a result of a shortage of the needed amounts of raw material--lacquers. But before authorizing the new construction, our specialist had made a thorough study of the long-term balance for the national production of lacquers and enamels. It was planned that lacquer production would outstrip the production of enamels, thanks to the commissioning of new capacities in lacquer manufacturing enterprises. In reality, however, by the time our shop was commissioned, the national production of enamels had increased as a result of the reconstruction undertaken in these enterprises. This led to a shortage of lacquers, rather than enamels.

In all fairness, let us point out that in recent years, the lacquer-dye enterprises in the countries themselves have operated under difficult circumstances. Their plans were unstable, there were shortages of raw and other materials, and production and procurement plans were violated. This was why the collectives at lacquer-dye enterprises too proved to be "innocent victims." However, in my 22 years of work in the sector, I do not recall a single case in which our superior managers have paid a visit to a plant collective, acknowledged the errors committed, and apologized. When the plan is not balanced against the resources

available, the collective is forced to become a petitioner to the higher management organs: "Please give us something, help, at least amend the plan!" In all fairness, this situation as an innocent victim is harmful to the collective. What hurts the most is that the economic management organs which are at fault for our troubles go unscathed. For many years, we received not one single answer from the ministry to our telegrams, nor was the specific culprit to blame for such troubles taken to task. The entire burden of the moral and material losses resulting from plan imbalance fell on the shoulders of the production association. We believe that this state of affairs should be corrected.

"Simply stated," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has pointed out, "the essential thing in organizational problems is for everyone with the necessary authority and bearing full responsibility to do his work." The clear demarcation of rights and obligations and increased individual and material liability for economic managers from top to bottom is a necessary prerequisite for the strengthening of the principle of democratic socialism in economic management, and a major prerequisite for the achievement of high final national economic results.

Main Guideline

As we embark now upon the major project, the reconstruction of the economic mechanism, it is important first of all to realize fully that a situation has developed in the socialist economy in which many of the older management methods and criteria have become ineffective and are hindering the further development of the production process. The definitive shift of the economy toward the track of intensification will require that economic managers acquire the ability to approach the solution of all problems from a national position and to coordinate outlays accurately with end results.

The measures set forth in the July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism were dictated by practical requirements, and many of them were subjected to extensive experimental testing. As we undertake the extensive implementation of these measures, it is of the greatest importance, we believe, to take into account the lessons learned in the economic reorganization undertaken on the basis of the familiar decision of the September 1965 CC CPSU Plenum.

In the course of the implementation of the economic reform, which played a very important role in improving the planning and economic incentive system, many incomplete aspects were detected. For example, the conversion of the enterprises from the then basic cost effectiveness unit in industry to production associations was delayed. Therefore, the opportunity to improve management was not fully utilized. We were unable to overcome the imbalance in plans and the gaps existing between the annual and the five-year plans. Some indicators which were supposedly control figures soon became mandatory, to the detriment of the labor collectives involved, and in practical terms, the broader rights granted to enterprise managers were often reduced. In particular, the petty supervision of economic managers in which ministries, banks and other superior organizations engaged was manifested in the functional control of technical and economic indicators of enterprise activities. The planning of such indicators is their prerogative on paper only today.

As in the past, the systematic orientation of labor collectives toward the end results of economic management is being hindered by the imperfect system used in assessing their production activities. Let me give the following example. The association established a shop to manufacture light reflecting materials, a line of products urgently needed by our national economy. We imported the semifinished products for processing from the Latvian SSR. Frequent delivery failures led us to build our own shop for the production of such semifinished goods. This was a sensible decision from all points of view. However, in terms of improvement in the cost effectiveness indicators of the association, the shop was a burden, for it was not producing a marketable product. Our capital assets, the number of workers and the service outlays increased, and our labor productivity, capital returns and profitability indicators therefore declined.

It is obvious that such contradictions can be overcome by assessing enterprise activities on the basis of the net production (normative) indicator, as stipulated in the decree on improving the economic mechanism. However, it is equally clear that in the use of this indicator, we must take into account not only its undoubted advantages, but the related difficulties as well.

Another thing needs to be emphasized also. The vast use of the net production (normative) indicator must be preceded by careful work on sectorial regulations. This will make it possible to eliminate the negative consequences of the use of this indicator. Such work must be both thorough and efficient. To date, it has been otherwise. For example, the introduction of the new indicator has been closely linked with the establishment of uniform wholesale prices for finished products. Yet the USSR Gosplan has not as yet drafted some of the method materials needed. More time is also needed for the development of the corresponding sectorial methods. The introduction of the new prices has already been postponed until 1982. Furthermore, the prices of chemicals have been established without considering the net production norms, although they were scheduled for approval at the same time as the new prices.

The lack of organizational support for the implementation of the measures designed to improve the economic mechanism can seriously complicate the struggle being waged by the labor collectives to achieve higher production effectiveness and better quality. Allow me to give a typical example: the collective at the magnesia shop in our association worked hard to earn the Emblem of Quality for the goods it produced. However, no price markup was added. We are familiar with the stimulating role played by additional payments for high quality output. Such funds come from the additional profits earned thanks to wholesale price markups. We have been authorized to add such markups. But how should this be done in practice? The endorsement of the consumer, to the effect that he obtains a certain economy from the use of a given product, is needed. Quite frequently, however, the consumers reason as follows: if we confirm this, the price will increase. Why should we pay more? However, quality improvements almost always involve additional outlays, i.e., increased production costs. This confronts the collective with the following choice: it can either improve production quality, but fail to fulfill its profit plan and lose the right to a bonus, or it can overfulfill quantitative indicators, ignoring quality, and thus earn a bonus.

Other contradictions developed in economic practice, the work of our association included. In the best interests of all, they must be speedily resolved. We should pay attention to the production development fund established at enterprises and associations for the purpose of increasing the collective interest in upgrading work effectiveness and quality, in accordance with the decisions of the September 1964 CC CPSU Plenum. The approved procedure for the establishment of this fund and its use stipulates that "the production development fund will be used for the financing of capital investments for new equipment, mechanization and automation, equipment modernization, renovation of productive capital, and improvements in the organization of production and labor...." Initially, this rule was observed. With the assets of the development fund, our enterprise was able to reconstruct operating facilities, which accounted for 78 percent of the increase in output under the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

However, exceptions to the rule began to be made. By special decision, enterprises were ordered to pay a certain amount for highway construction and repair. However, since no financing sources had been defined, it was suggested that by way of exception this amount be taken from the production development fund. The exception became a firm rule, and without informing the enterprise, the bank began to withdraw cash from its account on the basis of documents submitted by the oblast highway construction administration. Initially, the financing of projects through the use of the production development fund was handled by the Gosbank on the basis of a list approved by the enterprise director. Subsequently, again on an exceptional basis, the superior organization began to limit the use of the accumulated development fund. In the final analysis, both the control and the financing of construction projects came under the control of the Stroybank, while the assets of the fund became a part of the general plan for centralized capital investments. It was thus that the production development fund lost both its purpose and its name.

Under the 11th Five-Year Plan, we are planning to spend about five million rubles for shop reconstruction, and to increase our output by almost 20 million rubles. For the third consecutive year, we shall continue our efforts to insure the extensive use of new types of raw materials to replace those in short supply, by making use of the so-called production waste of the Ministry of Chemical Industry enterprises. This yields high economic returns. It will enable us, for example, to save about 3,000 tons of vegetable raw materials, including oils, in the subsector annually. All in all, we intend to master the production of 15 new items in the course of the five-year plan. It is clear, however, that without establishing proper order in the financing mechanism and allowing the enterprises to utilize their full legal rights, the solution of this problem will be very difficult. When collectives undertake projects which promise great national economic results, they should not encounter artificially erected barriers or be confronted with all kinds of bureaucratic restrictions. We, the Soviet people, are the masters of the country. Each of our actions in promoting its interest should be properly supported in terms of planning, incentives, financing and price setting. Barriers should be placed only in the path of bad management.

Jointly With the Rayon, the City, the Country

The activities of the production association, guided by the plan for the socioeconomic development of the collective, will be most effective if their rear and

flanks are secured. This can only be achieved by properly combining sectorial and territorial planning and continuing to coordinate the actions of sectorial and regional management organs, based on a clear demarcation and coordination of their rights and responsibilities.

Each labor collective is very closely linked with the life of its rayon, city, oblast and the entire country. The chemical workers have contributed tens of thousands of hours of voluntary labor in the subbotniks, to implement the plan for the social development of the rayon and the city. Our enterprise maintains extensive contacts with the oblast's rural workers. We are building a hostel at one sovkhos and a feed shop at another. At a third, we are cultivating the fields assigned to us, and we are sending combine operators to a fourth--our workers who have completed the special courses sponsored by the association for the training of rural mechanisers. Frequently, even in times of stress for the Rostsel'mash, we have sent our workers to help this leader in domestic combine manufacturing despite our own difficulties and manpower shortages.

All of this is natural, for this is not only economic aid, but a school for the education of labor collectives in a spirit of comradeship and mutual aid. However, this requires that relations between the sponsors and the sponsored are based on a firm business foundation, and that this aid is given when it is truly needed, rather than in order to conceal someone's inefficiency, disorganization or negligence, which, unfortunately, is not infrequently the case. We are quite concerned with the fact that an increasing number of individuals are taken away from the enterprise every year for work unrelated to its essential production activities. Such assignments are no longer merely seasonal or linked with emergency situations in another sector. We are ordered to send people to build schools and treatment facilities, to lay streetcar tracks, or to do street cleaning work...

As we improve the economic enterprise, the time for the resolution of urgent problems in sponsorship and the organization of proper relations between the sponsors and the sponsored has come, as was mentioned by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. State planning of resources for all (or almost all) types of sponsorship aid would rescue economic managers from the pressure under which they find themselves to find a means of laying the unplanned outlays resulting from the entirely realistic needs of the rayon or the city on the Procrustean bed of the bookkeeping department.

The broadened economic right granted to local soviets in recent years has not as yet been supported by the corresponding material resources. Consequently, the funds allocated for the implementation of sectorial production and social programs are being used for the implementation of regional development tasks. It is true that the laws passed on a centralized basis call for the possible participation of the collective of a production association in regional development measures. However, the local authorities regard this as an obligation. "If you can, you must," they say. "And since you can, you are obligated," sectorial managers believe. But the gaps which develop between necessity and potential hurt the collective, and in the final analysis, harm the work.

For example, existing legislation allows enterprises to channel available surpluses of unplanned profits into the financing of the construction, repair and

equipping of general educational schools in the rayons. The rayon executive committee supervises this, and urgently demands a contribution by our association to such projects. The ministry, in turn, restricts these transfers of above plan profits. At one point, we gave the rayon executive committee 260,000 rubles. This was not much, in view of the fact that in that year our above plan profits exceeded 1.8 million rubles. However, the ministry's balance sheet commission viewed this contribution in a very negative way, stating that we had "let down" our all-union association by making a contribution which in fact exceeded those made by all the enterprises in the subsector put together. It would not be too difficult to establish a uniform approach to the solution of such problems on the sectorial and regional levels.

Comprehensive target programs for the economic and social development not only of economic sectors but of individual areas and cities as well are being used to an ever greater extent in planning practice. For example, the program-target approach was used in the development of the Northwestern Industrial Center in Rostov-na-Donu, where one of our production facilities is located. At that time, five enterprises were functioning in that area on a quite unsystematic basis. Transportation by rail or highway was also quite disorganized, and the land was being used rather wastefully. A general plan for the development of the Northwestern Industrial Center was drafted by PromstroyNilproyekt in Rostov. It provided for the building of 15 enterprises in the area (the number subsequently increased to 39). The plan called for comprehensive engineering support of all enterprises located here, efficient railroad service, the expansion of the freight yard, construction of highways and cooperation among the basic and auxiliary production facilities of groups of enterprises, the rational utilization of natural resources, and environmental protection. Most of the work on the creation of an industrial zone was implemented. Savings thanks to the implementation of the general plan for the industrial center totaled five million rubles on a one time basis and a million rubles per year in operational outlays, not to mention the fact that 400 hectares of land were preserved for agricultural purposes. This experience in the creation of an urban industrial zone was studied repeatedly in various seminars and conferences, and invariably won high praise. In 1976, a large group of participants in the designing and creation of the industrial zone, including this author, was awarded the USSR Council of Ministers prize.

It so happened that our enterprise became a pioneer in the development of the new sector. Roads, water mains, pumps, an electric power substation and a rayon boiler facility were built from funds provided by the chemical workers. Many general center projects were carried out by other enterprises. However, after construction was completed, the heads of industrial enterprises were faced with new concerns. It would have been most practical to allow specialized urban services to handle the facilities which had been built and commissioned. However, the Vodokanal Administration refused for a long time to undertake the technical servicing of the large network of water mains, for example. To this day, the problem of the boiler facility has not been entirely resolved. The Rostovenergo Administration would not agree to handle the large boiler facility, the only one for the entire industrial zone. Nobody was responsible for a part of the facility. Even the enterprises which had undertaken to care for it neglected it for all practical purposes. Because of poor maintenance and delayed repairs, the facilities broke down and

heat losses increased. In the final analysis, the entire system was taken over by Rostovenergo, but the boiler facility was nonetheless assigned to our association, which is continuing to suffer quite tangible losses as a result. Nor has the industrial railroad transportation system been streamlined in the industrial zone.

With justification, we believe that the systemic approach to the solution of economic problems is the most promising. However, even this approach would not enable us to reach the highest possible end results, as was seen in the case of our Northwestern Industrial Center, unless the projects initiated are fully completed.

The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines set forth a truly great program for socioeconomic change. Beginning in the very first days after its publication, the collective of the association undertook a profound study of it. A search for new resources and potential for increasing output and improving effectiveness was undertaken. The comprehensive plan for organizational, technical and ideological measures to insure stable work by the association under the 11th Five-Year Plan, which has already been developed and in which the role and assignments of each department, shop and individual worker have been defined, is being refined on the basis of the suggestions submitted by workers and engineering and technical personnel.

The purpose of the measures adopted in connection with the technical retooling of enterprises, upgrading the quality of output, improving the level of planning, introducing new planning indicators and improving cost effectiveness systems is to achieve high national economic results. Many of the measures planned are already being implemented. Starting with the first quarter of 1980, two basic shops were experimentally converted to the planning of and accounting for economic activities on the basis of the normative net output indicator. Normative wage planning was introduced as well. The initial results are encouraging. However, we realize that this is merely the beginning of a vast program of work to improve the economic mechanism, the program for which was developed in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th congress. Each item in this program will work to our benefit, but is not designed for us, since it is through our energy and willpower that the successful implementation of the tasks assigned by the party can be insured.

5003

CSO: 1802/10

IMPORTANT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEM

Moscow KOKMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 41-43

[Article by E. Andreyev, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Our party is firmly pursuing V. I. Lenin's instructions to the effect that with the victory of socialism, "a higher type of social organization of labor develops as compared with that under capitalism." This is the essence, the source of strength and the guarantee of the inevitable total victory of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 13).

The CC CPSU draft guidelines summarize the vast changes which have occurred in the realm of labor activity in the present stage of the development of Soviet society, and formulate even broader tasks: "Implementation of profound changes in the most important realm of human activities--labor; improvement and easing of working conditions and the offering of extensive opportunities for highly productive and creative work; achievement of substantial progress in the elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor, and the transformation of agrarian labor into a variety of industrial work."

The problem of raising the level of the organization of public labor is regarded by the party as a complex phenomenon requiring comprehensive effort.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines devote great concern to the problems in improving the system of social division and cooperation of labor, control of labor resources and the volume of labor and consumption, and increasing the effectiveness of material and moral incentives and the stimulating role of wages. The social direction of our plans will be strengthened, and social factors will be utilized more effectively to promote economic growth.

As was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, the task of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality is not merely a technical and economic one, but a social and ideological task as well. The solution of this problem will contribute both to the development of the production process and to the improvement of socialist social relations and the communist norms of community life. It is no accident that the congress called for improving the comprehensive planning of the economic and social development of enterprises, associations, rayons and cities, for the first time in history. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" indicates the need to include

sections correlating the entire complex of measures in the field of social development in the state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons, ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations. As of 1978, the state plans for the development of the USSR national economy began to be known as plans for economic and social development.

Today, all production managers are constantly confronted with social problems and processes. They may be sociotechnical (changes in the structure of labor collectives and labor conditions and organization under the influence of contemporary material-technical and scientific-technical progress); sociomanagerial (developing a collective, cadre incentive, strengthening labor discipline, and organization of socialist competition); sociospiritual (utilization of social information, consideration of public opinion, creation of a favorable sociopsychological climate, and improvement of the system of education and upbringing in the collectives); or sociovital (upgrading the level of well-being and improving housing conditions for the working people, and improving the systems of cultural and medical services, transportation, organization of leisure time, recreation and rest).

In the final analysis, all of these questions and processes are "locked" into labor activities, or the "practical energy of the people" (K. Marx), which is the most specific feature of social life. Social processes shape the conditions and objects of labor, i.e., the effective, creative force of society. The importance of controlling social processes increases considerably under developed socialist conditions.

It has been established that about 70 percent of the working time of line management personnel (ranging from enterprise directors to foremen) is spent on resolving social problems and on work with cadres. The proportion of social production reserves at the leading enterprises in the country is assessed by specialists at 30 to 40 percent of the total reserves.

The scientific and technical revolution and social progress upgrade the role of highly skilled labor, creativity and initiative, collective and socially combined actions, and the high level of well-being, education and culture. Sociological studies reveal that there is a difference of between 40 and 70 percent in the level at which workers perform one and the same operation. Approximately a half of this difference is the result of differences in qualification and practical experience, but the other half is the result of differences in attitudes toward labor or differing degrees of unity in the primary collectives.

Sometimes the value of the activity coefficient at enterprises within the same group of sectors may differ by a factor of 3-4 under identical objective conditions. According to the West Siberian branch of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, West Siberian enterprises could increase labor productivity by 15-20 to 50-60 percent or more, by organizing it scientifically. The activity and effectiveness indicators for creative associations of working people are higher by a factor of 7-8 than those for innovators working alone.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress call for the all-round development of initiative and efficiency and a creative search for reserves and for ways of augmenting the increase in output; they ask us to insure high level organization and performance discipline in each production sector; to upgrade the role of labor collectives in management and planning and to raise the workers in a spirit of conscientious and creative attitudes toward work and high production and social activity; to show concern for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people and to establish a creative atmosphere and a healthy sociopsychological climate in each collective; to upgrade professional skills, to satisfy cultural requirements, and to develop physical culture and sports in associations, enterprises, establishments and other organizations.

Unfortunately, insufficient practical use has been made to date of the social reserves available for upgrading the labor effectiveness and quality. Problems in the system of social factors influencing the increase in labor productivity and the ways and means of controlling such factors have not been discussed sufficiently in our scientific publications. For many years they were neglected in economic publications. Some progress has been made in works on sociology and social planning in labor collectives in connection with social factors and reserves which can be used in the production process, and specific methods have been formulated for the planning of social development. Practical science courses have made fruitful use of the application of these methods. On the whole, however, a great deal remains to be done in the field of drafting and implementing a system of social indicators.

It would be impossible to imagine national economic management today without a scientifically substantiated, steadily improving and viable system of economic indicators. Under developed socialist conditions, it would be equally impossible to manage society without a scientific system of social indicators. One major problem today is the organization of purposeful and steady efforts in this connection and the development of a unified practical science front properly supported not only on the general-conceptual level, but the organizational-methodical level as well, including the use of the latest technical facilities. Here determining the optimal ratio and an accurate measure for the combination of social criteria for the solution of national economic problems takes on special significance.

In real life, economic and social processes are interrelated, interwoven. However, this close interaction does not provide any grounds for confusion, counterposition or the absorption of one by the other, much less being any justification for ignoring one of the aspects of this unity, whatever form it may take. For example, we may occasionally come across cases in which social problems are identified with problems in the nonproduction sphere, or objections to the inclusion of social expenditures in production outlays. The basic argument here is the danger of confusing the production sphere with the nonproduction sphere. In their description of labor quality as a category, some specialists occasionally reduce it to a mere assessment of output quality.

Naturally, there is a definite distinction between the relatively autonomous production and nonproduction areas. However, we cannot agree with the viewpoint

which removes social factors entirely from the production process, i.e., identifies them with the nonproduction sphere. This approach blocks not only a most important resource for the development of the production process and the process on which it is based (labor), but also its agent, the subject in the production process. It does not contribute to acquiring a proper concept of the purposes of the development of the production process under socialism or the means for achieving such development. It pits the economic processes against the social processes, and identifies social relations with social-consumer relations. Furthermore, such an approach leads to pitting man as a working person against man as an individual. It does not answer the question as to how to convert labor into a prime, vital necessity. Reducing the quality of labor as a category to an assessment of the quality of output, once again, ignores the main indicator and criterion of labor quality--its social nature and its objective, living content.

From our viewpoint, many scientific problems (on the initial and basic relations, laws and criteria governing maturity and contradictions in socialism), together with practical problems, are not as yet being efficiently, optimally and precisely resolved, because their connection to the main reason, to the basic system-forming factor of social development--the socialist type of social labor--is not established. In this connection, it would be impossible to overestimate the importance of the discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, in which the stipulations as to the decisive role of effective and qualitative labor in resolving all the problems in the building of communism determine the role and influence of all the other stipulations.

The following should be included in the third section of the draft guidelines, between the second and third paragraph, specifically, in the portion discussing the tasks in the social sciences: "Intensification of the study of problems pertaining to the social nature and content of labor, the socialist principles of its organization, and the basic laws governing the development of labor of a communist type."

In our view, this addition would be of not only practical-scientific but also major ideological and educational significance. It will be consistent with the party's stipulations as to the need to intensify efforts further to upgrade the prestige of labor in our society.

5003

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INTERWEAVING EARTH AND SPACE RESEARCH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 43-44

[Article by I. Yanitskiy, candidate of geological-mineralogical sciences]

[Text] The second half of the 20th century will be noted for outstanding achievements in the natural sciences and technology, marking the advent of a basically new stage in human knowledge and practice. One of its most characteristic features is the conversion of our planet into a single, integral object of study. This was made possible by the successful achievements in the earth sciences and cosmonautics. The latter not only equipped these scientists with new means and methods of observation and experimentation, but also broadened natural scientists' horizons, enriched our thinking with new concepts, and introduced new features into scientific awareness. The theoretical conclusions of our outstanding compatriots ("We shall try to take a cosmic look at things," K. E. Tsiolkovskiy; "The biosphere is a planetary phenomenon of a cosmic nature," V. I. Vernadskiy) were enriched by basic facts obtained by specialists in the earth sciences, strictly speaking, on the one hand, and by the cosmonauts circling the earth, on the other.

Let us mention heliometry, as an example--one of the latest directions in geochemical research, made possible thanks to scientific and technical developments in which Soviet scientists have total priority. Its purpose is the recording of the flow of gaseous helium in the ground. The importance of these studies was noted by V. I. Vernadskiy himself, who set forth, in his day, the hypothesis of "gas breathing by the earth." Today not only has the fact of such "breathing" been proved, but so has the dynamic nature of the distribution and migration of fluids (i.e., the flow of gases, water and the mineral salts dissolved in it from the ground) in tectonically active areas where there are breaks in the lithosphere, as well.

Because of their high resolution capability, heliometric surveys have made it possible to establish that the earth's crust consists of blocks and resembles the structure of "chipped ice." The existence of fields of excessive fluid pressure, the role of which has thus far been underestimated, was established. By summarizing experimental data (on the basis of the stipulations of the kinetic theory of strength, in particular), we were able to explain the mechanism governing the formation of this field and link the variety of energy-related events occurring within the planet involving weak spontaneous gas emanations, as well as explosions and blowouts in mines and wells, and volcanic mud and lava eruptions, in a single chain.

The combination of the knowledge acquired in the field of very deep drilling, seismology and complex observations from outer space with these results has provided us with varied data on the internal structure of the earth, and enabled us to refine the methodology for forecasting earthquakes and other threatening geophysical phenomena. At the same time, the methods of discovering new deposits of energy raw materials (petroleum, natural gas and natural heat) are being refined. Opportunities for extra-deep drilling are presented in a new light. New opportunities are developing for the quantitative assessment of the earth's thermal balance. Finally, the forecasting of the global consequences of industrial pollution of the environment, and the drafting of geohygienic recommendations, are becoming more specific.

These latest research methods will help us to upgrade the effectiveness of control of the litho-, hydro-, atmo- and biospheres, and to refine programs for the location of poison-producing projects and important engineering systems which should be located on the most stable and impermeable blocks of the earth's crust, which are characterized by relatively inactive indicators in terms of seismic disturbances. The recently established law of the comprehensive increase in depth of the partial elasticity of the gaseous components of fluid becomes particularly important, since it enables us to understand catastrophic ejections from wells drilled, which are sometimes accompanied by severe damage and great loss in raw material resources.

In this light, it would be expedient, in my opinion, for the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 to include the following theses:

In the last paragraph of section three: "...To develop promising new directions in the earth sciences, devoting particular attention to comprehensive studies, as being those most consistent with the objective trends in the scientific and technical revolution;"

Section 9 should begin as follows: "To intensify the protection of the planet's environment as a whole, and at all levels--ground (geological), service (geographic), and around the earth (outer space)."

The following thesis should be added to this section: "To improve the location of industrial (particularly toxigenic) enterprises in accordance with the latest data on the characteristics of the earth's geological structure; to draw up a long-term program, in connection with such data, for the rapidly expanding utilization of nature, setting aside specific areas where nonbiodegradable industrial waste can be dumped."

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MORE IMPETUOUS ADVANCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 44-46

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Tyunin, head of an excavator crew brigade]

[Text] In the past 20 years, the main fuel-energy base in the country has been developed in Western Siberia. The national economy is already receiving one out of every two tons of petroleum and one out of every three cubic meters of gas produced in the country from that area.

Under the 11th Five-Year Plan, the volume of construction and installation projects here will be increased by approximately one-half. By the end of 1985, for example, 330 to 370 billion cubic meters of natural gas will be extracted in the Tyumen' North area. This volume will account for more than a half of the total volume of extraction planned for the country as a whole by the end of the five-year plan.

We, the layers of pipelines, are engaged in the building of fuel industry projects in various parts of the country, including the Tyumen' North--Urengoy and Medvesh'ye. Wherever I have happened to work, I have seen with my own eyes that my fellow workers have a profound interest in the successful implementation of the great party plans. This is understandable, since these plans are leading us toward the main objective--the further strengthening of the power of the homeland and the increased prosperity of the people.

For more than a quarter of a century, I have operated an excavator at Administration No 45 of the Stroymekhanizatsiya Trust, Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. My crew consists of cadre workers N. Satukin, N. Aleksandrov, and N. Vysotskiy. Everyone is thoroughly familiar with the excavator and can correct malfunctions on the spot or, if necessary, take over for his comrade. The crew gives priority to socialist competition. In order for the labor rivalry to be always effective, we weigh and assess our potential carefully before taking on obligations. Once we have assumed them, we mobilize everything available to us for their implementation--experience, skill and naturally, the potential of the machinery itself. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, we pledged to insure the efficient and uninterrupted work of the excavator and thus to fulfill two five-year plans. We kept our word. At the beginning of last July, the crew had already moved 1.15 million cubic meters of earth, the equivalent of more than two five-year plans. This meant that the assembly workers were able to lay almost 700 kilometers of pipe in the trenches we dug.

Our collective was used as a base for the launching of an all-union leading experience course. I have personally taught theoretical and practical classes with operators of earth removal equipment from Tyumen', Kazakhstan, Latvia, the Ukraine and other areas where petroleum and gas industry projects are under construction. Naturally, we are happy to share our experience. At the same time, we learn eagerly from our colleagues, for each improvement and each grain of something new and progressive is very useful in our difficult work. I consider this invaluable support to our work. Ministry economists have estimated that if operators of earth-digging machinery in this sector were to achieve the same level of output as the best crews have, about 1,000 excavators could be released for use in other sectors and tens of millions of rubles could be saved. I must say that under the harsh conditions in the north, the effective utilization of the equipment is of tremendous importance. For many years, we have been competing with the operators of a crew headed by my former teacher, Hero of Socialist Labor A. Isayev. We are trying to achieve maximum use of the machine's productivity, to reduce idling to a minimum, and to achieve the highest possible results with the lowest possible outlays.

The competition and exchange of experience have led many people to success. In our trust alone, more than 30 excavator crews fulfilled six, seven or more annual norms under the 10th Five-Year Plan. Competition for the fuller and more efficient use of equipment by bulldozer operators demonstrated its effectiveness.

I have had occasion to work on many petroleum and gas pipelines laid in the northern part of Tyumenskaya Oblast over the past 5 years. It was there precisely that fast pace columns were developed, i.e., collectives working on two or three shifts and operating as a part of a single technological chain with workers in related activities. It was just there that underground pipelines were laid in record time--at double or triple the stipulated speeds.

In a word, the sector's mechanizers worked well. However, an examination of the work leads us to the conclusion that more could have been achieved with even smaller outlays, i.e., that higher effectiveness could have been possible.

Let us consider an acute problem which is quite applicable to us--the use of specialized construction equipment in the north. A great deal has already been accomplished in this important area. New electric welding methods and technologies have been made available. Powerful automatic welding centers and instruments for pipe welding along the lines have been developed. For example, the Sever-1 resistance welding machine increases productivity by a factor of 3-4, and guarantees high quality. The enterprises of the ministry have mastered the production of powerful rotor excavators with productivity in excess of 1,200 cubic meters of soil per hour, and suction-tube dredgers operating at a depth of up to 25 meters, with an hourly productivity in excess of 300 cubic meters. Swamp buggies with high cross-country capability and a load capacity exceeding 30 tons are being produced. Improved pipe-hauling trucks, machines for pipe cleaning and installation, and other types of highly productive equipment are in use along the lines. Every year, the sector creates as many as 100 new models of machines, equipment and instruments, which enable us to apply progressive technological processes and control the quality of the work.

However, the pace and quality in the work of laying underground fuel pipelines depends not only on the amount of machinery used, but unit capacity, productivity, technical standards and, a very important factor, adaptability to work under very difficult circumstances.

As of now, the layers of petroleum and gas pipelines urgently need machines which can operate with tractors of 500 to 700 horsepower, and trucks to haul pipe with high cross-country capability and a 50-60 ton hauling capacity. We expect that the country's machine builders will resolve the problem of producing powerful new machinery which can operate under northern and swampy conditions as soon as possible, for this will directly influence the further increase in the pace and quality of pipeline construction. For example, it has been estimated that making trucks adapted to northern conditions, with a 15-20 ton hauling capacity and a service life of 200,000 to 250,000 kilometers, available for high-speed pipe laying operations would make it possible to double labor productivity and reduce personnel by one-half.

There is a shortage of specialized construction machinery, trench-digging excavators with a 3-4 cubic meter bucket capacity which could operate under permafrost conditions, in particular. Single bucket excavators with a 1.2-1.6 cubic meter capacity of the tractor or rubber-metal caterpillar type are also needed.

Cleaning, insulating and pipe-mending machines are still in short supply along the lines under construction. This frequently results in idling for the mechanized systems, the equipment for which may be worth three million rubles, while the cost of a cleaning or installation machine does not exceed 5,000 to 10,000 rubles. The anticorrosion lining of the pipes (particularly in the north, where they are practically inaccessible for repairs) must be absolutely reliable. Virtually all insulation today is done directly at the site of the pipeline. Despite the availability of cleaning and insulation machines, such technological operations continue to be highly labor intensive. Therefore, the best solution to the problem involves insulating the pipes by the manufacturer. This would sharply accelerate the pace of pipeline construction, would successfully eliminate the seasonal nature of pipeline laying in the north, and would extend the working life of the pipelines. In our view, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the ministries of construction, road and municipal machine building, chemical and petroleum machine building, and automotive industry, together with other sectors, should help the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises more energetically in its efforts to insure the comprehensive mechanization and automation of construction and installation processes.

The construction workers have long since met all the normative deadlines for the completion of complex projects such as the laying of pipelines and the building of pumping and compressor stations, and they are successfully engaged in equipping the extraction areas. For example, 36 months were allocated for the laying of the Vyngapur-Chelyabinsk gas pipelines, but we laid it in less than 1 year, in virtually one single winter season. We did this despite the swampy area which is crossed by hundreds of streams and small rivers. Thousands of tons of freight had to be delivered by means of equipment ill adapted to the difficult winter conditions. The delivery of long pipe sections proved to be particularly difficult. The construction workers passed this test. Never before--in our country or abroad--had heavy duty pipelines been laid in such a short time.

Bearing in mind the tremendously high cost of laying gas pipelines under harsh northern conditions, it becomes even more important to insure the best possible use of all available resources and equipment, to practice economy, and to achieve the greatest possible effectiveness and productivity with the lowest possible outlays.

The construction workers in the Tyumen' North can outstrip even today's rapid pace in laying gas pipelines. This demands equipment adapted to northern conditions.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines call for the development and use of a technology for the year-round laying of pipelines in areas difficult of access and under harsh natural and weather conditions, and the laying of powerful underground mains characterized by high level automation and operational reliability. It would be expedient to include the following addition in the draft guidelines: "To accelerate the technical retooling of the organization and enterprises under the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. To insure maximal industrialization of the installation of main pipelines and other petroleum and gas projects, utilizing large mechanized machine systems. To organize the series production of powerful machines adapted to operation under northern and swampy conditions. To insure the more advanced training of machine operators and skilled mechanics handling such complex equipment."

I am convinced that those laying the large pipelines will devote all their strength, experience and energy to the implementation of the party's task--insuring the accelerated development of the petroleum and natural gas extraction facilities in Western Siberia.

5004

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AUTOMATED SYSTEMS--'CO-AUTHORS' WITH DESIGNERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 46-47

[Article by M. Osin and Yu. Tyurin, candidates of technical sciences]

[Text] The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" draft guidelines devote considerable attention to problems in the automation of labor processes in the national economy, based on the use of progressive scientific and technological achievements.

The automation of design work is a very noteworthy manifestation of the scientific and technical revolution. It drastically alters this important area of intellectual work. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this change. In many industrially developed countries today, technical facilities and program support of automated design systems are considered a strategic commodity; the cost of sets of applied programs in the United States, France and the FRG is comparable to that of a high capacity computer.

The experience acquired in the use of automation facilities in designing and engineering work has demonstrated that they make it possible to improve the technical and economic characteristics of projects by 10 to 25 percent, to achieve material savings varying between 5 and 15 percent, to reduce power and transportation outlays by 10-30 percent, to shorten design time by a factor of 2-4, and to improve labor productivity in design organizations by 20 to 50 percent.

The process of creating a new technical project, item, installation, system or technological process takes on a different quality. New opportunities are provided for the designer, and he is presented with a broader range of synthesized or contemplated design solutions. Each specific solution or variant in the structure or functions of the item planned is considered in greater detail and more comprehensively; problems related to the computer modeling of phenomena and processes describing the work of the item planned are comprehensively resolved. The designer acquires new information and has available technical facilities which vastly broaden his creative horizon.

The substantial reduction in the working time required resulting from more rapid computations and graphic data processing, the automation of the flow of information among enterprise subunits, mechanization of the production of blueprints and technical documentation, and the procedure for writing control programs for machine tools are important advantages of the new technical system.

Design costs drop substantially as a result of the reduced redesigning outlays (as a consequence of detailed initial design work), the reduced number of specialists engaged in processing, computation and reference services, and the elimination of experiments involving the use of expensive mockups with computer modeling. Engineering work becomes more attractive. The traditional manual operations required in design bureaus are eliminated, and the potential for live, creative work becomes vastly broader.

What is needed for the effective implementation of the CPSU assignment? To what specific point should we draw the attention of scientists and engineers in the immediate future? First of all, the system for the preparation of the data needed for designing (the so-called terminal points) must be "brought closer" to the work benches of designers and technologists. This is achieved by installing widespread computer systems with a number of terminals and individual peripheral minicomputers. Secondly, we must increase the number of active computer users substantially in the design services. They should include people trained in programming and in work with traditional computer systems, as well as personnel whose "communications" with computers and machine design systems is based on the use of problem-oriented languages. Thirdly, we must make use of collective dialogue, informationally supported by computers, in design and engineering practice. Fourthly, we must master work with machine design systems and centralized data banks. Fifth, we must improve the means of automated synthesizing of technical solutions and methods of design research under nonspecific circumstances and apply them in our specific design work.

In view of the importance of the use of automated design systems in engineering practice, we suggest that the following sentence be added to Section 3 of the "Basic Directions:" "Systematic implementation of a radical reorganization of the engineering process in all industrial sectors, based on the latest design automation systems, such as to enhance the productive capacity of engineering work substantially."

5003
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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 47-49

[Article by M. Antonov, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress call for the all-round production intensification and rational utilization of resources. This provides a basis for the solution of important problems related to the country's social development. However, as practical experience has indicated, social factors have not been sufficiently taken into account in the solution of economic problems in all cases to date. This has resulted in major outlays of an inefficient sort and unnecessary complications in the people's lives. Unfortunately, this is not an accidental shortcoming. It is sometimes even "scientifically substantiated," to judge from the methods used in technical-economic computations, above all. The simplest way of proving this is to take the location of new industrial enterprises as an example.

Proposals as to location of enterprises are drafted by the design institutes in the respective sectors. The institutes are rewarded for reducing estimated construction costs.

If we compare two variants for the location of a new processing industry enterprise--a large city or a small town--from the viewpoint of minimal outlays, based on the present methods, the former virtually always appears preferable. A large city already has the necessary rail and road facilities. It has water, gas and power supply systems, and so on. All of this would have to be created from scratch in a small settlement. Consequently, a given institute will recommend that a metallurgical plant, a chemical plant, and so on, be located in a given large city, and each institute will substantiate its decision with figures showing savings of millions of rubles. The city authorities most often accept such recommendations willingly, because until recently, the opportunities for a city to obtain improvements and to develop its communal economy have depended to a decisive extent on attracting industry. Therefore the city offers the same advantages and opportunities as an incentive for the building of several plants. No evil intent is present, for the process of approval of plans for the building of enterprises is sometimes quite lengthy, and until the very last minute, the city is unsure whether or not a plant will be built there or somewhere else. This is why it is always useful to have something in reserve, so that if the plan for the building of a metallurgical plant is rejected, the construction of a chemical plant may be approved.

If more than one plan is approved and the construction of one plant after another is undertaken, it is obvious that the handling and processing capacity of the railroad junction with an adequate potential for providing services to a single enterprise may prove inadequate for several. The junction, therefore, will require drastic and urgent reconstruction. Considering the type of area in which railroad junctions are located, surrounded by city buildings, work "beneath the tracks" will be far more constructive than would the construction of a railroad station leading to a small town. The same reasons apply to the reconstruction of water mains, power grids, and so on, which are also quite costly. The location of new plants in large cities leads to an increase in their population, drained away from villages and small towns; in order to house the new residents, less convenient and more distant areas must be built up. This too is expensive. Above all, it requires the urgent reorganization of transportation routes, often involving the expensive wrecking of still adequate buildings and engineering facilities. When this has been done, the institutes are inspired to stress the attractiveness of such cities even further, and to recommend the location there of more new enterprises. This in turn entails further reconstruction of the urban economy, the building of new urban arteries, the laying of streetcar tracks or the building of subways, and so on, ad infinitum. It is in this way that the sum total of "individual savings" leads to vast overexpenditures.

However, there is more to it than this. Living conditions in the large and ever expanding overpopulated city deteriorate. Air, water and soil pollution increase. The time lost in commuting increases, while access to unspoiled nature areas is reduced. Meanwhile, living conditions in the small towns also deteriorate. Because of the fact that vast funds must be invested in "mending" the facilities in the large cities, nothing is left for the development of the smaller towns, and the growing generation often can find no employment there and is thus forced to leave. The result is the hypertrophic development of the large cities and the abandonment of smaller towns, a phenomenon in conflict with reiterated party decisions calling for restriction of the growth of the large cities. Furthermore, this soon results in hindrances to the implementation of social measures, for the settlement, production and social infrastructure systems are a part of the economic features of the area which it is most difficult to reorganize.

Transportation is another example. The difficulties recently experienced by the transportation system are largely the result of the fact that the methods used to date for the economic substantiation of development have ignored social factors. For decades, specialists have been demonstrating that our transportation system is superior to those in capitalist countries, because it carries larger loads, makes better use of roadways, has a more rapid turnover of rolling stock, and boasts lower transportation costs. All of these things are true. However, they do not take into account the fact that railroads are needed not to haul more freight, but to provide services to the economy and the population as well. In our country, freight, even for the most important (!) construction projects, is sometimes received by the customers with a 6 months delay (!), or even later, and many enterprises operate for years on end on the edge of paralysis in their operations due to breakdowns in raw material deliveries or shipping out finished goods. At the peak of the summer season, passengers are sometimes unable to travel for days on end. Many rural settlements lack year-round access to the general highway

system. Incidentally, the system of repeated "patching" of the same old highways (which are in a permanent state of reconstruction, decade after decade), to the detriment of new construction, is closely linked with the trend toward concentrating industry in the large cities, not to mention the fact that this too has been termed "more advantageous" (if no new roads are built, all freight must be handled by the existing roads, thus reducing transportation costs). Basically, programs for the construction of transportation facilities have failed to take the increased social requirements into account. But the transportation system is not only a "carrier," but a tool for the solution of such problems as equalizing living conditions among various parts of the country.

By now, an adequate scientific base has been established to permit the development of methods leading to the achievement of optimal economic, social and ecological results. Foreign experience has been summarized as well. Soviet economists (who place man highest among their interests) cannot be satisfied with a strict economic approach. Let us note that the cost effectiveness method is used extensively abroad. This makes it possible to take into account not only capital investments and operational costs in comparing alternatives for transportation systems, for example, but passenger time outlays, impact on urban planning, scarcity of resources, consistency with ecological requirements, and other factors as well.

Unfortunately, instead of resolving the problem on a comprehensive basis, which demands knowledge, adamant effort and civic courage, scientists frequently take the easy path of "economic mathematization," which means creating an infinite number of abstract models. Naturally, no one can object to the sensible use of mathematics in economics. However, it is entirely unacceptable to make it a formal "game" with regard to such an important subject. Unfortunately, this has become quite widespread. We must not forget that the location of production facilities and the development of transportation are by nature economic, demographic, psychological, defense and social problems. The difficulty in resolving them lies not in the lack of formulas or computers which are too slow, but in the imperfect coordination of the economic mechanism, an obsolete view of the criteria for effectiveness of public production under socialism, and so on. However, technical-economic and mathematical-economic studies often ignore social problems, replacing them with equations, models, algorithms and probability distributions. The project being developed (the national economy) is described in terms of models based on linear programming, which oversimplify reality. The resulting optima turn out to be quite far removed from the optimal solutions from the viewpoint of social interests.

In my view, it would be expedient to include the following item in the CC CPSU draft guidelines: "Development and use of methods for technical and economic computation such as to take social factors into consideration." The following should be added to the item pertaining to the formulation of general plans for sectorial development: "Taking social factors into consideration."

5003
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CLIMATE OF THE COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 49-51

[Article by A. Rassadin, first secretary of the Elektrostal' CPSU Gorkom, Moscow Oblast]

[Text] The "Basic Directions" draft guidelines call for upgrading the role and initiative of labor collectives. Our city party organization is doing a great deal of work in this connection. Collectives in which the work is successful, where plans and socialist obligations are being overfulfilled, where everyone feels himself to be the master of the production process, and where a good moral and psychological climate prevails, are becoming ever more numerous.

Again and again we see that wherever such an atmosphere has been created, man asserts himself more forcefully as a collectivist, and better conditions for the further development and enrichment of socialist social relations and communist characteristics in the minds and conduct of the people are created.

Elektrostal' is an industrial city. We try to resolve problems in the further mechanization and automation of labor intensive processes, reconstruction, production modernization, acceleration of the pace of housing construction, and expansion of the network of service enterprises and cultural centers as a single complex. The lives and work of our people are becoming ever more interesting. Industrial associations and enterprises are steadily increasing their output, which has been exclusively the result, for almost 1 year, of higher labor productivity.

What is the prerequisite for a happy mood, for an active environment, without which it is simply impossible to increase productivity? It is an atmosphere of joint work and the existence of a strong and closely united collective. This was properly described by N. I. Komyshanchenko, bearer of the orders of Lenin and October Revolution, and a brigade leader at the Elektrostal' Plant. "As we go to work, we are confident that the job has been laid out for us. There will be no tense moments and the norms will be overfulfilled yet once again... I am a blacksmith, and I love to do beautiful work. This is particularly true when the task is complex and difficult. I hammer out a part and someone is bound to say with admiration: 'Look at the work of Komysh!' This is agreeable and pleasing both to myself and others. Each of us is a master worker and each of us is brimming with professional pride." This individual is an acknowledged leader in the collective.

The same can be said of K. A. Maksimov, bearer of the orders of Lenin and the October Revolution, the head of complex brigade No 9 at Construction and Installation Administration No 2, Mosoblstroy Trust. He enjoys unchallenged prestige. This is the result of the vast experience he has acquired in 30 years of construction work, the high level of his specialized technical training, and the attention he pays to each individual. His collective was one of the first to master the brigade contracting method, and it is achieving a steady increase in effectiveness and improvement in quality. It fulfilled its 10th Five-Year Plan as early as the end of August 1979.

Work is successful wherever the management makes an organic combination of party-mindedness and competence, and the ability to work with people, and where the atmosphere of comradeship and reciprocal guarantees also presumes reciprocal exigency and efficient control of execution.

It is no accident that many of our best managers and chief enterprise specialists are those who have acquired the extensive experience provided by working as party secretaries. It is in this direction that the oblast party committee constantly points us. Indeed, in acquiring such training, a specialist learns and masters the art of working with people. His capabilities as an organizer become fully developed. He acquires the skill needed to feel and take into account the moral, psychological and pedagogical aspects of management in a more refined and "constructive" way.

We are applying the Elektrostal'tyazhmash Association experience in training managers, approved by the city party committee bureau, which includes the certification of cadres, undertaking sociological studies with a view to assessing the business and moral qualities of the cadres, and organization of apprenticeship. The apprentices are future managers, ranging from deputy shop chiefs to chief engineers. They are selected carefully. Every one of them works in the specific production sector which will be "his own," and acquires the proper knowledge and skills. In the course of this practice, the practical and human qualities of each individual and his abilities as an organizer and educator are revealed. Most of the personnel who have taken this training are successfully heading various production subunits today, in which the work is going well, the atmosphere is good, a feeling of collectivism has developed, and material and moral incentives for highly productive toil have become an organic aspect of the work.

The constant readiness of the collective to execute complex assignments, its concentrated effort to overcome difficulties and its developed sense of workers' honor are indicators of the excellent atmosphere within the collective. For example it is considered great good luck to be working in shop No 1 at the Elektrostal' Plant. It was this shop precisely which produced the first melt of domestic high grade steel when the Soviet system was only 10 days old. The atmosphere of constant searching, innovation and creative restlessness has existed here for decades. To this very day, the shop continues to pioneer the mastery of the most complex grades of steels and alloys. It maintains high technological standards, although the plant has other shops with more modern equipment. The new shop workers are informed proudly of the outstanding traditions of the collective and its valuable labor initiatives. The workers are trained in a spirit of

responsibility for their assignments. Friendly relations are promoted and the people get to know one another better at the Kirzhach shop recreation base and through group visits to theaters and museums. Many shop workers live in a building built by the workers themselves. The principle here is one for all and all for one. The collective is united and stable.

Until recently, the high turnover among construction cadres and the steadily declining number of them were resulting in tangible losses. Together with the party organizations of the collectives, the city party committee took specific steps to block this. This included improvements in vocational guidance for young people, the development of the brigade organization of labor, the adoption of progressive methods of socialist competition, the strengthening of the construction subunits with cadres of good managers, increasing the party stratum among the workers with leading skills, and improvement of the living and working conditions of the construction workers. A competition for best cadre stability was organized among the various organizations, covering the state of labor discipline and many other economic, social and moral-psychological factors. A drastic change occurred in 1979: the number of construction workers in the city began to increase, and strong collectives developed.

Without question, the processes in connection with upgrading the role of the labor collectives and molding an excellent moral and psychological climate in them can be controlled, as we have repeatedly had occasion to see. They can be accelerated, enriched and developed within an ever more closely interlinked complex. Here again, the purposeful and coordinated work of the party and other public organizations and the enterprise administrations is very important. It requires effort on the part of the party members and all those in whom practical and moral-political qualities are combined, so that they set an example of Bolshevik principle-mindedness, honesty and humanity. The primary party organizations play a special role: while guiding all collective activities, they must exert a positive influence on the development of the collective's social and political maturity and on the moral atmosphere. They must improve the whole of their organizational, political and ideological-educational work in this field.

All of this was discussed at the May 1980 City Party Committee Plenum, which dealt in particular with the problem of developing an excellent moral and psychological climate in all labor collectives. A critical study was made of the experience acquired, and valuable suggestions were made. For example, it was noted that the primary organizations and party groups should help the collectives to formulate stricter requirements for every worker, so that they can jointly exert an influence on those who are careless or undisciplined or evidence private ownership or other negative tendencies. A strong and healthy collective is a great force, a fact which is frequently still underestimated. We are linking the decisions of this plenum closely with the implementation of the work plan set forth at the previous city party committee plenum, which discussed improvements in the economic management mechanism. Again and again we emphasize the importance of the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems.

Much work lies ahead. The "Basic Directions" provide vast opportunities for the development of the country and they inspire the party members and all of the

Soviet people. From start to finish, the CC CPSU draft guidelines are imbued with the party's concern for the people and their well-being, and the need to increase opportunities for highly productive and creative toil. I submit that the part of the document which discusses the development of a creative atmosphere and a healthy sociopsychological climate in labor collectives should stress the particular responsibility of party organs, primary party organizations and economic managers for the solution of this problem. This is a most important matter, for an excellent atmosphere in each collective, city, rayon or area also constitutes a tremendous reserve for economic growth and a prerequisite for even greater cohesion within our society and its increased unity.

5003

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INTEGRATION OF EXPERIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 51-52

[Article by L. Gol'din, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The extension of the experience of the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant, the Dinamo Plant, the Azot Production Association in Shchekino, the brigade of N. V. Zlobin and others, has had a considerable impact on the development of the Soviet economy and the solution of social problems. The possibility of making extensive and unhindered use of progressive experience on the scale of society as a whole is one of the most important advantages of socialism. It is natural for the communist party to devote constant attention to the practical use of this advantage, and to combining it with the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" draft guidelines emphasize the need to insure the prompt summarizing and systematic dissemination of progressive experience.

A comprehensive approach to the solution of economic problems as a requirement dictated by reality is fully applicable to the use of each individual initiative or new economic management method. The most important and widespread achievements in progressive experience, which represent a real turn in economic practice, need a thorough theoretical interpretation, above all. The purpose of the scientific study of progressive experience is to define its role and place in the solution of socioeconomic problems, and to determine its links with other means and methods of economic management. It is well known that an initiative or a method which has fully proven its usefulness within a given collective can, under different circumstances, be unsuitable, unless it is properly based on the technical state of the production process and coordinated with the entire system of labor and management organization and the psychological atmosphere prevailing where it is applied. As a rule, the problem of combining new experience with the experience already acquired by a specific labor collective arises.

The progressive enterprises try to use the whole arsenal of ways and means of achieving effective economic management. For example, the Sverdlovsk construction workers combined the brigade contracting method skillfully with a reduction in the number of workers in primary labor collectives, following in the steps of the Shchekino example.

The plan for the application of the Shchekino method at the Uralgidromash Association called for the payment of a bonus to piece rate workers who met their norms, following the example of the Dinamo plant in Moscow. The Uralgidromash collective was one of the first which was able to prove that the Shchekino method can be successfully applied in machine building enterprises. The association achieved the highest rates of output and labor productivity of any similar enterprises, while steadily reducing the personnel volume.

The Polimir Production Association in Polotsk is skillfully combining various innovations. Having studied the Uralgidromash experience, the Polotsk chemical workers used the brigade organization of labor, combined with the Shchekino method, not only for basic output, but in auxiliary services as well, such as repair and loading and unloading operations. All of this established a reliable base for the next step--the application of the experience acquired by the Volga Automotive Plant. As we know, the question arises under this system of finding the funds for additional payments for the increased professional skill of the workers. The higher management organs must set aside special funds for such purposes from their reserves. What if there are no reserves? This problem does not arise in enterprises which are successfully applying the Shchekino method, since wage savings from the release of personnel make it possible to encourage the increase in skills and professional mastery effectively.

The better chemical workers also convincingly demonstrated the excellent results achieved by combining progressive experience. The sector developed and applied a new method for the collective servicing of technological systems and production facilities on the basis of interchangeability. This incorporates the basic elements of the experience of the Shchekino and Polotsk chemical workers and the Volga automobile makers.

Let us note that the comprehensive use of progressive experience makes it possible to enrich the significance of the workers' labor, and to expose them to the whole treasury of achievements of production frontrankers and innovators. This is the basis for the experience of growing satisfaction with the work, and a reduction of social outlays needed to compensate for unattractive types of work.

In our view, the following should be included in Section 12 of the "Basic Directions:" "To implement measures for the further expansion and increased effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and wages, combined with the Shchekino method, the experience of the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant, and other progressive work methods." Practical experience has indicated that labor organization methods such as increasing the number of machines serviced and combining skills, the importance of which was emphasized in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, lead to the best possible results when combined with the other methods of insuring increased labor productivity as stipulated in the Shchekino system. Therefore, if the draft guidelines mention the Shchekino method, the words "to develop a movement for expanding the area of machines serviced and the mastery of related skills" could be deleted.

It is well known that the use of progressive experience makes adamant effort necessary on the part of economic managers, specialists, and production innovators. The complexity of the problems facing the collective becomes far greater

when the issue is the comprehensive utilization of the most important innovative initiatives with the most substantial effect on production effectiveness and work quality. It is fully evident that in order to arouse greater interest on the part of the collective in the search for new economic management methods and the experimental testing of them (the results of such experimentation may prove negative), corresponding incentive measures are necessary.

While encouraging the trailblazers, we must not only assess the greater effectiveness of their labor but also compensate for the additional effort in connection with innovative search and the resolution of complex creative problems. The assessment of the socioeconomic effectiveness of progressive experience and innovative initiatives must be more complete than it is now. For example, as a result of the application of the Shcheniko experience, a brigade may be able to free several workers. Is the effectiveness of this measure limited to a saving in wages? The workers released will fill job vacancies. Furthermore, they will insure more effective use of equipment than would newly hired novices.

Let us take another example: the organization of two- and three-shift use of the equipment, which provides tremendous economic advantages as a result of the better utilization of the equipment and production areas. A great deal of experience has been acquired in this kind of organization throughout the country, particularly at the machine building enterprises in Sumskaya Oblast. It is no secret that the use of this experience involves serious problems, because there are in some cases not even enough workers for a single shift. In order to assess the national economic effectiveness of multiple-shift work effectively, we should take into consideration the saving in social labor, which is found in this case in the equipment producing sectors, and we should reward the collectives which use them most effectively for the effort resulting in such savings.

A more accurate assessment of the effectiveness of progressive experience will enable us to energize the application of industrial-technical and economic innovations considerably. In this connection, I suggest a new text for the stipulations in the 12th section of the draft guidelines on increasing the links between material incentives and the results of socialist competition: "To intensify the link between material incentives and the results of socialist competition and the utilization of progressive experience in upgrading production effectiveness and work quality."

5003

CSO: 1802/10

INCENTIVES FOR HIGH PRODUCTION QUALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 52-54

[Article by A. Tkachenko, candidate of economic sciences, Zaporozh'ye]

[Text] The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress call for the application of a complex of measures to improve the economic mechanism and to increase its influence on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality under the 11th Five-Year Plan. The volume of the economic incentive funds available to enterprises and associations will be made directly dependent on the results of their economic activity. The task is to use the potential existing in the enterprises for promoting the quality of output and of all work as effectively as possible.

According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the total volume of bonuses paid to industrial-production personnel in industry came to billions of rubles in 1979. However, these vast funds are not always used efficiently. One of the major shortcomings in the existing practice lies in the fact that even if an enterprise produces substandard goods, the workers are regularly paid their bonuses, since the output is "linked" mainly with quantitative indicators.

A number of incentive systems which are simply beyond the understanding of the individual worker are used on a parallel basis in the enterprises. Payment for some of them ranges from 2-3 rubles to 60 kopecks per month. It is clear that such splintering of incentives reduces the effectiveness of bonuses.

Practical experience has indicated that under present-day conditions, bonuses for faultless output can have a substantial effect on improvement in production quality. This was demonstrated by the experience of the Prodmash Plant in Odessa. According to the plant's regulations, the basic production workers receive a bonus equal to two percent of their wages for every percentage by which the monthly plan assignment and the production of superior quality goods are overfulfilled. Workers who are entitled to submit items marked with their personal seal receive a bonus equaling five percent of their wage rates. In our view, the presentation of faultless goods should become one of the basic prerequisites for bonuses when the quantitative indicators for increase in output have been achieved.

The choice of a basis for the calculation of bonuses is of key importance in quality indicator incentives.

More than a half of the Ukrainian machine building enterprises (out of the total number we surveyed) compute bonuses on the basis of piece rate output, while the others use the hourly wage rate. In our view, it would be expedient to base the bonus for the delivery of faultless goods on a percentage of the wage rate, while at the same time encouraging workers to improve their skills, since their mastery substantially affects the quality of their works. This should be reflected in the pertinent portion of Section 12 of the "Basic Direction" draft guidelines, by the addition of the following statement: "To enhance the importance of the skill and labor quality factors in the incentive area."

Practical experience has shown that the combination of two indicators yields substantial results in the awarding of bonuses--the delivery of faultless goods and the reduction of losses due to defective goods. Here we deem it expedient to apply the comprehensive indicator of work quality as expressed by a point system. Together with the requirement that tests be passed showing no defects, technical violations, losses due to faulty output, and so on, the delivery of faultless goods should be included. Such an incentive system is used at the Odessa Agricultural Machine Building Plant imeni Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya. There bonuses are differentiated on the basis of the average monthly rating of output quality, using a five point system.

In our view, the faultless production system, which is a further development and addition to the system of faultless manufacturing, should be disseminated as widely as possible. This system was developed and applied as a result of the creative use of the Saratov quality control management system and on the basis of the work experience acquired at industrial enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Gor'kiy, Yaroslavl' and Kremenchug, the L'vov production associations imeni 50-Letiya Oktyabrya and imeni V. I. Lenin, and other oblast enterprises, which received CC CPSU approval. The quality indicator used with this system is the summarized assessment of all components in the work of the performer, the collective and the management. The coefficient is computed for basic and auxiliary operations and for engineering and technical workers and employees. It takes into account not only the percentage of faultless goods delivered, but all other work components as well: observance of technological discipline, timely maintenance of equipment, and production standards.

The faultless labor system enables the performer, if his work is well organized, to achieve high output quality. The fact that one worker's bonus depends on the work of others is also very important, since a system of collective responsibility for end labor results has been implemented in shops and departments.

The effectiveness of the system is also confirmed by the practical experience of the industrial enterprises in Zaporozhskaya Oblast, where the lion's share of the incentives for better output quality (better work) has been broadly distributed. For example, at the AvtoZaZ Production Association, work quality is assessed by means of a special "quality control card." Every day, each worker's violations of technical discipline and the return of goods for defects in manufactured parts and assemblies are entered. The "quality control cards" make it possible to compare the results of the activities of workers with different skills and professions, and to organize socialist competition among them on this basis.

It is very important to determine the main reasons for defects and faulty production in drafting the ways and means of using incentives to improve output quality. The studies we conducted in a number of machine building enterprises in the Ukrainian SSR showed that only 20 percent of the defects were the fault of the worker. However, without a clear determination of the reasons for faulty output, the administration of the enterprise feels it necessary to pay higher bonuses to the workers in an effort to improve output quality, although the main reasons for the defects do not lie with the workers. Obviously, the system of quality bonuses will have no consequences here other than increased expenditures and a false feeling of confidence in the minds of the managers who believe that they have taken steps to improve output quality.

Sociological studies conducted at the republic's machine building enterprises have indicated that most of the personnel surveyed were unable to assess their own contribution to upgrading the quality of output. Workers frequently get the impression that they are being given bonuses not because of the quality of their work, but because they achieved high quantity indicators, for overtime, for active social work, in work for the sovkhos they sponsored, and so on.

Among the basic requirements the bonus system must retain are its simplicity and clarity. The worker must be able to see and feel clearly the direct and immediate connection between outlay (the results) of his work and the size of the bonus. Workers' familiarity with the bonus systems used and their direct participation in the establishing of them contribute to increasing the influence of bonuses on production results.

People are better satisfied with their work when the whole collective works successfully, when they are confident that all of their capabilities and efforts are yielding tangible benefits for society and are oriented toward the achievement of high national end economic results.

The entire system of planning and economic incentives must be subordinated to this goal. For this reason, I suggest that the following be included as a separate statement in the paragraph in the 12th section of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th congress which discusses improvement in the material incentive system: "To improve the system of bonuses for labor quality. To prevent formalism in bonus systems and to increase the stimulating effect and educational role of bonuses." I believe it would be expedient, as confirmed by the experience of frontranking enterprises, for at least one-half of the wage and material incentive fund paid out for bonuses to be used to encourage higher quality indices for the production activities of the collective (enterprise, shop, sector, brigade).

5003

CSO: 1802/10

VALUABLE FORM OF CONCENTRATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 54-55

[Article by I. Nikolayeva, candidate of technical sciences and docent at the political economy chair of the Moscow Higher Technical School]

[Text] The development of socialist production has always been paralleled by a process of concentration, which has been the basis for the technical advance of the production process and for upgrading its economic effectiveness. This line of development will be maintained through 1990. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress state: "...To improve the forms of organization of industrial production and production relations among industrial sectors and individual enterprises. To raise the level of production specialization, cooperation and concentration..."

Under developed socialist conditions, the scientific and technical revolution is having a double effect on the process of production concentration. On the one hand, under the influence of the advance in science and technology, the necessary prerequisites for upgrading the level of concentration are created. This is expressed, specifically, in the creation of associations and combines. On the other hand, the extensive dissemination of progressive methods for raw material processing, the development of the power industry, the creation of an integrated power system and the electrification of the railroads stimulate the construction and effective operation of relatively small enterprises in various parts of the country.

The best illustration of this is the example provided by the metallurgical industry. For example, low outlays for the installation of electric furnaces for steel smelting make it possible to build small plants in areas where there are substantial stocks of scrap metal, thus reducing the distance between the plants and their markets. The building of such plants will make it possible to reduce outlays for raw material deliveries and the transportation of finished products, and will meet the need for a variety of shapes and grades of rolled metal which are required in small quantities. Bearing in mind the short construction period for many plants (their design and construction averages 14 to 18 months), and the limited capital investment required, their effectiveness is beyond question. This is confirmed by practical experience abroad as well. In 1976, there were about 240 metallurgical miniplants operating in 38 countries throughout the world, with a total output capacity exceeding 36 million tons of steel per year.

The development of small specialized enterprises involves yet another factor, also created by the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. The tempestuous development of science and technology leads to more rapid moral obsolescence for the equipment and to the steady renovation and expansion of variety. As a rule, it takes more time to halt the production of obsolete commodities than to master new ones. For example, in the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, industry mastered the production and initiated the series output of 13,800 types of new industrial items, while the production of 7,300 was halted. The broadening of variety under the conditions of specialization by item, which predominates in our industry, has resulted in an average production today per machine building enterprise of 43 types of series and 80-90 types of individual items.

With every passing year, large specialized enterprises are finding it increasingly difficult to resolve the problem of reducing production outlays while improving quality and increasing the volume and broadening the variety of goods produced. The hindrances are above all the traditional technical production conditions--general purpose equipment, noncontinuous technology, and others. Such enterprises cannot convert to the production of new commodities in small series within a short time, for their technological cycles are oriented toward mass production. Consequently, the development of concentration in large enterprises cannot of itself insure maximum effectiveness on a long-range basis.

Life itself dictates the need for the development of large as well as relatively small enterprises based on itemized and technological specialization. Such enterprises could produce individual parts and assemblies of high quality with minimal outlays, and could ship them to assembly plants on a cooperative basis. Under contemporary conditions, the creation of specialized enterprises which produce goods used by several different sectors, i.e., the development of intersectorial specialized production, is becoming particularly important. Such enterprises are especially needed in the machine building sector, which requires specialized plants for the production of parts for general machine building use, spare parts, and so on.

This is not a case of production deconcentration, as it is sometimes viewed. In this connection, concentration is considered to mean the focusing of the production of certain items on individual enterprises or areas. Accumulation is the source of concentration. It makes it possible not only to expand output but to improve its quality as well. Furthermore, concentration is inextricably linked with specialization. The development of small, specialized and highly effective enterprises, therefore, is yet another means of socialist production concentration.

We believe that the contemporary production process should involve enterprises of different sizes. The combination of large, medium and relatively small enterprises specializing in terms of technology or the production of specific items would make it possible to increase economic effectiveness and would enable us to reorganize facilities for the production of new items rapidly.

In this connection, I suggest that the following be added to the fourth section of the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" draft guidelines: "To improve the forms of organizing industrial output and production relations among individual industrial sectors and enterprises. To upgrade the level of production cooperation and concentration on the basis of part and technological specialization."

5003

CSO: 1802/10

RATIONAL USE OF TIMBER RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 55-58

[Article by A. Liseyev, member of the USSR Geographic Society]

[Text] The timber, cellulose-paper and timber processing sectors of industry are making a substantial contribution to the measures being implemented for the systematic improvement of the well-being of the people. Under the new five-year plan, as the CC CPSU draft guidelines indicate, they are scheduled to increase output by 17-19 percent. These figures are entirely realistic.

However, this will require an increased volume of raw materials. Although many enterprises are short of timber, since there are some difficulties in supplying timber to industry (the average hauling distance exceeds 1,700 kilometers; the proportion of mature forests in the Ukraine has been reduced to 5-6 percent, and that in Belorussia to 2-3 percent, although the norm is about 20 percent), it is possible even now, without increasing the volume of procurements or the additional harvesting of timber areas, to increase timber deliveries to the national economy drastically.

Timber is classified as a renewable resource, and provided that it is correctly and efficiently used, it can be inexhaustible. Forest protection does not mean at all that forests must be regarded as "preserves." Forest protection can (and must) be combined with the sensible exploitation of the stocks available.

This is pointed out in the CC CPSU draft guidelines: "In the forest economy, gradual conversion must be made to the use of continuous and rational timber utilization principles."

However, this sentence in the draft should in my view be improved by deleting the word "gradual," since following the CC CPSU congress and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the many decrees on the situation in the forest industry and economy which the CC CPSU and the Soviet government have passed, the prerequisites were created for the implementation of the principle of continuous and steady utilization of forest resources. Today this principle is universally acknowledged. The main prerequisite for its implementation is the proper classification of tree age for harvesting. This is what determines the volume of the forests where tree cutting can be planned. This is linked not only with the volume of timber procurement, but also the effectiveness with which timber resources are utilized.

If the maturity age for trees is lowered, young trees can be included in the category. This artificially increases the tree crop, which is the equivalent of destroying forests.

The optimal ages for cutting trees, based on the proper preservation of their water, air, soil, anti-erosion, sanitary, esthetic and other functions, makes it impossible to increase the maximum of marketable top grade timber per hectare. Unfortunately, the age currently stipulated by the USSR Gosleskhoz (Order No 114 dated 17 August 1978) for the cutting of trees in the various parts of the country cannot be regarded as optimal.

For example, according to these norms, prior to the last regulation, pine and spruce could be felled at the age of 81, 71 (and even 61). However, we know that in the first 60 years, annual tree growth, for the average type which has a life span of 140 years, comes to 0.3 percent, while for the remaining 80 years, it is 1 percent (i.e., it increases by a factor in excess of 3.3!). This is the reserve which nature itself provides for upgrading timber output!

Even after 100 years (through 140), the annual rate of growth increases by 28 percent for pine and 32 percent for spruce, as compared to the first 100 years.

This was pointed out by D. I. Mendelejev himself.

Let us note that for the country as a whole, the forest economy is oriented toward the production of timber suitable for sawing. Therefore lumber of large size is the most valuable to the national economy. This must be taken into consideration in determining cutting age. By converting to lower ages, we are essentially threatening the production of lumber and plywood, and creating difficulties for lumber export, an age-old and traditional source of income for our country. All of this is taking place while the price of large-size lumber is quite high and still rising on the world market.

Let us also point out that the value of thick-cut lumber is higher than that of thin-cut by a factor of 2.25, while sawing costs are a third as much. Furthermore, the output of sawed lumber from the low age group of trees (60 years) is lower than that of older trees by almost one-half.

Furthermore, labor productivity increases dramatically, the amount of waste is reduced, and the cost of the output of the sawing, plywood and the timber processing industry in general is reduced and quality improves when large-size lumber is produced. Let us also point out that the durability of young timber is less by a factor of almost 5 than that of mature lumber. This reduces quality and the durability of the goods made from it, and artificially creates the prerequisites for a subsequent increase in the needs for timber, manpower and energy resources.

In order to make informed and efficient use of timber resources, the time has come to organize a state service in charge of timber growth in the nation's forests, and to set up timber age records throughout the territory. This will make it possible to produce an additional one million cubic meters of timber, which is

currently being lost irreplaceably, since no records on the subject are being kept. This will also make it possible to protect 5,000 hectares of forests against harvesting every year.

Let us also pay attention to the quality of timber. Not only is there a failure to grade pine by quality today, but it is even loaded into freight cars without any separation of timber differing widely in quality. As a result the consumer's requirements are not met. This is a violation of the technological process and reduces output.

In my view, the CC CPSU draft guidelines should point out the need to upgrade the output of marketable timber per hectare of timber area and to use timber resources rationally, to establish a selling age for the country's forests on the basis of maximal biological productivity. Timber procurement agencies must be ordered to cut specific trees only and must absolutely be required to grade the timber according to quality.

We still have considerable timber resources at our disposal, and the cutting age could be raised by making more rational use of timber areas. In other words, we could raise the timber output by increasing forest productivity.

Other methods (drying timber areas or using fertilizer) are not always inexpensive or safe (agriculture has a greater need of fertilizers than forestry does). Forestry methods (for tree-growing purposes in particular) naturally suggest the afforestation efforts we need. However, if their importance is exaggerated, the opposite effect is achieved. Instead of being useful, they begin to damage and to reduce forest productivity.

At one point (in 1974), a quarter of a million cubic meters of timber had accumulated in the forests of Moscow Oblast. It went unused and rotted. The question is why were these trees cut? The newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA published a complaint from the director of the Naro-Fominsk Timber Farm. He reported that "We do not harvest the planned number of trees every year." In 1978, however, the same author, writing in his capacity as head of the Moscow Forestry Resources Administration, said in the journal LESNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO that every year, 120,000 to 125,000 cubic meters of timber were being procured (in the past, 50,000 cubic meters had been procured, i.e., the timber crop had more than doubled!). Bearing in mind that the level of timber felling in Moscow Oblast had been raised (by lowering the tree cutting age), it becomes clear that this "policy" in handling forestry resources involves the very real danger of exhausting the forest.

At timber industry farms, discussions about the need to cut the annual growth are often heard. Bonuses are paid for fulfilling the plan for harvesting the timber crop. However, since there are no specific customers and thus no market, the timber is left to rot in the forest or is burned. What is this? Is it concern for the forest or desire to receive a bonus?

Unfortunately, the press does not report the cost of such felling. No information is provided about the characteristics of the forest (density, age, timber stock per hectare), which would enable us to determine the quality and productivity. But

a study of the current status of the economics of the production of all types of timber shows that it is a losing proposition.

This sector, more than any other, requires a comprehensive approach.

We not only take from the forests, but we care for them as well, which means that we must plan the comprehensive care of afforested areas. However, we plan only the volume of timber which is to be taken out as a result of harvesting the tree crops.

Incidentally, stocks of "dead" timber (dead and fallen trees) have reached 1.5 billion cubic meters in the European-Ural zone. This does damage to the condition of the forests and increases the danger of forest fires. In my view, the following should be included in the forestry legislation: "'Dead' timber in forests, whatever the reason for it, must be removed on a priority basis. If the forest farm lacks the technical facilities for this work, the timber industry and other timber procurement agencies must be mandatorily ordered to do this work. This timber should be given to them free of charge and regarded as a part of their plan fulfillment. All types of cutting (including forest clearing and thinning of young trees) should be based exclusively on cost effectiveness. Bearing in mind the fact that toxic chemicals do serious harm to the environment, the use of them in forestry should be banned. The harvesting of timber crops and cutting for plant health reasons should be planned for the specific afforested areas."

To this day, unused timber is being burned. Occasionally, one can see huge bonfires where stacks of timber used to be. But nothing can grow on such areas for several years! Fires are burning along the banks of the Angara. Here, thousands of cubic meters of raw materials are being lost, including logs three meters long which could be used to cut railroad sleepers. As the newspaper LESNAYA PROMYSHLENNOST' reported, merely by using such waste, and without felling any additional timber, almost 200,000 cubic meters of raw material could be shipped to Bratsk for the manufacture of cellulose. The clearing of timber cutting areas by burning is harmful from the economic, ecological, agrochemical and biological viewpoints. It contributes to making the soil swampy and to erosion. It hinders reforestation, destroys young trees, and serves no purpose from the plant health point of view.

I believe that the clearing of timber cutting areas by burning should be generally prohibited by law. Even the mention of it should be deleted from all documents, instructions, norms and wage ratings.

The same can be said of the burning of chaff and straw in the fields, or of wooden cases and packaging in warehouses. As a matter of principle, we must forbid burning as a method of clearing space.

Let us point out that the clearing of timber areas is the final technological operation in the timber procurement process. The mandatory nature of this operation is supported by timber legislation. This is as it should be, since tops, branches, bulging butts, edges and bark are all valuable raw materials. However, after clearing the timber area with modern machinery and mechanisms (bulldozers, and so on), not only are young trees and shoots destroyed along with the vegetable

cover and lining, but the soil stratum is torn up as well. This leaves a sterile surface on which the productivity of the future trees (if they can be grown here) will be reduced.

For this reason, timber procurement agencies must be ordered to remove the whole of their output from such areas and to find consumers in advance for small and low quality timber. However, they must protect the soil, the vegetation and the forest cover. Timber must be felled without harming the environment, as the CC CPSU draft guidelines stipulate. The plans of timber procurers must be regarded as fulfilled only when the timber has been received by the consumers.

5003

CSO: 1802/10

A MORE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TOWARD SOIL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 58-60

[Article by V. Gorlov, candidate of technical sciences, docent at the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute; I. Lozanovskaya, candidate of chemical sciences, docent at the Novocherkassk Engineering-Reclamation Institute; and D. Orlov, doctor of biological sciences, Moscow State University professor]

[Text] The communist party teaches us a thrifty attitude toward all natural resources. This attitude is governed by our state laws. This is pointed out again as the party congress approaches in the programmatic document "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." The CPSU calls for consideration of the interaction between man and nature as a tremendous and permanently functioning mechanism for the rational utilization of natural resources and the preservation and cultivation of the living resources of nature. "Nature," as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "will give us a one-hundredfold return."

Every year, the earth, on which the population is growing steadily, loses a certain percentage of its farmland. It is lost as a result of erosion, salinization, wilting and landslides. It is lost through the condemnation of land for the building of cities, roads, industrial enterprises, ore mines and quarries. It is also lost simply as the result of improper cultivation, unskillful irrigation, and the ignorant use of chemical fertilizers. The influence of man on nature is increasing with every passing year, which is precisely the reason this effect must be strictly planned and weighed both from the economic and ecological viewpoints.

According to Academician N. V. Mel'nikov, about 12 million hectares of kolkhoz land were condemned for national economic needs in the USSR between 1963 and 1971. This area included more than five million hectares of farmland, of which one million hectares was plowland. Between now and the year 2000, about 40-45 million hectares will be used for construction, mining, engineering and transport systems and other projects. This includes about 10 million hectares of plowland. Under such circumstances, the economic evaluation of soil resources and of losses due to a reduction of them becomes a problem of tremendous importance.

It is true that ecological science regards the soil, as it does animal and vegetable resources, as a renewable natural resource, unlike all types of mineral raw materials, for example, which take a long time to develop geologically, for which reason they are regarded as virtually nonrenewable.

However, even renewable resources can be renewed only if conditions are favorable, and in strictly determined quantities. The time this requires varies. Only a few years are needed to raise an animal. Decades are needed for a tree to mature. However, it takes nature 1,500 to 7,000 years (!) to create a soil stratum no more than 18 centimeters deep, since the soil-forming processes on the various parts of the planet develop at speeds varying between 0.5 and 2.0 centimeters per century. Yet scientists today still do not know of anything which could replace soil. Hydroponic, aeroponic and plastoponic methods, or the so-called "soilless" cultivation of plants, have not as yet advanced beyond the experimental stage, and have a very limited application which by no means replaces farming. In this most important economic sector, despite all the achievements in the science of agriculture and technical progress, man depends as he did thousands of years ago on Mother Earth, on the soil. He must think seven times over before removing even the most insignificant portion of arable land to be used for construction, quarries or roads, however important or necessary these may be.

We believe that an Article 5 should be added to the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990:" "To increase protection of nature, the soil cover, the vegetable and animal worlds, the air and farmland. To insure the rational utilization and reproduction of natural resources."

The document entitled "Foundations of Land Legislation in the USSR and Union Republics" gives priority to the utilization of the land for farming purposes over all other uses. What can be done, however, if we must nevertheless build a residential district or lay a road? Where can mine waste be dumped? According to Article 11 of the "Foundations of Land Legislation in the USSR and Union Republics," an industrial enterprise which has been granted land to meet its requirements is strictly required to remove and preserve the fertile upper stratum, its humus, which can later be used to make the spoiled land arable again or to upgrade the fertility of underproductive farmland. Naturally, the appropriated land must be paid for.

It is precisely at this point that the problem arises. What should the price be? What is the value of one hectare of land? Is it to be regarded as a hectare of modest turf-podzolized soil in the Moscow area or as a hectare of the "king of soils"--chernozem, nature's unique creation? To date, neither economists nor soil experts have been able to provide a consistent answer to this question. One of the reasons is that people who have been accustomed to the land since birth often regard it as a gift given to us forever, something which has been, is and always will be. One of the most important advantages of a socialist society is that land cannot be bought or sold. It is given to kolkhozes and sovkhoses always free of charge, whether on a temporary or on a permanent basis. Unfortunately, this has led some land users and economists to think that land has no price at all. This error has caused much trouble.

According to the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Procedure for Maintaining the Land Cadastre," the assessment of the land should have been completed in the basic farming areas of the country by 1980. Meanwhile, however, enterprises are paying compensation ranging from 12,000 to ...300 (!) rubles per hectare of

land appropriated. Whenever land is appropriated for so-called "temporary use," for example a sand quarry, no compensation whatsoever is paid. Understandably, some planners and enterprise managers with no inclination to study the ecological fine points may under such circumstances feel that they have become wealthy the cheap way--no more than 300 rubles per hectare--and fail to consider the possibility of managing with a smaller area. Yet the soil is the greatest national resource we have, the basic and totally irreplaceable means of farming, the essential condition for human existence and for the habitat, labor and recreation of man. Not to mention the fact that cultivated and improved soil is no longer merely the gift of nature, but the product of the extensive and hard work of several generations, and has a high value.

Associates at the Soil Institute imeni V. V. Dokuchayev have estimated that the creation of an artificial layer of humus (i.e., a fertile soil stratum with an average humus content of 100 tons per hectare) would cost 15,000 rubles! On the basis of this estimate, the cost of a plot containing 4-5 percent humus would be about five rubles per cubic meter. If we presume that the average thickness of the arable stratum of land condemned between 1963 and 1971 was 0.4 meters, more than four billion cubic meters of fertile soil stratum, worth more than 20 billion rubles, were destroyed within that period. This is what soil costs!

The fertile stratum of high quality chernozem removed from the area condemned for industrial use, if applied to poor and underproductive land, would increase the productivity of two million hectares of farmland for many years to come.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress call for increasing the protection of farmland, a struggle against erosion, and an increased pace of land recultivation. The implementation of this stipulation demands above all that each kolkhoz and sovkhoz, industrial enterprise and construction administration develop and economic interest in soil conservation and in providing material incentives for the encouragement of efficient land utilization.

In our view, the time has long since come for the introduction into the economic indicators of kolkhoz and sovkhoz work not only data on the quantity and quality of agricultural output, but characteristics of the arable land entrusted to them by the state and the fertility level: the reserve of nutritive substances, humus content, structural condition of the soil, and so on. For example, if the percentage of humus in the cultivated stratum of the soil declines, the kolkhoz or sovkhoz must be held liable for it. The country needs high yields, but not without regard for costs, and in no case at the expense of the exhaustion of the soil. Conversely, if the masters of the land increase the fertility of their soil, both their labor and their concern must be rewarded.

In this light, the following should be added to the article on the most important task in farming, in the section entitled "Development of the Agricultural Complex:" "Development and application of a system of measures to provide material incentives for land users to make planned increases in soil fertility."

Land must be condemned for urban construction, roads and engineering systems strictly on the basis of actual needs and with the absolute requirement that soil protection services participate.

In our view, it would be totally unjustified to deprive so-called temporary users of farmland of all compensation payments. The extraction of minerals from a quarry frequently takes decades, and after the completion of the work, much time is spent on restoring the previous land layout and fertility. Throughout this whole period, agriculture is deprived of the harvest of substantial quantities of goods from the confiscated areas, and the value thereof requires compensation. The sum total of compensation should be based on the condition in which the miners turn the "borrowed" land back to the farmers.

If after recultivation, an industrial enterprise returns to the kolkhoz or sovkhos a field the fertility of which has been wholly reestablished, some of the compensation paid to the farm could be returned to the enterprise. With such an economic incentive, industrial enterprises will have an interest in insuring high quality recultivation of land which has been disturbed and in preserving its fertility.

The following statements should be added to the first paragraph of the section on "Environmental Protection:" "To organize a rayon network of soil inspectors to supervise the rational utilization and protection of the soil cover. To develop scientific norms for compensation for the value of the fertile soil stratum used for industrial, transportation or other construction." Only a thrifty attitude toward the country's soil cover, organized on an economic basis and included within the strict framework of a state law can help the agroindustrial complex to retain the foundations of its output and insure the more effective provision of food and agricultural raw materials for the country.

5003
CSO: 1802/10

PROMISING YOUNG SECTOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 60-63

[Article by B. Neyman, economist]

[Text] The microbiological industry, which has become a large independent economic sector today, offers a most extensive potential for the industrial use of the achievements of contemporary biological sciences such as molecular biology, genetics, bioorganic chemistry, and theoretical and industrial microbiology. Microbiological output organically combines modern chemical technological processes with even more advanced and intensive microbiological fermentation processes for the conversion of matter. From nonconsumable raw materials (substandard timber, oil paraffins, ethyl and methyl alcohols, natural gas, and food industry wastes), the microbiological industry can produce quantities of feed and nutritive and industrial products, the chemical synthesis of which is either impossible today or very complex and expensive, but which the national economy needs.

In the course of its development, the microbiological industry is increasingly becoming one of the sectors determining scientific and technical progress in the national economy. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress quite legitimately regard the development of highly productive crops of useful microorganisms and the development of biotechnical processes for the production of goods used in medicine, agriculture and industry as important as the solution of such major scientific and technical problems as the development of the nuclear power industry and the establishment of the foundations for the thermonuclear power industry and the further study and conquest of outer space.

The microbiological industry is a structural component of the nation's contemporary agroindustrial complex. It performs the functions of manufacturing and supplying highly effective biological production facilities. This makes its role in improving the population's supply of food exceptionally important.

Specialists have estimated that in order to reach the norms recommended by science for the per capita meat consumption norms for the expanding population of the country, and to satisfy other government needs, gross meat production must be approximately doubled. The only way to achieve this is through the radical intensification of animal husbandry on the basis of the latest achievements of science and leading experience. "Everything we want to obtain from animal husbandry," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, "such as more meat, milk and other products, will depend in the final account on a sufficient amount of a variety of high quality feeds."

However, feed production is still unequal to the requirements, not only in terms of quantity, but to an even greater extent, quality. The poor quality of the fodder, especially its low protein content, and even more important the protein balance in terms of amino acid composition, is doing tremendous harm to animal husbandry. The livestock productivity potential already developed by our selection workers is not being fully utilized, and feed outlays exceed the norms by a factor of 1.5-2.

Farming is the main source of supply for animal husbandry protein. More than a half--55-65 percent--of the entire crop in the granaries of the country goes to animal husbandry. It is very important that such vast amounts should yield maximal results. Unfortunately, a considerable percentage of the grain used as cattle and poultry feed has to date been utilized quite improperly.

The main reason for this is that cereal crop grains (other than soybeans) are low in protein. Furthermore, this protein has a low content of lysine, methionine, tryptophan and treonin. Yet the lack of even one of these irreplaceable amino acids prevents an animal's organism from utilizing the protein in the grain to build the protein in its own organs and tissues, or, in other words, to form meat, milk, eggs or wool. Also, wheat, corn and other cereal grains are poor in vitamins.

In order to overcome the natural obstacle created by these shortcomings in cereal grains, we must supplement them with fish or meat-bone meal, dehydrated milk, soybeans (in the form of oil cake or mill cake, which is what remains after the oil is extracted from the grain) and fodder yeast. The very valuable protein contained in such feeds is rich in precisely the amino acids which grain lacks. Domestic and international experience indicates that only mixed feed balanced in this way can insure high livestock productivity and the rational and effective utilization of feed grain resources.

The average outlay of nonbalanced feed per kilogram of live weight in hogs in 1976 averaged 10.7 kilograms in the kolkhozes, 10.5 kilograms in the sovkhozes and 7.1 kilograms in the interfarm hog breeding enterprises, in terms of fodder units. On many poultry farms, more than 6 to 8 kilograms of fodder units per kilogram of live weight in broilers have been used. In animal husbandry complexes and the frontranking farms in the country, where feed rations are well balanced, feed costs are lower by a factor of 2-3.

The cost of feed per unit of output is one of the most important technical-economic indicators in animal husbandry, one which determines profitability. For example, feed accounts for 60-80 percent of the cost of meat. Overexpenditure on concentrates because of shortages of high quality proteins or other balancing supplements is the greatest drain today accounting for tens of millions of tons of grain per year.

How can we provide a reliable block against such tremendous losses? The July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum decree directly indicates the way in which this problem can be resolved: "To develop the production of feed yeast, fish and meat-bone meal, whole milk substitutes, and mineral and other industrial feed supplements."

Specialists have estimated that with the maximal output volume and deliveries of fish and meat-bone meal, dry skim milk and soybean cake, and if up to 10 million tons of whole milk are used to raise offspring every year, along with the same tremendous quantity of liquid skim milk, animal husbandry needs for high grade protein will be met to the extent of only 28-30 percent between 1985 and the year 2000.

It is the microbiological industry precisely, since it is its output which enables us to guarantee the balancing of mixed feeds at state, sovkhos, kolkhoz and interfarm mixed feed enterprises, which is called upon to make up this tremendous deficit.

Yeasts are a unique product, in terms of the wealth of protein, amino acids, vitamins and other very valuable and biologically active substances they contain. By adding yeasts to feed rations, we can make animal bodies healthier and more resistant. Young cattle grow faster. Cattle losses decline, and the fertility of the breeding herds increases. At the same time, the nutritive qualities of animal husbandry products such as meat, eggs and milk also increase.

The addition of one ton of feed yeast saves five to seven tons of grain and yields 0.5-1.2 tons of pork or 1-1.5 tons of poultry meat in additional output (in live weight), or at least 10-15,000 eggs. The inclusion of one ton of yeast in the rations of calves and young pigs releases six tons of whole milk or about 1.5 tons of dry skim milk for use by the population.

Other feed products obtained through microbiological synthesis also contribute to the intensification of animal husbandry and to increased economic effectiveness in this sector. For example, lysine, an irreplaceable amino acid, is urgently needed in order to upgrade the quality of many kinds of feed. Each ton of lysine added to mixed feed gives us an additional 35 tons of pork in live weight, and results in a saving of more than 100 tons of mixed feed. There is also much to be said about the benefits resulting from the vitamins, antibiotics, ferment preparations, and other feed products of the microbiological industry.

The best results are achieved through the comprehensive use of these products in premixes (ready-made concentrated mixtures of physiologically active agents) and protein-vitamin supplements.

According to summarized data collected by the All-Union Animal Husbandry Scientific Research Institute (VNIIZh), and many other scientific agricultural institutions, the average daily weight of hogs being fattened is increased by between 60 and 90 percent, while fattening time is reduced by the same percentage when enriching feed mixes made of wheat, corn and barley with yeast and premixes are used. By this means, without expanding the premises of a large farm or adding to its personnel, 18,000 instead of 10,000 hogs could be raised in a year's time, with 9,500 of them being raised on the feed economized. Economies in grain as a result of the use of a ton of yeast premix in hog feeding, according to VNIIZh studies, can run as high as 10-12 tons.

In the course of formulating the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its socioeconomic results for period through the year 2000, it was firmly established that the microbiological industry will be confronted with the production and procurement of about 70 percent of the total quantity of rich protein needed for animal husbandry in the future, as well as a considerable percentage of the other components without which it would be equally impossible to convert grain into a balanced mixed feed. Our country has virtually no other means for resolving such problems through its own efforts. The developments of a powerful microbiological industry is an imperative of the times.

In the course of the 15 years the microbiological industry has existed as a separate sector, its scientific, design and production base has been broadened substantially. Its output of all types of goods has been increased and their quality has been improved.

However, the success achieved in this sector does not conceal the fact that one of the most important tasks assigned to the microbiological industry by the party--insuring the adequate satisfaction of the needs of the animal husbandry sector for feed protein, antibiotics and other microbiological synthesis products--is being resolved too slowly. In terms of the facilities available and the output volume for the most important commodities, the microbiological industry is lagging ever farther behind the requirements of agriculture and industry.

Unfortunately, the development of industrial microbiology is not planned on the basis of end national economic results but, as it was in the past, "on the basis of achievements." Whereas this planning practice, which the party has condemned, substantially slows scientific and technical progress, it is even less acceptable where a young, new sector is concerned, since it is clearly hindering and delaying by decades the solution of the key protein problem.

This failure to assign this sector its due importance is manifested in a variety of ways. They include the entirely inadequate allocations of capital investments and funds for equipment and spare parts; the most unsatisfactory organization of construction of new and reconstruction of existing enterprises; and the insufficient supply of raw materials (timber waste, liquid treated paraffins, and others), as a result of which even the facilities installed for the production of feed yeasts from wood are being utilized at only 70-75 percent of capacity, and the facilities for liquid paraffins at no more than 45-55 percent of capacity.

The lag in industrial microbiology was described at the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences held to discuss the tasks of science in connection with the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, as an example of the imbalance in the development of the sectors within the agroindustrial complex, an imbalance which must be corrected speedily, because it is complicating the solution of the grain problem and the intensification of animal husbandry. According to the scientists, the microbiological industry should be developed on a priority basis. It would be expedient to set forth a set of measures designed to accelerate the development of the microbiological industry within the food program, which will be a structural component of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Such planned measures, scientifically substantiated and based on precise calculations, should be directed toward

end results: fully meeting the needs of the national economy for microbiological feeds, and subsequently, for food proteins, a variety of feed and food supplements, substitutes for whole milk, hydrolytic sugar for feed, and ferments which increase the output of food products derived from vegetable raw materials and improve their quality, as well as the production of other goods which would release raw food materials currently used for industrial needs. In this connection, I suggest that the following be added to Section 5 of the "Basic Direction" draft guidelines, at the end of the paragraph dealing with industrial microbiology: "To draft and to undertake the implementation of a target program for the development of microbiological and biochemical production."

The implementation of this program will demand double or triple the capital investments currently contemplated, on the basis of the very modest assessments of the USSR Gosplan. The following legitimate question arises in this connection: which provides greater benefit to the national economy--increasing the volume of grain production requiring vast funds and efforts, or taking all the necessary steps, on a priority basis, to insure that the grain already harvested will be used efficiently in animal husbandry, with the returns improved by a factor of 1.5-2? The latter seems more rational to us.

The corresponding redistribution of investments and alterations in the structure of public production would be entirely consistent with the party policy of upgrading quality and effectiveness and giving priority to the development of sectors which are the key factors in scientific and technical progress. Even if we take only the increased effectiveness of animal husbandry into account, here too, as estimates show, all of the capital investment for the development of the microbiological industry and related sectors (raw materials, energy, machine building and construction) would be recovered in a single year of the operation of the newly built enterprises.

If we insure an adequate supply of feed protein and other microbiological products for animal husbandry, this would make it possible to avoid overexpenditure and guarantee the more rational utilization of approximately 60 to 80 million tons of grain. Thus, while maintaining the overall level of feed grain outlays, the country could increase the volume of meat and other animal husbandry products by a factor of 1.5-2. The dependence of agriculture on the vagaries of the weather would be sharply reduced. All of this would constitute another major victory for the party's Leninist agrarian policy.

5003

CSM: 1807/10

INSPIRING DOCUMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 63-64

[Article by A. Kalashnikov, chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Grodnenskaya Oblast]

[Text] When we study the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, we are pleased not only by the new levels of the country's socioeconomic development, but naturally, we also think of our own contribution to the implementation of the party's plans. I am now past 60, but in all honesty, I feel particularly young today and I wish to work even more productively than before. The tasks assigned to the national economy are tremendous. However, we can execute them, as the experience of the past 5 years shows.

Our kolkhoz fulfilled its five-year plan for the production and marketing of all types of agricultural commodities. The gross grain harvest totaled 16,000 tons, representing 102.6 percent plan fulfillment. We also fulfilled our assignments for the production and sale to the state of potatoes. However poor the weather became, particularly last year, we were able to cope with the production program, despite the losses we suffered. In 5 years, the kolkhoz land was wholly streamlined. The field boundaries were defined and approaches created to all of them. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, we converted to a new and more advanced form of labor organization. Having increased the area of crop rotation fields, we established two production sectors instead of 12 brigades. The first sector, which contains 1,800 hectares of farmland, is specializing in milk production and the raising of calves. The second, which contains 2,000 hectares, has entirely specialized in completing the raising of young offspring and cattle feeding.

The kolkhoz set up (although, of course, not immediately) a center for the processing of crops. The center does not have vast buildings. Everything here has been built according to our own design. The chief specialists at the kolkhoz are in charge of controlling the processing and storage of all the produce obtained from the fields. The center prepares the feed and further processes flax. It has a shop for disinfection and air heating of feeds, for example, a facility rarely found in other kolkhozes in the republic. It also has a vegetable storage bin with a capacity of 4,500 tons. This year, a potato sorting center will be added. All of this enables us to improve the end results of production activity. The results would have been even better, but the trouble has been that we have been totally unsuccessful in securing the necessary quantity of containers for the farm. We have raised this question year after year, but without success. To date, no one has been really concerned about this and no facility in the republic has been

assigned to produce containers. I believe that this problem could be successfully resolved within the special food program, which will become a structural component of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The efforts of the Belorussian Sel'khoztekhnika and the republic's Ministry of Trade should be focused on the solution of this problem, as the latter has a direct interest in upgrading the quality of agricultural output.

We market these potatoes and fruits mainly through the trade organizations. However, as things are now, the potatoes must be moved more than a dozen times, from one place to another, from one truck to another, from a truck to a freight car, and from the freight car to a truck before they reach the consumers. By the time they reach the store, the potatoes are badly smashed, and the customers are angry, with justification. Yet both the trade and public catering enterprises could obtain potatoes from us in containers, bypassing the procurement bases, and thus avoiding frequent transshipment. This would facilitate the work of the kolkhoz members and the trade and transportation organization personnel, making it more productive. Most important, everyone without exception would benefit because the quality of the product would improve sharply. The potatoes harvested by the kolkhoz would reach the stores and the consumers in perfect condition. This is why it is important to implement the task stipulated in the "Basic Directions" in every rayon, oblast and republic, calling for the use of containerized hauling of raw materials and products in the national economy. Trade enterprises should send us empty containers and receive them back full.

The plan calls for the building of comfortable housing, children's preschool institutions, clubs, and other cultural and residential projects on a priority basis, as well as insuring the availability of centralized heat supplies, running water and sewer facilities in rural settlements. It is important, in resolving this problem, to avoid repeating the errors of the past, when we established facilities for raising calves and hogs in small villages with no future, while at the same time attempting to establish a broad social infrastructure in these areas. The results of these efforts are well known. Most of these facilities, including the housing, have been abandoned and are collapsing. To date, the republic has failed to provide proper solutions to these problems. Its plans substantiate the optimal land use volumes and the most advantageous alternatives for social construction in the countryside. However, as we implement the capital construction program, the strict observance of these recommendations is important. The building of housing complexes, children's establishments and cultural and residential projects should be carried out in the large settlements. It is they precisely which merit development on a priority basis, as opposed to the dispersal of capital investments among many small settlements. It is not a disaster if people have to travel 5, 10 or even 15 kilometers from their homes to their jobs. Urban residents commute daily, and no one is upset. In a large urban-type settlement, the children of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers could attend modern kindergartens, visit swimming pools and take music lessons, advantages which cannot be made available in the small settlements. And yet we are supposed to be living for our children. Every family is desirous of sending the children to kindergarten, and concerned about how they will feel. When a child grows up, his parents are once again concerned about the kind of school he will attend, and whether he will have good teachers. Naturally, a small rural school cannot offer

children what a school with a large, skilled faculty can offer. It is only in the larger settlements that rural living conditions can come as close as possible to those in the towns. Furthermore, since man is by nature a collective animal, he neither can nor wants to live as a hermit in villages of the old type.

Our kolkhoz is developing without recourse to state loans. In the past 20 years, we have not borrowed a single kopeck for the needs of the farm from the state. I do not mean to say by this that credit is not important. The sensible investment of borrowed funds in production facilities yields tremendous returns. It is no secret, however, that some farms have become accustomed to surviving on state loans alone, in the hope that these will eventually be written off. I fail to understand such dependence, or the fact that unprofitable farms still exist to the present day. We cannot tolerate farming at a loss today, when the state is sending so many specialists and such volumes of equipment, fertilizer and power resources to the villages.

What are the reasons for low farm profitability? One reason, it seems to me, is the practice of petty supervision in which economic managers engage, although its unacceptability is particularly emphasized in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress. Such petty and bureaucratic supervision does harm everywhere. However, the consequences are particularly serious in agricultural management. In fact, almost everyone who comes to the kolkhoz feels he has the right to issue instructions on every conceivable matter. Why? What is the good of this? The farm has a plan, which sets forth its obligations to the state--period. The kolkhoz has its chairman and specialists--animal husbandrymen and crop grower--mechanizers. Therefore, give them an opportunity to work in peace! Hold them responsible for end results, but do not indulge in petty supervision. What they sow and how they sow it is their business.

Petty supervision drastically reduces the responsibility of the manager for success in the work. Some economic managers begin to conduct themselves in accordance with the principle "They told me to, so I did it, and I'm not responsible for the results." A person may obey an order issued by his superiors, but he will do so mechanically and without initiative. However, if someone dictates to us how to work, high returns are difficult or simply impossible to achieve. But it is under the 11th Five-Year Plan precisely that we must absolutely upgrade public production effectiveness and improve the quality of output and services in all economic sectors, on the basis of comprehensive intensification. This task must be implemented.

As far as the working people in our kolkhoz are concerned, they are fully determined to obtain an average of 35 quintals of grain and 300-400 quintals of potatoes per hectare, 4,000 liters of milk per cow, and one kilogram of increase in weight per day in cattle fattening during the five-year plan. This is our specific work program for the first half of the 1980s.

5003

LSH: 1802/10

SCIENTIFIC SOWING FOR THE PEOPLE'S HARVEST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 65-66

[Article by Prof A. Kolesnik, doctor of technical sciences, honored worker of science and technology of the RSFSR, and G. Mel'nikova, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] Last year, the cosmonauts aboard the Salyut-Soyuz space station had fresh apples on their table for the first time while orbiting the earth. Although seemingly unimportant, this was quite sensational, for it was the month of June, the new crop had not yet been harvested, and fruits preserved by the traditional methods had become inedible by then. Where did these apples, which had not lost their initial nutritional and taste qualities, come from?

Later, in early July, the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA reported that thousands of cases of apples from last year's crop, as fresh as though just picked off the tree, would be shipped to the trade organizations from the base of the Moskvoretsk fruit and vegetable office.

Indeed, visitors of the Olympic games could see for themselves the high quality of the fruit preserved for almost a year on the basis of a method suggested by S. N. Bruyev, acting professor of commodity research at the Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G. V. Plekhanov.

Long years of research on a variety of different problems (physiological-biochemical, physical-chemical, biophysical, microbiological and technical) preceded the adoption of this new method. This experience was summarized by the author in his doctoral dissertation, which he defended successfully in 1974.

"S. N. Bruyev," we read in one of the documents, "developed and theoretically substantiated a new and most promising technology for the storage of fresh food products of vegetable origin at near cryoscopic temperatures (i.e., somewhat below the freezing point of the substances--the authors)... Many of S. N. Bruyev's scientific developments have been applied in the Soviet national economy extensively. According to the organizations in charge of the industrial storage of fruits and vegetables, the use of these developments in Moscow, Sochi and Adler alone has already saved more than a hundred million rubles... The author's scientific principles and concepts have been recognized by American, French, German and other researchers. They have been reflected in international standards and further

developed in the work of graduate students. The novel aspects of S. N. Bruyev's theoretical developments are substantiated by a number of authorship certificates."

The new technology for the storage of fruit and vegetables such as to retain their full quality over long periods of time is based on differentiated temperature systems ranging from zero to 4 degrees, including a slight frosting of the vegetable tissues, for which the admissible level is determined by the genetic nature of the strain, the growth area, degree of ripeness, and hardening of the product. S. N. Bruyev established the conditions for the hardening, freezing and thawing of the various types of fruits and vegetables with a view to preserving their initial qualities. The effectiveness of storing fruits under industrial conditions with this method was tested on three separate occasions by the Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G. V. Plekhanov, jointly with the Moscow Fruit and Vegetable Trade Administration in 1975-1976. The tests were conducted in the presence of specialists from more than 10 institutes, including two of the USSR Academy of Sciences. One hundred tons of fruit were used to demonstrate that where many apple strains are concerned, overcooling or even freezing at subcryoscopic temperatures is a reversible process: after slow and gradual thawing, the apples recover their freshness and retain it adequately at room temperature in stores.

The characteristic feature of the engineering implementation of the method proposed by S. N. Bruyev for the preservation of fruits and vegetables is based on the use of natural cold which accumulates in the soil and on freezing the products in the storing area. This sharply reduces the losses caused by harmful microorganisms. Compared with the existing refrigeration storing methods, this method offers 90 percent savings in electric power. The overall result, therefore, is better and less expensive. In this light we unwittingly think of the passage in the CC CPSU draft guidelines which draw our attention to the development of the agroindustrial complex and note the need for increasing the production of agricultural commodities and improving their preservation until they have reached the consumer. "Increase the construction of refrigerating facilities, storage areas and processing enterprises and shops, most of all in areas where fruits and vegetables are grown," the draft guidelines stipulate. To this we would like to add the following: "Master methods for controlling processes for the preservation of the quality of fruits and vegetables through temperature control methods. Apply means for storage with the utilization of natural and artificial cold extensively "

More than 100 scientific works have been published based on the results of S. N. Bruyev's studies and developments. This includes five monographs which met with a positive response by specialists and are used by undergraduate and graduate students as textbooks. Three of his students have been awarded the scientific degree of candidate of sciences and two of them have been accepted to defend their dissertations.

By open vote the council of experts of the USSR Certification Commission on Industrial Technology passed a resolution recommending to the Higher Certification Commission Presidium to award S. N. Bruyev the scientific degree of doctor of technical sciences in December 1976.

However, the response of an associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Biochemistry was negative and the Higher Certification Commission Presidium postponed a consideration of the problem and turned the case back to the council of experts.

S. N. Bruyev's work was discussed once again by the council in October 1977 and once again a positive decision was made. It noted in particular, that "a detailed consideration of his project and the extensive data acquired indicate that in this case we are facing a clear rivalry among schools."

To this day, however, the question remains unresolved.

The content of this file, which has thickened perceptively during this period, leaves a conflicting impression which unwittingly makes us doubt that the opposing party is "playing the game honestly." For example, how to reconcile the data on the high economic effectiveness of the utilization of this method, submitted by the ministries of trade of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR with the written statements submitted by Candidate of Technical Sciences N. A. Moiseyeva to the Higher Certification Commission to the effect that "the conclusions and recommendations contained in S. N. Bruyev's dissertation could harm the national economy?" Or the totally unsubstantiated assertions of Doctor of Agricultural Sciences L. V. Melitakiy to the effect that "Standard biochemical analyses as presented in the dissertation were carried out unsystematically and their interpretation have been erroneous in many cases," with the substantiated positive conclusions of 88 specialists from 32 scientific organizations in the country (including USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding members Yu. V. Rakitin and I. I. Tumanov, VASKHNIL Academician P. F. Sokol, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. S. Vecher, Profs. A. B. Vakap, P. A. Genkel', N. A. Golovkin, A. I. Grimm, N. A. Palilov, V. G. Speranskiy and other known specialists in this field)? We are also puzzled by the response of one of the commission's reviewers, a doctor of agricultural sciences. The letter to the Higher Certification Commission, signed by 31 scientists, states that his view "lacks the necessary analysis of the problem, the basic stipulations are far-fetched and are essentially wrong. The conclusions of the reviewer are not based on S. N. Bruyev's dissertation data."

The scientist himself has appealed to a variety of superior agencies. Strange though it might seem, his appeal (including the one submitted to the USSR Higher Certification Commission Presidium) was turned over to those who originated all of this red tape.

Thus, we are faced with fruitful scientific results and a fruitless litigation...

We sometimes seek the reasons for the rejection of important scientific achievements or the suppression of the utilization of valuable inventions in some kind of "psychological barrier," allegedly inherent in people, and in shortcomings in the organization, planning and encouraging of research and development, whereas the root of this evil should be sought in the basic prejudices of some bearers of high scientific degrees and titles. Unfortunately, such clashes are frequently outside of one's jurisdiction, for they do not involve open violations of existing laws. For this reason, in such situations party control must be even more active. At the

same time, it is high time for the legal experts to think of how to insure the effectiveness of ethical norms in science and to support them with corresponding juridical acts. If a worker is held materially liable for faulty production which has harmed the production process, would it not be suitable for a specialist to be held responsible for "defects" in scientific affairs, such as unconscientious responses, changing arguments in an important debate, obvious lack of objectivity in the assessment of the theoretical and practical significance or weakness of a work or for tendentiousness in order to suit the group interest, which conflicts with the public interest, and for damages suffered by the country as a result of an improper decision?

The criteria for such assessments must be fully considered and clear. We must upgrade the role of public opinion and of publicity. In our view, therefore, it would be expedient for the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" to introduce the following thesis in Section 3 which discusses the development of science and technical progress:

"Increase the responsibility of specialists for their recommendations, responses, reviews and conclusions in the review of completed scientific projects. Adhere to the principles of communist party-mindedness and scientific objectivity in scientific discussions on major problems of substantial theoretical and practical significance; base one's opinion on the interests of the socialist society and make public cases of violation of professional ethics in science."

5003
CSO: 1802/10

HEEDING THE WINDOM OF NATURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 67-68

[Article by A. Venchikov, doctor of biological sciences and professor at the Ashkhabad Medical Institute]

[Text] The Soviet people warmly support the CC CPSU programmatic draft guidelines. The further improvement of the people's well-being and the development of the socialist way of life and of the entire system of social relations will be insured in the new historical stage on the basis of the upsurge of the economy and of public production effectiveness. To this effect, Section 8 of the draft guidelines stipulate in particular improvements in medical services offered to the Soviet people and the creation of favorable conditions for their active labor efforts. "Constant concern must be shown for the development of the health care system," the CC CPSU draft guidelines stipulate. "The standards and quality of medical services to the population must be raised.... Measures must be taken for the accelerated and extensive application of scientific and technical achievements in medical practices...."

Scientific achievements in biology and medicine not only enrich therapeutic prophylactic practice but, in many cases, produce radical changes in it and even greatly improve the physicians' thinking. The very quality of the awareness of the physician as of any other specialist changes under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. Today conservatism, the inertia of existing views and concepts and timidity in the face of innovations are becoming phenomena particularly alien to us.

I shall discuss here a specific problem which, however, is of broad social significance. It is of interest to scientists and practicing physicians in all areas, and the time has come to draw attention to it of both mature specialists and beginners. It is of general methodological significance as well. It is a question of the outstanding ability of the living organism and of its structures to oppose outside agents of all kinds and to counter forces which try to disturb the specific nature of its processes. This is such an ordinary fact as to seem even trivial, as is an apple falling from the tree to the ground. We come across it at every single step along the way and can cite a mass of examples illustrating it in the fields of medicine, physiology, biochemistry, and so on.

This characteristic is not reduced to the physical-chemical resistance of animate matter, as we are dealing with the specific characteristics of animate systems.

The body does not tend to remain in an unchanging, even though dynamic, status. In the course of resisting the effect of one factor or another, which threatens to disturb the natural course of life, new and previously absent characteristics (such as immunity from secondary contamination) develop in the body and in its structural components.

Modern medicine extensively uses substances which, in general, are alien to the organism quantitatively and qualitatively (antibiotics, for example). At a certain stage in the development of medical science and practice their use was considered legitimate and necessary. When no other means exist for fighting illnesses we ignore possible side effects and complications resulting from the use of a variety of methods. Today, consequences such as allergies caused by one drug or another are well known and have been extensively described. Occasionally, however, we are forced to select the lesser of two evils. Meanwhile, the search for more advanced--more effective and less harmful--medicinal drugs goes on uninterruptedly. Unwittingly, natural scientists and medical workers turn to the idea of influencing the organism without the "coercive" surmounting of its resistance through the use of substances and concentrations which are organically inherent in the body but which also enable us purposefully to control its physiological processes.

How does the living organism react to the administration of a physiologically active agent, the salts of microelements in particular? Reactions may be different, depending on the quantity of the substance. The body's opposite reaction may be immediate. However, the use of a substance in sufficiently high doses can surmount this resistance and yield the desired effect (such as, for example, the exciting or depressing effect of high doses of zinc, copper, iodine or other salts). By reducing the dose, naturally, we lowered the effect of the preparation. For a while it may be balanced by the body's reaction, at which point the drug becomes "inactive" superficially and we find ourselves in a "neutral" area. A physiologically active agent cannot surmount the protective barrier erected by the body. The living system disarms the newcomer.

But here is something of particular interest: If we step across this area and use microelements in biotic quantities (very small ones, found in the body itself), in operating below the threshold of the natural resistance of the animate system but also acting as an agent, as a participant in biochemical processes, we can control the body as a whole and energize it in the struggle against pathogenic factors. Over a period of many years the chair of physiology of the Ashkhabad Medical Institute has conducted studies which have yielded positive results. As we know, they were summarized in scientific publications (see, in particular, "Biotiki (k Teorii i Praktike Primeneniya Mikroelementov)" [Biotics (On the Theory and Practice of the Use of Microelements)] by A. I. Venchikov, Medgiz, Moscow, 1962; *Ibid*, second revised and expanded edition, Ylym, Ashkhabad, 1978). Experimental animals were used (frogs, rats, guinea pigs, rabbits, silkworms). Changes in the level of their oxygen consumption and activity of respiratory ferments (succino-dehydrogenases, cytochromoxydases), the phytocytic activeness of leucocytes, muscular activity, and permeability of the skin barrier were used as indicators of the effects of the microelements. The zonal nature of the effects of microelements we mentioned was noted.

The concept of the areas of action of microelements, based on these experiments, indicates the possibility of resolving a number of biological and medical problems. Thus, whereas in aging biochemical processes in the organism are disturbed, properly selected biotic agents could channel the development of vital processes in the desired direction and slow down the withering away of the body.

One of the most important problems in medicine is the struggle against viral diseases. Viruses are a dangerous enemy. As we know, they reside in the cell. They do not respond to antibiotics. The struggle against viral diseases is based on the search for agents which, without damaging or destroying the cell, could penetrate it and act on the harmful agent. In principle this can be achieved by biotic agents which do not trigger the opposition of the cell and can penetrate into its internal structure.

In this light, I believe that it would be suitable to expand and add to the stipulation on medicine in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" the following: "In the field of the natural and technical sciences to focus the efforts on the solution of the following most important problems:

"...Study of the mechanism of physiological, biochemical, genetic and immunological processes of life, improve methods for the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of the most common diseases, master methods for the natural control of viral processes without harming the body, and develop new medical drugs, preparations and medical equipment...."

5003

CSO: 1802/10

REMAINING IN THE RANKS OF VETERANS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 68-69

[Article by G. Zimanas, chairman of the Vi'lnius council of veterans of the partisan movement]

[Text] The generation of Soviet people who are known today as veterans have experienced a great deal. They were the ones who made the first socialist revolution in history and defended the gains of the October Revolution during the civil war and the foreign intervention. Then, without respite, they undertook to rebuild the country's destroyed economy and engaged in peaceful socialist construction. This was yet another battle. They also won in the Great Patriotic War, defeating the brown carrion-crow whose evil wings were flapping over the planet. They healed the wounds caused by the war and helped in the birth and strengthening of the world socialist system....

These are truly gigantic accomplishments, whose greatness will never fade. The accomplishments of the heroes of the revolution and the wars, of the builders of the new society, are eternal and immortal. However, the hardships of old age eventually afflict them...

Veterans are loved in our country. They are surrounded by nationwide support and honor. The party pays tremendous attention to them. "Respect for the veterans of historical battles and concern for them," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "is a moral law of our life. It is also the law for the authorities and the private citizens."

The communist party and Soviet state have granted many benefits to those who are taking a well deserved rest. However, a great deal remains to be done to resolve the problems which life presents to them.

The veterans are a special group within society, a group which, like all others, has its own specific features. We gallantly sing, "Veterans remain young at heart." Yet who can stop old age? Inevitably it sneaks up and affects everyone to a certain extent. Some people are more resistant to it. They retain a clear mind and a cheerful spirit, and the ability to work fruitfully. Their main problem is to find suitable work. Many of them cannot keep their former jobs. For this reason they should be given the opportunity to work to the extent of their strength, share their rich practical experience with young comrades, who are far less experienced and use this experience in the interest of the entire society.

At retirement age the elderly experience a certain psychological upset. Frankly speaking, it is sometimes difficult to step aside and watch someone else take over one's job. However, this is an inevitable objective process, although it is hard to accept. It is painful and difficult to part with one's comrades and with a familiar and liked job. In this case, more than ever before, understanding, sympathy, a friendly hand and comradely support are needed. Are they always available? Unfortunately, this is rarely the case. In some places people hastily try to "write off" the veteran and abandon him to his own devices.

Who should support the veterans? Naturally, the party organizations of the establishments where they worked. But the party organizations have to cope with a mass of daily and urgent matters and sometimes they ignore the fate of the retiree.

The social insurance organs should deal with the problems of the veterans. However, in frequent cases they have neither the qualifications nor the influence to do so. That is why of late the following idea has occurred to some comrades: the executive committees of soviets of peoples deputies have commissions on women, young people and so on. It may be expedient to set up a commission on veterans' affairs as well. Such commissions would be concerned with finding jobs for war and labor veterans; helping the party and soviet organs faced with complex and occasionally touchy problems and resolving some problems of living conditions and medical care; considering problems which arise within veterans' groups, and helping them to find occupations useful to the entire society. Such commissions could supervise the implementation of laws and party and government decisions on old age social insurance, as applied by establishments and organizations, and, if necessary, submit suggestions to soviet authorities.

In a word, such commissions could be very active. The creation of commissions on war and labor veterans' affairs, I believe, would add to party committees and soviet organs a new group of active assistants. This would require no additional material outlays and the usefulness of the project would be substantial.

I suggest that the following sentence be added to Section 8 of the CC CPSU draft guidelines: "Set up at executive committees of soviets of people's deputies commissions on affairs of Great Patriotic War and labor veterans."

5003

CSO: 1802/10

ESTHETIC ENVIRONMENT AND SPIRITUAL WORLD OF SOVIET MAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 70-81

[Article by L. Shepetis, Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The main objective of CPSU ideological work is the all-round enhancement of the idea-mindedness, conscientiousness and creative activeness of the masses in the building of communism. Its successful implementation largely depends on the extent to which our way to the mind and heart of the Soviet person will be the right one and the extent to which our influence on the molding of his awareness will be accurate and effective. In the developed socialist society, in the course of resolving the programmatic task of our party--the education of the new man--culture, in the sense described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, "in the broadest meaning of the term, as culture of labor, way of life and human relations," is assuming ever greater importance. These ideas have been reflected 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," which call for "contributing to the development of socialist culture and art, upgrading their role in the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and insuring the fuller satisfaction of the various spiritual needs of the Soviet people."

Esthetic and spiritual values, these inseparable components of culture, are becoming an ever more important factor in the life and activities of the Soviet person under their developed socialist conditions. In terms of their specific, clear and practical implementation, they lead to the creation of a special kind of esthetic environment. I would like to share some thoughts on the role and place of the problem of this environment in CPSU ideological-educational work.

Let us consider the concept itself before anything else. The environment created by man, now subject to greater attention on the part of researchers, is described with the help of a variety of terms such as esthetic environment, artistic environment, surrounding environment, physical environment, or physical-spatial environment.

The development of similar yet nonidentical categories is explained by the different approaches taken by scientists in their consideration of the environment in which man engages in creative work and within which he exists. We shall try, nevertheless, to single out one aspect of the "man-made" objective world which surrounds us--the esthetic aspect. It is a question not of the theoretical

principles of artistic harmony but of the direct, active and, something particularly important, daily influence of the esthetic characteristics of the environment on human labor, recreation and creativity.

We are surrounded by a number of objects and phenomena which carry a heavy esthetic "load": urban and rural planning; architecture of buildings; monuments and memorial complexes which are part of the fabric of the urban and rural environment; interiors of houses and offices; visual agitation means; works of the graphic and musical arts present in our lives; the design of items in daily use; gardens and parks, and so on. Considered in their comprehensive unity, the elements of the esthetic environment reveal not only their artistic but, to a large extent, their profound ideological qualities. It is this dialectical unity inherent in the human habitat, organized according to the "laws of beauty," that is the target of our particular attention and practical concern.

From the very beginning of the Soviet system, the party and the state have paid great attention to the systematic promotion of the esthetic significance of the new life created by liberated labor. The plan for propaganda through monuments, formulated by V. I. Lenin soon after the victory of the October Revolution, is an outstanding historical example of this. Lenin's ideas laid the beginning of a scientific approach to the interpretation and study of the socialist esthetic environment as a sociocultural and conceptual category. Thus, thinking of the aspect of the future socialist city, Lenin singled out in particular the distinguishing features of Tommaso Campanella's utopian "sun city," such as frescos, which would encourage a civic feeling. He suggested the use as a means for the ideological-esthetic influence on the masses of "expressive inscriptions of the most durable basic principles and slogans of Marxism" (A. V. Lunacharskiy, "Chelovek Novogo Mira" [The Man of the New World], Moscow, 1976, p 121).

History offers convincing proof of the wisdom and farsightedness of Lenin's approach. Today the esthetic environment based on the further development of the spiritual and esthetic needs of the Soviet people is becoming greater and richer. In turn, it influences the spiritual aspect of society in frequent cases in an orderly and imperceptible way but also ideologically quite profoundly and purposefully. Any "human object," to use Marx' words, which is part of the environment, not to mention anything whose ideological and artistic aspect is particularly emphasized, such as works of monumental art, memorials, memorial plaques, or visual agitation means, influences the people through a richness of content and vivid form, giving human life a conceptual interpretation.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance which monuments to Lenin and to the fighters for the victory of the socialist revolution or memorial complexes dedicated to the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and to labor heroes have, as an inseparable part of our environment, in the spiritual growth of generations of Soviet people. They shape and enrich the civic-emotional perception of history and a spirit of loyalty to the party and to the Soviet homeland. They trigger a feeling of responsibility for the future of the world. Our practical experience proves that the broadening of the esthetic aspect of the environment and the intensification of its ideological content are mandatory prerequisites for enhancing the effectiveness of the labor, international and patriotic upbringing of the Soviet people.

One after another, the kolkhozes in Soviet Lithuania have either celebrated or are celebrating their 30th anniversary. Within that period the countryside has become unrecognizable. Roads lead to large production centers and new settlements. New parks have been created and many man-made lakes have been completed. The building of comfortable settlements faces us with many problems. One of the most important among them is how to succeed in making the new socialist village not only pleasing to today's farmer but to meet the requirements of future generations. Our villages must not only have an efficient production system but meet esthetic requirements as well. They must be beautiful.

More than 15 years ago the editors of the republic's newspaper TIYESA set themselves the task of determining how kolkhozes and sovkhoses are improving the new villages and what kind of measures they are taking to offer more comfortable working conditions to the farmer and the animal husbandryman and to give him an interesting and useful leisure time. The journalists turned to the republic committee of the agricultural workers trade union. The first republic review of the rural environment was organized. It has become an annual event since 1965.

The rayons set up commissions of local specialists and soviet and trade union workers in charge of the review entitled "Bread and Beauty Created by the Same Hands." They assess the aspect and amenities of settlements and production centers, the condition of roads, parks and water reservoirs, working and living conditions and the development of culture.

These reviews have proved that the improvement of contemporary settlements and production centers cannot be achieved through individual efforts only and that scientific designs are needed for landscaping and the construction of cultural and service enterprises. That is why we disseminate the experience of farms which hire for such work artists, landscape architects, land control specialists, economists and sociologists. Incidentally, recently an ever growing number of farms have been hiring their own landscaping and architectural specialists. The presentation of the Grand Amber Prize and Red Challenge banner is a holiday not only for the winning farm but for the entire rayon. Such ceremonies involve flower exhibits and folk festivals. The winners are rewarded with trips under the slogan of "In Search of Beauty."

At the mature socialist stage, when the interdependence among the economic and sociopolitical and cultural areas is becoming ever more varied, qualitative changes occur in the dialectical interconnection between man and the esthetic environment. Artistic culture has a powerful impact on man and on his attitude toward the world around him by awakening and developing in the people higher spiritual needs and, above all, the aspiration to build their lives and jobs according to the laws of beauty. Metaphorically speaking, it binds in a harmonious state of unity man's working hands, creative mind and warm heart. To a certain extent, this unity is manifested through esthetic taste which develops as a powerful ideological-emotional force. Esthetic taste not only "graces" our surrounding on the basis of the principle of "I like-I do not like," but also formulates requirements to its creators and directly influences the reorganization of the environment. A harmonious world and the revelation of its inner structure and order, a feature which is characteristic of our esthetic awareness, comes from

man's aspiration for beauty and for goodness and justice. Under the conditions of a developing division of labor and increased specialization, an esthetic awareness can perform synthesizing functions which make it possible for man to combine complex and occasionally disparate technological, economic, ethical and esthetic relations with the environment.

The democratization of art under socialism offers the opportunity for a planned and effective application of the works of its masters in the daily life of the broad popular masses. The centers of culture are sources of esthetic perfection. They set a standard in our way of life. This can be achieved in a variety of ways, one of which is to relate art directly to the broad esthetic environment.

Thus, for many years the Lithuanian SSR has practiced the system of lending paintings and sculptures for temporary exhibition at kolkhoz and urban cultural clubs. Today many kolkhozes themselves are expressing the wish to acquire works of art. Here is another example: unsatisfied with tours of rural areas, the Lithuanian State Philharmonic Orchestra has opened more than a dozen permanent branches in the republic's villages and rayon centers.

However, the availability of professional art in its original aspect in a broad esthetic environment is legitimately limited, for its presentation requires special conditions, a certain preparedness on the part of viewers and listeners, and a specific emotional tuneup. It must not become commonplace. Contact with art must always be taken as a celebration. The esthetic environment which surrounds man virtually everywhere and always is a different matter. It creates a continuing esthetic background which does not make the exposure of man to beauty selective or sporadic. Even though not directly, art effectively influences the human mind and activity through the industrial and residential esthetic environment.

Many problems remain to be resolved in the area of improving the means through which artistic culture participates in the creation of an esthetic environment. First of all, we must think of the stipulations of the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," which calls for optimum social returns from all forms of creative activity. This can be achieved by establishing the closest possible contacts between art and daily practice and the tasks of a communist upbringing. All problems related to the way literature and art function in the systems of the spiritual enrichment of the individual are directly related to the party's efforts to strengthen the ties between artistic creativity and life.

As indicated by practical experience, the artistic appearance and layout of our towns and villages greatly depend on the party's guidance of urban and rayon architects and painters, who are the creators of the architectural-artistic environment. (Let us point out, incidentally, that we have realized the specific need for employing not only a town architect but a town artist in the republic's cities. They must be fully and equally responsible for esthetic appearance of the towns. Furthermore, ever more frequently we find architects hired on a full time basis by kolkhozes. Unfortunately, they work under the "cover" of officially holding a different position.)

It is precisely the comprehensive approach of party and soviet organs to problems of environmental esthetics that is the base of the planned (and already largely carried out) reconstruction of the center of Kaunas. The collective efforts of architects, builders, artists and restorers were subjected to a careful preliminary study before specific actions were taken. The result has been the transformation of Freedom Alley, the city's main street. The faces of old and new buildings, painted in rich yet restrained colors, have come to life. Reconstructed squares and boulevards are lit with specially designed street lamps, which in the daytime hours as well, are important architectural features. The new designs of the premises and windows of many stores, coffee shops, or service establishments combine functional simplicity and convenience with the preservation of ancient features. The town's Socialist Competition Board, designed in a strictly folk style, imparting a great ideological meaning, has become a major component of the reconstructed center. Many more sculptures, stained glass windows, fountains, murals, and ceramic works may be seen everywhere. It is also noteworthy that following the reconstruction of the physical surroundings, the very style of life along the main street has changed. It has become richer, more dynamic and more spiritual.

We see thus how improvement of the esthetic environment brings the physical world closer to the spiritual requirements of the people. A general process of humanizing our lives, expressing the very essence of socialism, takes place.

The successes achieved in the building of communism insure the development and improvement of our esthetic environment. It is in the course of this process that a transition takes place from the lower and immediate environment to a higher esthetic level, and from a small to a larger number of works of art which are part of the environment, and from their simple existence to an active interaction among them. Under the conditions of the socialist society artistic values are systematically becoming part of human activities. This stimulates the complex process of the reciprocal enrichment and rapprochement among the cultures of the nations and nationalities within the USSR, embodying the internationalism of the entire Soviet people. In the context of the socialist esthetic environment "The result of the spiritual activities of individual nations become the property of all" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 428).

Although the realities of national life in the Soviet republics and the cultural traditions and characteristics of the creative individuality of the artists may differ, the common features of the economic, scientific and technical and socio-political life develops similar structures, features and trends in the field of esthetics as well. Naturally, these trends are expressed differently (according to the specifics of the genres) in architecture, applied art and paintings. As a whole, however, we could say that a certain common esthetic environment is being created and asserted in our country: an ideological spirituality, meaningfulness, nobility, and lyricism. Close similarities of artistic style as well are manifested in socialist national cultures: plastic clarity and integrity, expressiveness, and socialization.

Our contemporary's "active taste" blends within the concept of "quality" (whether the quality of output or the quality of life as a whole) material effectiveness,

beauty and harmony. The esthetic side of quality is far from being something desirable in principle but not mandatory in practice. On the contrary, along with other characteristics, esthetic features express with equal rights the nature of an object, becoming prerequisites for its usefulness and applicability in industry and life. Incidentally, this is a manifestation of the humanism of esthetics and of the esthetic environment in the socialist society, for strictly utilitarian objects, used at home or at work, emphasize, perhaps nonemphatically but nonetheless quite effectively, the aspiration of their creators to give them features of esthetic nobility, attractiveness, and even a certain spirituality.

The molding of an esthetic environment is inseparable from the depiction through literature and art of the enduring beauty and attractiveness of the labor traditions of the peoples of the USSR and of the constructive pathos of the Soviet people. Art enhances and ennobles the working man and the deep knowledge and depiction in art of the same man assert the outlook of the creative workers and help to open ever new aspects of reality. Is this not where we should look for the sources of the ennobled, the poetic feature of the person, as embodied in all literary genres and types of art?

This humanistic ideal is concretized in the topic of labor, in the characters of the worker, farmer and intellectual, in the organic ties between art and the labor collective. The Kaunas Order of the Red Labor Banner Silk Combine imeni P. Zibertas and the Kolkhoz imeni Yu. Zhemayte, Kel'meskiy Rayon, award annual bonuses for best literary works on the subject of labor. The active participation of working people in amateur artistic and cultural activities as a whole and in the application of industrial esthetics are characteristic features of the present. The annual reviews in rural settlements, craft days and flower festivals sponsored by the republic have a favorable influence on these processes. The esthetic environment proves that under socialist conditions, an ever growing number of people consider labor not only a means of existence but a source of technical, social and, finally, historical creativity, a moral phenomenon.

More than other esthetic phenomena an esthetically attractive plant landscaping or neat rural settlement, created not only through individual but, above all, through joint efforts, and used collectively as well, brings to light the tremendous role of the human comity, co-creativity and collectivism which do not eliminate but, conversely, enhance the great social significance of enthusiastic individuals who work on the esthetic development of the environment. In this connection we must turn to the CC CPSU draft guidelines which emphasize that "material and spiritual values are created through the toil of workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals. Labor alone is the source of increased national wealth."

The popularization of amateur creative work is one of the manifestations of the social activeness of the Soviet person, which influences the esthetic environment.

In the course of his many years of work in the Druskininkayskiy Timber Farm, together with his fellow workers, A. Valavichyus, candidate of agricultural sciences, collected unusual shades of driftwood found in the forest. This collection interested folk craft masters who began to make wooden sculptures from them. That is how the "forest echo" museum, which is now embellishing the famous Druskininkay Resort, was created.

The most important result of the esthetic mastering of the world leads from the discovery of beauty in one's environment to its creation and dissemination.

Voluntary artistic-labor activities in the creation of an esthetic environment are characterized by the interest shown by individuals and by society in organizing the type of environment for human activities which awakens creativity. In a word, however many examples we may cite, proving that the development of the esthetic environment is inseparable from the environment of the individual, the conclusion remains one and the same: as a social phenomenon, the environment develops an overall understanding of the world around us as a world of human toil and creativity.

The esthetic environment is not something external in terms of the individual, a decoration of daily life, a visual cover. It represents a single organism whose main feature is the ideological-esthetic principle. This is manifested in the making of a material world and, to an even greater extent, in art as a factor for the spiritualization of the physical environment. Naturally, we do not think that our entire environment has reached an identically high artistic standard setting; it is a question of a real trend, of the desire to coordinate everything with the laws of professional and folk art as a manifestation of the comprehensive development of the individual.

In recent years, on the initiative of party, soviet organs and labor collectives, artists in all genres, designers and architects have introduced many of their works in the working, living and recreational areas. The work of an artist in the molding of a living environment is noted by a higher level of civic responsibility. It opens the way to a work of art leading to the living environment: the more organically works of art become "ingrown" in their permanent "place of residence," the more significant their educational role becomes.

Today, through its ideological and artistic integrity, the esthetic appearance of a town or village influences the awareness of ever broader population strata and the consistent development of culture. The creation of an esthetic environment should not be concentrated exclusively in the large cities. We consider that the process of cultural decentralization, including the standards of our environment, is one of the leading trends in the development of esthetics. In our view, this is one of the examples of the general process of rapprochement between the levels of urban and rural life. This trend is consistent with the strategic line of development of our society, which found its assertion in the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress, which mention the need "gradually to surmount the major disparities between town and country and to improve the living conditions of the population in all republics and parts of the country."

The desire of the artists to make a specific contribution to the spiritual life of Soviet Lithuania has been expressed in the past decade also in the creation of about 50 monuments of outstanding people. Even more noteworthy is the fact that the location of monuments is becoming more widespread. Monuments and sculptures are placed in not only historically developed but in new centers, in all rayons, settlements, and rural and industrial areas in the republic.

Once again the tradition of monuments is being felt in folk art. The folk art of wood carving is experiencing a renaissance. Everyone is amazed by the plastic blending of the folk world outlook and the feeling of contemporaneity in the wood sculptures "Dear ISKRA," and the ensemble of 30 pieces of sculpture dedicated to M. Chyurlenis, placed in groups along the road from Varena to Druskininkay. An ensemble of wooden sculptures in Abling, a village burned down by the fascists, was created by folk artists in memory of the victims of the fascist occupation. There is great patriotic meaning in wooden statuary in the village of Milyunay, in memory of the partisans of the Great Patriotic War. Folk wood carvers have dedicated to children and to the International Year of the Child the sculptures in the central farmstead of the Kolkhoz imeni A. Snachkus, Kedaynskiy Rayon. Currently wood carvers are working on an ensemble of sculptures in memory of the first activists of the Lithuanian kolkhoz movement, killed by the enemies of the Soviet system.

It is important to note that all these projects are the result of collective creative work. An all-republic creative camp of folk wood carvers has been sponsored every year since 1972. Working on the instruction of noted sculptors and architects, those who attend the camp work on a single collective project. Year by year more and more young people are participating in the activities of the summer camps. This splendid folk tradition is not only being preserved but is becoming richer and developing into an organic part of a broad esthetic environment. The tradition of monuments has returned to life in a transformed way, going beyond religious topics which had dominated it for centuries, and the recent trend of making wood-cut objects for the souvenir trade.

The summer camps of wood carvers is merely one, even though important, part of the activities of the republic's Folk Art Society, whose purpose is to preserve and comprehensively to develop mass artistic creativity and to propagandize and increase the high idea-mindedness and patriotism of folk traditions in modern Lithuanian art. The society, which has more than 2,000 members, has sponsored about 100 exhibits of folk masters in the past few years alone. A natural blending is taking place between the best age-old traditions and the ideological content of socialist reality. Folk graphic art and new ceremonies are harmoniously becoming part of the esthetic environment of towns and villages. They carry the vivifying influence of duty, national features and Soviet patriotism.

Our graphic art is answering more and more the voice of the present. However, its application in an esthetic environment requires many stipulations such as developing in the recipient a feeling of responsibility concerning a work of art, the development of material facilities for monumental art and, finally, the extent of the artistic unity of the works, which could be disturbed if works of art, monumental above all, are left standing for long periods of time in a changing environment. There are still cases in which the initial harmony between the author's intent and the environment turns into emotional disharmony in the course of time, for the living and dynamic urban or rural environment is not an exhibition hall. The growing "share" of art in our towns and villages increases the danger of disturbing the harmony between older monuments, stained glass and fountains and their new surroundings, which develops as a result of various reconstruction and replanning efforts. A work of art is a full component of the

environment, for which reason it "demands" a responsible and respectful attitude. The artistic councils at all levels must not only pass on the value of one work of art or another and assess it comprehensively, but see to it that the artistic harmony between it and the changing environment is preserved.

Intensifying the role of artistic criticism is another matter which arises in connection with the growth of the esthetic significance of our physical surroundings. Whereas in the past, as a rule, it was limited to the analysis of the tie between "artist and audience," today it encompasses to an ever greater extent the triple "artist-environment-audience" link. Our art critics must depict and assess the esthetic environment as a steadily developing synthetic system which includes separate works of art. Therefore, they must most firmly undertake to foresee the future development of the esthetic environment. They must make clearer distinctions among and encourage or reject one trend or another in artistic creativity, for the object of their analysis is becoming a complex phenomenon.

By conceiving of our environment as an integral object, we inevitably see its basic feature--the praise of man. It is on the basis of this idea that the utilitarian purpose and external shape of objects and buildings and the content and form of works of art must not be out of proportion or scale to man. The fruitful nature of such harmony is confirmed with particular clarity by the best interior decorations of the Moscow subway, the Khatyn' Memorial, the new Palace of Marriages in Vilnius and the settlement of the Sovkhoz imeni I. Michurin in Yurbarkskiy Rayon, Lithuanian SSR. The purpose of everything here is the spiritual enhancement and ennoblement of the Soviet person. The distinguishing stylistic mark of our esthetic environment is harmony among man, his environment and nature.

We may assume that the harmony between the esthetic environment and the individual will increase as we energize various factors which shape the cultural components and background of human activities. The dissemination of works of art through the press, radio and television enhances the level of artistic information of the public, and subsequently inspires the people to turn to the prime sources.

In recent years the quality of reproductions of works of art has improved noticeably. This makes them even more accessible to the mass "consumer." With increasing frequency we see in private apartments excellent prints of world masterpieces. However, we are still not fully satisfying the rising demand for good graphic art. Let us consider the following example: the artistic taste of young people gravitates toward bright colors, purposeful ideological content and bright graphic forms. In this connection, it is regrettable that many outstanding works of Soviet posters and political graphic art are not to be found outside exhibit halls. Unquestionably, they would be in great demand if produced in small editions, especially for internal decorative purposes. The same could be said of reproductions of communist posters, leaflets, or newspapers from the period of the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet system and the civil and Great Patriotic wars, posters advertising the best domestic performances, motion pictures and concerts, and so on. The tremendous ideological-educational and esthetic influence which such publications would have on our young people, enabling them to experience the live breath of the heroic history of our homeland, is self-evident.

Photographic art is rapidly developing in our country, in Lithuania in particular. However, its influence on the esthetic environment is still limited to special

exhibits, reproductions of photographs in albums, wall calendars, journals and newspapers. Yet artistic photography could be more energetically applied directly through the esthetic environment. Thus, in Kaunas and other Lithuanian cities the city honor boards exhibiting the portrait of production frontrankers and heroes of socialist labor are designed by well known masters of photography who offer profound and memorable portraits of the best people in the republic. Such works must find their place in residential interiors, introducing in the space of daily life the photodocumentary and artistic breath of the time. Such graphic production, providing that it is on a suitable artistic and ideological level, will not only enhance the overall standard of the environment but will become an effective counterbalance to the obvious and far from innocuous triteness, most frequently of "overseas" origin, which is still found in the rooms of youth hostels or hanging on the walls of some apartments.

Essentially, the revival of folklore trends in some components of our environment may be interpreted as a reaction to hastily planned extensive reproduction and printing of works of art, industrially manufactured art objects, and monotonous architecture: folk-style buildings and interiors in "old-time" style have begun to appear like mushrooms after rain. Naturally, up to a point they introduce into the environment ties with the "sources," and features of neoromanticism. After a while, however, we realize that an excessive attraction for "folklore architecture" is also fraught with recurrences of the idealization of the past, stupid archaisms or simply bad taste. The republic Folk Art Society and republic Scientific-Methodical Culture Center are exercising increasingly effective control over the use of folklore motifs in architecture and in all other areas of public production which shape the esthetic environment. They do this not only by banning or penalizing (they have been given the right to do so) but by helping to create esthetically suitable designs and controlling the artistic quality of their execution.

The environment has a coordinating influence on the processes of interaction between modern technology and art aimed at the comprehensive development of our society. Stepping beyond the stage of the decorativeness of buildings and objects of daily use, art becomes a catalytic agent and even a kind of yardstick of the level of standardization. The achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, refracted through the lens of an esthetically organized environment and art, dictate the stylistic features of the physical world such as dynamic rhythm and a more open structure of objects and color contrasts which do not dull but intensify emotions and emphasize ideas. Many samples of architectural and applied decorative art are clear confirmations of this fact.

Under such circumstances design, which expresses and shapes the material and spiritual needs of society (which is our concept of the specific nature of artistic design, on which it is founded), does not essentially entail the standardization of our physical surroundings. It is an equal participant in the overall shaping of the environment. In this case the coordination between national economic plans and artistic design assumes great importance. It enables us to formulate more clearly tasks and long-term programs in this area. The more completely design performs its social function, the more successfully it will serve the tasks of artistic creativity and become art. This process is based on the growth of the well-being and esthetic standards of the Soviet person.

However, the influence of the esthetic factor on industry is not confined merely to designing industrial interiors.

Let us take music as an example. The use of so-called "phonic" or functional music at industrial enterprises has gone far beyond the experimental stage. At the Vilnius Calculating Machines Plant (imeni V. I. Lenin), in addition to a program of functional music, put together by psychologists, music rooms have been set up for relaxation from nervous stress. At the Vilnius Furniture Combine the effect of music is supplemented by specially composed color programs which also help to restore the strength of the workers and to enhance productivity and the esthetic attractiveness of labor. Similar practices are applied at many plants in Kaunas.

The specific nature of an environment which expresses the unity between the spiritual and the physical-spatial areas of application of human effort provides scope for the application of the latest technical facilities in all economic areas. In no case does technical progress reject the search for the best artistic forms. When we assess the achievements of industrial esthetics through the combination of functional and esthetic principles we measure them against the task of humanizing the physical world, outside of which the interaction between man and environment becomes incomplete, one-sided and frankly speaking, devastating.

It is here that we find the watershed separating socialist from bourgeois understanding of the rules governing the esthetic environment and its role in human life. In bourgeois society any component of the esthetic environment, whether a design or a painting, is frequently a monologue by the author or a dialogue between him and a small circle of people. For example, some Western museums exhibit white color canvases which blend with the color of the walls, "White on White," for example. It may be assumed that their authors are trying somehow to express the perfect forms of totally empty space. Such art, however, greatly alienates man from himself. It is antihuman, for it leaves no space for content. This is not merely because no human face is painted on the canvas but because the idea of man as a force which guides history, of man as the focal point of goodness and beauty, is absent from the canvas. The creation of an esthetic environment with the help of such devastated "works of art" intensifies the atmosphere of the alienation of man from the world, instills fear of a general disorder, and creates a feeling of confusion in the labyrinth of the physical chaos and concern about the future. It is no accident that the variegated and richly contrasting environment of capitalist cities is used by painters and writers in depicting the allegedly incurable loneliness of modern man.

In the bourgeois world it is not only "mass culture" with its invariable orientation toward a "consumerist" awareness and toward the average totally impersonal taste that erects an invisible wall between the true values of an esthetic environment and the individual. This "mass culture" itself is a social product. It is nurtured by social inequality and the exploitation of man by man, which are related to anthropogenic art and speculation on primitive feelings which poison the esthetic environment and deform the human mind.

A man-made environment is always a specific manifestation of the wealth or poverty of esthetic awareness and social culture. An environment which shapes relations

among people through the mass dissemination of tasteless and therefore, immoral pseudoartistic forgeries, confirms, most of all, the existence of a moral-esthetic degradation. It is precisely the antihumaneness of an environment which excludes the real experience of the beauty of the environment created by man that is one of the main reasons for the basic incompatibilities between a bourgeois system and the esthetic well-being of society. Furthermore, the alienation of man from the material world he has created lowers the effectiveness of artistic values acquired in the areas of industrial and nonindustrial design, architecture, urban planning, and so on. This pattern, which develops either in a hidden or an entirely obvious way, is esthetically determined by the fact that the environment proves to be not only an object of self-expression of the individual but a molding factor of the individual as well.

The humanism and spirituality of the esthetic environment created in our society stand out with particular clarity against the background of the history of world culture. From its very beginning this environment became involved in the social and spiritual development of the masses. Its realm of action is not limited to the creation of better human living conditions (although this too is very important). The specific way in which the environment influences society is that it subjects man and, most of all, his esthetic taste, to a kind of "test" of his understanding of the meaning of life and his ability to create beauty combined with social usefulness. Organic unity between the practically useful and the esthetic in creative work contributes to the development of art in close interconnection with the environment. It is precisely to this that we trace the sources of the dynamism of the esthetic environment which stimulates man's industrial and spiritual activeness.

That is precisely why particular attention must be paid to errors in the organization of our physical-spatial environment. Occasionally, obsolete methods are still being applied in this area. Sometimes an esthetically significant work is replaced by a fake (several heavy chandeliers hanging in a coffee shop or in the foyer of a house of culture, whose dull lighting, disproportionality and inappropriateness create the impression that they are about to drop on the heads of the people). The placing of political agitation objects in an esthetically unsuitable environment is entirely inadmissible, for it may distort the idea expressed in the poster or the slogan. An object out of place in a generally harmonious environment irks the eye and creates a feeling of dissatisfaction.

In order to avoid discrepancy between the physical surroundings and the spiritual world of the individual we must strengthen the creative cooperation among art, industry, cultural-educational institutions and consumer services in an effort to encourage unity between the practically useful and the esthetic features of our environment.

In this connection the educational work of the communist party plays a leading role. We mentioned that as the various components of the environment become works of art, side by side with sociopolitical factors, the factor of communist idea-mindedness becomes increasingly important. Mature socialism is a level of development of our society in which socialist culture assumes an ever rising importance in the course of the comprehensive solution of problems of the

country's economic and social development. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress set as one of the main tasks "concern for improving the working and living conditions of the workers and for establishing a creative environment and a healthy sociopsychological climate in each collective, and upgrading professional skills and satisfying cultural demands." The party is taking major practical steps aimed at upgrading the role of culture in social life with a view to achieving the organic merger of cultural progress with the comprehensive growth of the people's well-being.

The esthetic environment is a complex many-tiered phenomenon closely related to the entire socioeconomic and political system of our society. It is exerting an ever growing influence on the awareness, work and life of the Soviet people. The interaction among culture, education, science and esthetic environment enables us to speak confidently of the increased importance of esthetic awareness in social life. The aspiration to work and live not only interestingly and prosperously but according to the laws of beauty as well, and our exigent morality lead, in the final account, to improving the quality of the socialist way of life.

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MORAL POTENTIAL OF THE SOCIALIST CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 82-93

[Article by Yu. Barabash, USSR first deputy minister of culture]

[Text] Our party and the entire Soviet people are approaching the 26th CPSU Congress armed with clear prospects in all areas of the building of communism. The October 1980 Plenum and the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the congress, which were the topic of a nationwide discussion, provide a profound and comprehensive study of topical socioeconomic problems which must be resolved in the 11th Five-Year Plan and earmark specific ways for the further development of the national economy and for improving the living standard of the people. It is a question of an all-embracing and comprehensive long-term program based on concern for the people and for the creation of the necessary conditions for their fruitful work, training, recreation, satisfaction of daily, material and spiritual problems, and maximum determination of their creative potential. The ultimate objective of this program is to shape an ideologically and politically mature, physically tempered and professionally trained communist person, brought up esthetically and morally, a person with an active life stance.

Socialist culture plays the most important role in the solution of this truly innovative and historically unprecedented problem. As we move ahead and resolve the new problems which arise in the course of social progress, culture becomes an ever more essential factor in the building of communism, a factor with a rising influence in all social areas such as the development of the production process, improvement of social relations, spiritual life of the masses, their conscious historical creativity, and man's ideological and moral upbringing.

As we know, V. I. Lenin highly valued the ability of literature and art to blend together and to enhance the feelings, thoughts and willpower of the masses ("V. I. Lenin o Literature i Iskusstve" [V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art], Moscow, 1979, p 657). Let us recall the tremendous importance which Vladimir Il'ich ascribed to N. G. Chernyshevskiy's novel "Chto Delat'?" [What Is To Be Done?]. "It influenced," Lenin said, "hundreds of people into becoming revolutionaries... I was bowled over... This is a thing which sets a lifelong charge" (Ibid., pp 647-648).

Lenin's principles governing the approach to the role of culture and art in shaping the outlook of the Soviet person, his ideological and moral features and the party's entire ideological work have been reflected and developed further in the party's programmatic documents--the decisions of the 24th and 25th party

congresses and of Central Committee plenums. They are the foundations of corresponding articles in the USSR Constitution.

From this viewpoint the theoretical, methodological and practical significance of the works and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and his outstanding books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which earned their author the Lenin Prize, is invaluable.

In his speech to the 25th party congress, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the tremendous importance of the efforts to insure the purposeful molding of the new man, the harmonious development of the individual, and of the qualities of a fighter for communist ideals which every person must have. "Nothing ennobles the individual more," said he, "than an active life stance and a conscientious attitude toward social duty, when unity between word and action becomes a daily behavioral norm. The development of this stance is the task of the process of moral upbringing."

Culture plays a truly invaluable role in the moral upbringing of the working people. With the help of all of its specific means it actively influences man and contributes to the development of a citizen who is a collectivist, true patriot and internationalist, and whose highest purpose is to serve the common weal and the interests of the people. Literature and art address themselves not to the mind alone. "...The iridescence of colors, the expressiveness of a stone, and the harmony of sound inspire our contemporaries and transmit to the hearts and souls of future generations the remembrance of our generation, of our time and of its excitement and accomplishments" (L. I. Brezhnev).

Therefore, as an integral phenomenon, art operates through the entire variety of its functions: as an instrument for the study of life and the laws of social development; as a powerful factor in the revolutionary reorganization of reality; as a means for the ideological enrichment of man, his moral advancement and the awakening of his creative forces, and as a source of happiness and esthetic pleasure. Its moral-educational influence is inseparable from the revelation of the communist social ideal and the search of ways leading to its implementation. Artistically interpreted problems must touch the reader or viewer, charge him with social energy, and turn him not only into a witness of but an active participant in the struggle for communism. That is why the formulation of the problem of the tasks of ideological work at the present stage, as contained in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Education Work" is so topical and basically important. It provides a specific direction in improving the working people's entire system of communist upbringing.

"Today the Soviet person is more politically knowledgeable and active than ever before," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in describing the audience to which the artist who applies socialist realism addresses himself. This makes it incumbent upon the men of culture to produce works distinguished by their maturity and principle-mindedness in the treatment of the most important problems of economic and social life, depth of analysis, completeness of summations, and the finding of convincing artistic solutions.

The artist who is profoundly familiar with life is the first to discover within it the young and sometimes barely visible "offshoots" of new human characters and relations and to create characters who set powerful examples and exert great educational influence. This calls for establishing permanent live contacts between the creative intelligentsia and production collectives. The close relations existing between socialist culture and the people's life and the aspiration of the men of culture to make their contribution to the communist upbringing of the working people and to participate most directly in the implementation of the party's constructive program are manifested in the joint discussion of new works, systematic meetings between working people and masters of the arts, performances by artistic groups and enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and many other forms of work. Siberia, the Far East, the Nonchernozem and the Extreme North, and the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline have become sites where art festivals and meetings with the creative intelligentsia are sponsored.

The strengthening of relations between Soviet culture and the building of communism is having a most beneficial influence on the former. It helps literature and art to acquire the type of sharp-sightedness and ability to consider, interpret, and strengthen in the social consciousness the initiatives which well from the depth of the masses and which can fire up, inspire and animate millions of people.

"Greater publicity. Greater attention to the needs and views of the people. More direct and interested contacts with the masses!" these words by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev directly apply also to the men of literature and the arts, whose duty is to unite and rally the people in building a new life and to mold their moral convictions and ideals.

The efforts of our contemporaries in this direction are determined by a profoundly realized aspiration to galvanize activities in major and minor matters. This stems organically from the very nature of our society, from its objective laws which call for making fuller use of the opportunities which true social freedom offers to every person. The people become increasingly intolerant of whatever hinders our progress toward communism. They prove by their actions their ideological convictions, professional training and moral maturity. This is how the profound unity among ideological, labor and moral positions is expressed.

Lenin's view to the effect that "Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and achievement of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 313) remains valid in terms of its full meaning and class definition. The ideological tempering of the individual, his active life stance and moral appearance are class concepts. They become particularly important in the conditions of the contemporary ideological struggle.

The historical achievements of real socialism, its domestic and foreign policy successes, and the increased attractiveness of its ideas are triggering the fierce counteraction of imperialist reaction. Insofar as today few people in the West seriously believe in the possibility of a successful military confrontation with socialism, increasing reliance is placed on undermining it from within, and on the ideological and moral "erosion" of socialist society.

Bourgeois propaganda, the special services and the centers of ideological reaction related to them are mounting a fierce offensive against the minds of the people in the socialist comity. They are trying to poison their minds with slanders about our reality, and to undermine their faith in socialism and Leninism with the help of the most refined methods and modern technical facilities. They are openly asking them to break their affiliation with the united family of fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and above all, the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. According to the bourgeois ideologues this is the only "independent" way which leads to democracy and insures national progress. The true objectives of our enemies can be easily identified behind such "advice:" the desire to sow the bitter seeds of nationalism, promote hostility among fraternal peoples, and impose their own ideas of human rights and freedoms. That is why one of the most important tasks of culture and art, as a means of ideological and educational work, is to bring to the peoples the truth about the first country of victorious socialism in the world and to expose actively the intrigues of imperialist and Beijing propaganda, which has openly attached itself to the former on the basis of anti-Sovietism.

As an organic component of the Soviet way of life, socialist culture helps the working people to become better and more fully aware of the results they have achieved and of the motive forces and prospects of social development, and to reach the new heights which the scientific and technical revolution, combined with the advantages of socialism, brings to society. It asserts the principles of lofty morality, the most important of which was formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "...Our country leads an active and ebullient life," he said. "Many are our projects... Active concern for common projects and strict exigency toward ourselves and others have always been and will remain among the most important guarantees for success in all our undertakings." This thought runs through all of Leonid Il'ich's works and speeches, and his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina."

The amazing fortunate characteristic of these books is that they can reach the heart of anyone who reads them--worker, world-renown scientist, young soldier, marshall, grain farmer, writer, musician, painter or actor. I recall in this connection an open party meeting held at the USSR Malyy Theater at which "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina" were discussed. This was an exciting encounter, an intimate conversation between masters of the theater and their senior comrade, their instructor, made wiser by life, a person with tremendous party and state experience. The feeling of being in direct contact with the author was intensified further by the fact that the actors in this famous theater group were comparing their lives and accomplishments, and their extent of creative and civic activeness in working for the lofty objectives of Soviet art against Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's books.

The speakers at that memorable party meeting in the Malyy Theater (how many such discussions have been held in creative collectives and cultural institutions throughout the country!) emphasized that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's books help us to realize with particular depth the great importance to the modern artist of unity among epic feelings, richness of lyrical expression and the ability to see and depict the drama of the struggle for the new. In all likelihood, it was precisely

at that point that the desire arose in the theater company to try to present the ideas in "Tselina" on the stage, and the masterful actors at the Malyy Theater dedicated their new play to the 26th CPSU Congress.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works discuss the varieties of heroism in our socialist reality. "The heroic principle is manifested in different ways," he wrote in "Tselina." "...There is the heroism of the moment. There is the heroism of difficult periods in the life of an entire nation, as exemplified by war. There is also the heroism of daily work..."

The attempt to interpret the historical path of a nation on the basis of acquired social experience and to carry into the future the best that was achieved by our forefathers is the trend which characterizes the current stage in the development of our society.

That is why it is so important for literature and art to present in a vivid and impressive manner the permanent beauty and attractiveness of the moral traditions of the heroic working class, toiling peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia and most of all, the moral traditions of Bolshevism which find their superior expression in Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's personality and deeds.

Lenin's ideas and the nature of the genius of the revolution have been vividly and artistically embodied in the richest possible set of works of different kinds and genres created by masters of all generations. The best works of Soviet Leniniana depict the leader of the revolution as the outstanding political and governmental leader of a new type and as a "most human person," a splendid example of a harmonious personality, the embodiment of communist morality. Hence the particular importance of Leniniana in dealing with the problem of the positive character. With the powerful ideological-political and ethical charge they carry, the works on Lenin help our party in molding the high spiritual and moral qualities of the builders of the new society.

The appearance of any new talented work, which reflects vividly and profoundly the glorious pages in the history of the Great October Revolution and the activities of Lenin and of Leninist revolutionaries becomes an event of cultural and sociopolitical significance and triggers the grateful response of millions of people.

Our art is the art of the heroic example. This is predetermined by the nature of the socialist system in which, as Lenin pointed out, "For the first time the power of an example acquires the opportunity to exert a mass influence" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 191). It is precisely this feature which has always helped Soviet art to present to the world the truth about socialism and which makes the ideas of scientific communism particularly effective.

The task of literature and art is to create the type of artistic characters against which our contemporary could compare his own actions. This means to recreate and reflect in their full entirety the current features and the sources of the heroic accomplishments of a people who profess superior ideological and moral principles. Equally important, naturally, is the artistic analysis of the

moral faults which are still preventing us from reaching our social ideal. However, such an analysis can help the lofty objectives only if it is made, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "realistically, from party positions, without embellishments or emphasis on shortcomings...."

In recent years the aspiration of literature and art to depict the historical scale of the struggle waged by the people for communist ideals has noticeably increased the interest shown by Soviet artists in major epic forms, for they make it possible to depict quite fully the essence of the method of socialist realism: the assertion of the organic link between the individual and society and between the destiny of a person and the destiny of the entire nation. In the novels of G. Markov, V. Kozhevnikov, S. Zalygin, F. Abramov, M. Alekseyev, A. Ivanov, Ch. Aytmatov, O. Gonchar, Y. Avizhyus, I. Melezh and other writers, the distance covered by the individual becomes part of history itself. The socially specific individual embodies the historically determined progress of the people's masses toward the social ideal and toward the assertion of high moral requirements.

The topic of the Great Patriotic War takes a considerable space in the majority of epic canvases narrating the destinies of our people. The best works on the armed struggle which the Soviet people waged against fascism have earned wide recognition: K. Simonov's trilogy "Zhiyye i Mertvye" [The Living and the Dead], A. Chakovskiy's "Blokada" [Blockade] and "Pobeda" [Victory], Yu. Bondarev's "Goryachiy Sneg" [Burning Snow] and "Bereg" [The Shore], and the books of V. Bykov, V. Astaf'yev, I. Stadnyuk, V. Rasputin, V. Bogomolov and B. Vasil'yev, and the motion pictures "Liberation," "They Fought for the Motherland," and the "Great Patriotic War" series are motion picture documents of tremendous emotional and educational impact.

The depiction of the military exploit as the culminating point in which the ideological and moral potential of the individual and of society is concentrated has always been the distinguishing feature of Soviet art. This role was convincingly shown in the materials of the 25th party congress: "Alongside the characters of novels, stories, motion pictures, and plays, the war veterans march once again on the burning snow of front line roads, again and again paying homage to the powerful spirit of their fellow soldiers, living or dead. Through the magic of art the young generation becomes a co-participant in the exploit of its fathers or of those very young girls to whom the peaceful dawns became hours of immortality for the sake of the freedom of the homeland. Such is the nature of true art. As it recreates the past it educates the Soviet patriot, the internationalist."

In recent years work on monuments which symbolize the exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and our remembrance of it has assumed a particularly high educational significance. It would be hard to overestimate the ideological and moral charge of the memorial complexes in Leningrad, Volgograd, Novorossiysk, Khatyn, or Salaspils.

"No one and nothing is forgotten." These words express a basic moral principle which inspires the men of culture and defines the role of art in promoting the active historical memory of our society.

No other topic allows literature and art to raise in such a sharp and concentrated fashion the question of the unity between word and action and between intention and action as the military topic. This becomes a key question in the area of moral problems.

The Soviet artists have acquired a rich tradition in describing the manner in which the originality, uniqueness and freedom of the individual can and must be combined with strict organization, total dedication and ability to subordinate one's individual actions to the common plan on the basis of conscious social discipline and self-discipline, without which the building of a new society becomes impossible. The richness of the attitude of the individual and the discovery within one's self of very rich reserves precisely when the person becomes aware of his position in the collective, and the beauty and esthetics of involvement in the common struggle are the features which were developed in generations of Soviet people by V. Mayakovskiy's "Levyy Marsh" [Left], Vs. Vishnevskiy's "Optimisticheskaya Tragediya" [Optimistic Tragedy], N. Ostrovskiy's "Kak Zakalyalas' Stal'" [How the Steel Was Tempered], A. Deyneki's "Oborona Petrograda" [The Defense of Petrograd], the motion pictures "Chapayev" and "We Are From Kronstadt," and the songs "Big Is My Country," and "Sacred War."

It is hardly necessary to prove the importance of the military-patriotic aspect in developing the feeling of collectivism. It means to develop in the people, the young in particular, one of the noblest moral qualities; it means to raise a person internally ready for exploit.

The problem of the moral upbringing, or the moral choice which a person makes not by force but because he neither can or knows how to act otherwise is like an esthetic and moral guideline in today's art. Even when he is alone, the Soviet person remains first of all a person who embodies the entire wealth of the moral principles of the society which nurtured him.

It is from this that literature and art proceed in developing the topics of the constructive activities of the Soviet people engaged in building communism. The interesting qualitative changes which have taken place in mastering this topic in recent years are related to a large extent precisely to the strengthened ethical principle. The "industrial topic" is not merely a plot and a conflict or accurately perceived characters or details borrowed from life and related to the problems of the scientific and technical revolution. It represents, above all, the involvement of the characters in the broad panorama of social contacts and the development of the creative and sociopolitical activeness of the individual, inseparable from the norms of communist morality.

When we note the importance of the "industrial topic" in our art, the theater in particular, and the frequent unquestionable fruitfulness of its development, we must emphasize that further research must be conducted in this direction and that the horizons of this topic and its intensification must be broadened and increased. After several truly successful plays and shows, in recent years an excessively large number of imitative second class works have appeared in which the heart of the topic is replaced by superficial descriptions of production work while the artistic and psychological analysis yields to militant and in frequent

cases, brief depiction of all sorts of technological or other difficulties which are far from always noted for their accuracy.

Yet the main task is to assist in the reorganization of the world and the advancement of man in the course of the labor process, to depict the attitude toward labor, which is new and born of socialism and is inherent in socialism alone, as the main and most attractive feature of life and as a source of beauty and inspiration. We need a psychological description of the inner world of the contemporary Soviet person, an interpretation of the meaning of his actions which are correlated with the moral climate of our time.

In this connection we must mention works of different types and genres which describe our rural life. The best among them are well known and have been properly rated by readers and critics. They are, most of all, works which assert the poetry of creative toil on the land and the traditions of collective peasant life enriched by the norms of communist morality and love for nature and for one's native area. However, we also know that in some such works we find no vivid descriptions of contemporary rural life or of the basic socioeconomic and spiritual changes within it. Yet the scientific and technical revolution has actively invaded rural life as well, changing its entire structure and affecting, one way or another, the mentality of the people. Agricultural production as well as relations among people in the countryside, their daily life, culture, and awareness are targets of the party's constant and interested attention. These most important problems of our life were reflected in the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum which gave the entire Soviet people, including the men of literature and the arts, major assignments. This was also the particular topic discussed at the All-Union Conference of Cultural Workers, who were greeted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

As was noted a long time ago the appearance of new artistic values not only does not "replace" but does not reduce in the least the importance of the works of previous generations. Nothing that is truly valuable in art vanishes without a trace although, naturally, at different times in the past there has been a desire to emphasize mostly that which corresponds to the vital interests of the period.

Today all of us are witnessing a natural process of growing interest in the classical heritage. The staging of classical plays and the filming of motion pictures and television productions have become the center of attention of the broadest possible public. This process becomes particularly important from the viewpoint of the moral and esthetic upbringing of the youth. It has at least two aspects: how to use the moral pathos of the classics and their entire spiritual potential in educational work and how to develop a truly moral attitude toward the classics.

The socialist revolution turned into reality everything that was best, truly humanistic, and consistent with socialism and with moral progress, everything which it expressed and left to us, making the culture of the past our non-rusting weapon. Today we do not conceive of ourselves without the spiritual legacy of Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol', Belinskiy, Nekrasov, Turgenev, Chernyshevskiy, A. Ostrovskiy, Dostoyevskiy, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Chekhov, L. Tolstoy, Blok or Gor'kiy, or without the classical legacy of the entire multinational artistic

culture of our country. Let us take as an example L. Tolstoy's ideas that the world can be renovated only through the moral self-perfection of the individual. As communists we reject these ideas which we consider utopian. However, have the honest and respectful attitude toward labor and the happiness it gives, fraternity among nations and comradely mutual aid among working people, and their ability to empathize and readiness to respond to someone else's pain, all these ideals which the great Russian humanist professed and passionately promoted, become obsolete? On the contrary, under socialism their educational role becomes immeasurably greater.

In this respect Lenin's attitude toward culture and the knowledge accumulated by mankind is instructive. Lenin considered them the "firm foundations" for the building of communism. We know, for example, Lenin's attitude toward L. Tolstoy's works, and the high value he set on the theoretical and literary legacy of the leading lights of the Russian revolutionary democratic movement. He considered them, with full justification, the immediate ideological predecessors of socialism in Russia, the bearers of spiritual wealth and people with high moral beauty and integrity.

We must always explain to the masses the importance of maintaining a careful and serious attitude toward our classical legacy. The uncritical and nonhistorical perception of the ideological and moral content of the classics, their misrepresentation, and the abandonment of precise socialist and class criteria could bring nothing but harm and mislead the people, the young in particular.

We must also emphasize that the interest shown by the peoples of our country in their own cultural heritage, which is natural under the conditions of the blossoming of and rapprochement among socialist nations, must serve the development of socialist internationalism, which is inseparable from patriotism. The party-minded Leninist approach to this problem was profoundly and comprehensively developed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in "Tselina." The author emphasized the great importance of "familiarity with the traditions and customs of the people, with their history and their artistic creativity... Socialism has long proved that the more intensively each of the national republics grows the more obvious does the process of internationalization become."

Under developed socialist conditions when, as the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" stipulates, the requirements facing ideological work increase while tasks become more difficult, not merely the popularization of the artistic legacy but the skillful propaganda of the Leninist doctrine of the legacy and the Leninist theory of the two cultures, whose purity must be preserved and which must be creatively developed as our patriotic and international duty, become particularly important. This is an esthetic, ideological and political problem.

Under present conditions the organic combination of culture with the building of communism assumes a new meaning. Accordingly, the criteria of cultural work have changed also. We are faced with largely new problems of increasing the social and ideological role played by all culture and art.

The role of science and of its latest achievements and conclusions, and of leading scientific research closer to practical cultural construction has increased substantially.

Our country has a widespread network of clubs and houses of culture, libraries, museums, parks, theaters, and concert organizations. This entire powerful arsenal of cultural tools must be used with maximum returns. It must provide real social results, consistent with the contemporary requirements of the building of communism. For this reason our main concern must be concentrated on turning all cultural institutions into centers for the active upbringing of man and for the molding of his outlook and moral principles, and into centers for proper relaxation and development of mass creativity.

In the prevailing new circumstances the tasks and functions of cultural establishments become not only broader but qualitatively different. For example, today's rural worker does not simply need a club but a well equipped modern cultural complex; he needs not simply a library but a library as good as the one in the city, mandatorily equipped with a reading room. He wants his children to learn music, singing, dancing and painting. He wants to meet good actors and writers more frequently and to see recent films.

Speaking of rural clubs, we must pay particular attention to their active ways and means of work. Our society does not need passive, although knowledgeable, observers; it does not need merely a professionally trained worker but a highly educated and comprehensively developed personality, an active builder and reorganizer. That is precisely why, as the USSR Constitution stipulates, the Soviet state "sets as its objective the expansion of real opportunities for the citizens to apply their creative efforts, capabilities and talents, and for the all-round development of the individual."

In this connection we would like to cite the following example: according to sociological data approximately 20 percent of the people living in rural areas have shown steady interest in various types of amateur creative occupations but no more than one-quarter of them are able to fulfill their wishes to one extent or another through participation in amateur activities which, as we know, are only one of the components of overall artistic creativity. Other interests (sports, technical modeling, writing, painting, wood carving, photography and film making, automobile driving, sewing, embroidering, and so on) frequently remains inaccessible due to the lack of premises, suitable equipment and instructors. The people fill in their leisure time by engaging in random activities. The end result is the passive and sometimes uncritical consumption of cultural goods which, in some cases, even encourages the adoption of views and mores alien to us.

We must show concern not only for attracting large circles of people to our cultural institutions but for the satisfaction of their spiritual requirements. The study of the practical experience of amateur circles, hobby clubs, and discotheques has shown that people who gather initially for the sake of spending their leisure time together, gradually become attracted to the process of active creative work and carry this attraction to their jobs and social life. For this reason we must not limit ourselves merely to shows but increase the number of rural and all other club amateur groups.

In recent years a great deal has been done in our country to improve rural cultural services. The wages of the various categories of cultural workers have been raised and their living conditions have been improved; the material facilities of rural cultural and educational institutions, which play an important role in the overall system of the communist upbringing of the population, have been improved; the situation with specialists in club and library management has been stabilized and has even begun to improve in many rayons; thanks to improvements in the ideological and artistic standards of the implemented measures, the rural population, the young people most of all, are becoming noticeably more attracted to their cultural centers.

However, these processes are not developing as intensively as they should. Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and economic managers, particularly in the kolkhozes, do not always show proper concern for cultural and educational workers. They are slow in providing them with housing and fuel and fail to use material and moral incentives to encourage conscientious work. The consequence is a high cadre turnover.

However, examples of the opposite could be cited as well. In Uzbekistan, for example, 725 farms have introduced the position of deputy kolkhoz chairman or deputy sovkhos director in charge of cultural and everyday life affairs. This experience is being extended to Kirghizia as well. Multifunctional associations operating with the combined funds and personnel of cultural, public education, consumer, trade, public catering, health care and sports institutions, and headed by deputies in charge of culture and everyday life, are being created. This form of organization of the life and recreation of the rural population opens new opportunities for the fuller satisfaction of the sociocultural needs of field and livestock farm workers. It enhances the prestige and authority of cultural workers and contributes to the development of an integral system for moral and esthetic upbringing.

When we speak of the moral and educational influence which art exerts on man we must always bear in mind an enduring prejudice--the idea that this influence is illustrative. The logic applied here is very simple: the artist creates something valuable which we "use." A lecture "On Family and Marriage" must immediately be followed by a motion picture on a moral topic....

Is such a method of education through art effective? We doubt it. What is important is for a person not only to compare once again his personal problems with the problems of one character or another in a novel, motion picture or play. This is only the initial stage in the process of moral education through art. Something else is considerably more important: a person must trust both art and the artist. A person who feels the need to enter the world created by an artist must also be able to do so. It is important for a person to feel and become involved with everything contained in a work of art and to experience a desire for action which can then be applied in his practical life and activities.

V.A. Sukhomlinskiy, the outstanding Soviet educator, was absolutely right when he said that "I consider as one of the most important tasks in education...the

strengthening in every person of the feelings of good and warmth and responsiveness to everything alive and which embodies the beauty and greatness of life. There can be no communist morality without basic humaneness. Lofty ideals remain inaccessible to a callous person who is incapable of experiencing delicate feelings. Callousness leads to indifference toward people; indifference leads to egotism and egotism leads to cruelty."

Today, thanks to the great achievements of social and scientific and technical progress, the virtually entire population of the country has been exposed to art. The growth of the cultural means available to the people is confirmed, among others, by the fact that in the past 20 years the leisure time of the urban population has increased by one-half while the time allocated to culture and art has increased by a factor of 2.5. The process of involvement with culture has become a truly mass phenomenon. That is why guiding this process and directing it toward the dissemination of truly esthetic values and high quality art have become so topical. In other words, it is a question of the esthetic education of the working people, which is inseparably tied to moral upbringing.

We consider esthetic education an important part of the overall process of the molding of the personality, for we believe that by learning how to understand and feel beauty in art and life man achieves a deeper understanding of the greatness of the communist ideals and becomes more active in the revolutionary reorganization of the world. A great deal is being done in our country in this respect. However, the most important task now is the creation of a well planned and efficient system of esthetic education which would become an organic part of the Soviet way of life and would involve various categories of people and different social, age, professional and other groups, which would take national traditions into consideration and which would consistently and actively develop the esthetic tastes and needs of the people. Naturally, employing a variety of ways and means, such a system should encompass the entire population from an early age, when the foundations are laid of the interest in and need for literature and art, and when one is only learning how to be a reader, a viewer, a listener and simply a person.

The educational process, which is a combination of esthetic and moral influences, must take into consideration the directness of the child's perception and inclination to engage in games; the adolescent's critical outlook, extreme reactivity, desire for independence and inclination to communicate with his peers and orientation toward "popular" views and tastes shown by older friends, a certain popularity of prestige-consumerist attitude toward art, and similar factors. All of these characteristics must be not merely taken into consideration but used constructively through the development of a variety of ways and means for obtaining a well-rounded education, based on literature and art in particular.

Let us especially mention the educational value of books. The practical experience of librarians in Kaliningragskaya Oblast in this area has been interesting and instructive. They have reached a point at which three out of four "problem" adolescents with files in the juvenile departments of the militia have become permanent customers of children's libraries. Books and the library are playing an ever growing role in their upbringing. Books have become good friends and advisers of hundreds of "troubled" families.

The rule followed here is the following: every adolescent has "his own" librarian who acts not only as an interested consultant in the choice of reading matter but as a tutor, an instructor. The best oblast libraries see to it that the first trip to the library is remembered by the adolescent as a memorable event, minor though it might be. Usually, such visits are timed to coincide with interesting mass measures such as visits by writers, composers, painters, or athletes to the library. An interesting meeting was held at the Svetlogorsk library with writer Margarita Podionova, a Great Patriotic War veteran. Everyone was excited by her story on the way, in the fiery years of the war, boys and girls of the same age as the adolescents in the library fought for the homeland, like the character in her novel "Devchonka Idet na Voynu" [A Girl Goes To War].

Speaking of the system of working among children and adolescents, we must not forget the esthetic (and through it the moral) upbringing of a substantially wide group of people of different ages and professions who, for one reason or another, failed to acquire such an education at school, at the institute, or at the labor collective. In this case it would be more accurate to speak of esthetic reeducation which should correct the results of spontaneous, uncontrolled and sometimes harmful influences on the individual.

The more effective methods in such cases are the nonacademic forms which develop a direct interest in and meet the need for knowledge and, something which is equally important, for esthetic communication which turns such training into a variety of cultural relaxation. This includes talks, topic conferences, literary discussions and evenings, surveys of current repertoire, discussion of films and involvement of the students in a creative thinking process. Such methods are effective in culture universities and clubs which attract people of the same age, educational level, or profession.

The experience of Tomsk is interesting in this respect. Here, following the recommendation of the oblast party committee and with the support of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, using the facilities of the universities, an inter-VUZ chair of ethics and esthetics was set up and has been operating successfully for more than 2 years. It offers mandatory lecture courses for all city VUZs. This initiative met with the approval of the Tomsk people. Many of them have been advised to organize group seminars and collective attendances of theaters, concerts and exhibits, followed by discussions. Young men and women have eagerly responded to the suggestion to review contemporary works of literature and art and have read their own papers and reports.

The chair of ethics and esthetics actively joined in the esthetic education of the young people in the city and oblast with the thought that if the educational power of art is to be effective the people need a certain knowledge on how to approach the world of beauty and a certain spiritual standard. We must know how to instill in the young a thirst for creativity, attract them to the heroism of the present, and teach them how to see the problems facing society in their entire variety and complexity. In this respect art is a truly irreplaceable tool.

However, we must not forget that the moral influence of literature and art is effective only when it is a part of a comprehensive process which combines all

forms of labor, ideological, moral, esthetic and military-patriotic education. In this respect we can use the experience of Dnepropetrovsk cultural and art institutions, which was approved by the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Culture. Here the plans for socioeconomic development of cities, rayons or individual enterprises organically include a specific program for education in a spirit of communist morality; high-level esthetic requirements are combined with the solution of organizational-management, cultural and economic problems.

It is a well known fact that many young people reach an understanding of higher class art by simultaneously becoming familiar with its simpler forms and, frequently, with the help of the latter. I am referring to the so-called "light" art genres. This circumstance must be always taken into consideration, rather than being unhappy or indignant about it. When the significance of such art is discussed, in the majority of cases the concept of "entertainment" acquires if not a scornful at least a not particularly respectful shade of meaning. The likely reason for this is that not everyone has as yet properly assessed the possibilities and power of influence of genres such as comedies, light operas, stage and television shows, musicals or radio and television humor clubs. Yet they can (naturally, when skillfully and responsibly handled) promote in the young people civic-mindedness and high moral principles, neither obtrusively nor didactically.

Thanks to the modern mass information media, last summer millions of people could see the unforgettable sports festival of young people the world over--the 22nd Moscow Olympic Games--and the impressive Olympic cultural program which included the best features of Soviet multinational culture. This experience must not be forgotten. It must be used in the organization of festivals, mass holidays and popular celebrations, and in the work of parks, sports stadiums, clubs, and discotheques whose popularity is growing among the young, and in the activities of other cultural-educational institutions. This experience may provide an impetus in the development of effective methods which can stimulate a creative attitude toward life, work, and the affairs of the country and the people.

Secondary and higher schools, technical schools, and vocational-technical schools can play a major role in the sensible change, qualitative improvement, and skillful and purposeful orientation of the entire process of exposure of the young generation to art. A comprehensive program for esthetic education, which blends it in the course of the training process with ideological, labor and moral education, has been developed for the vocational-technical schools with the assistance of the creative associations, the USSR Union of Painters in particular. All of us must care at all times for the skillful and creative implementation of this program.

We must find ways and means for training and educational work at all levels, so that training and moral and esthetic education not only coexist but organically blend within a single process. In this connection the Moscow experience in the creation of departments of literature, music, graphic arts and theater in general educational schools and vocational-technical schools and the opening of specialized music and art schools where, in addition to the traditional music department, departments on choreography, and graphic and applied art have been organized, appears useful and promising. Such schools are very actively promoting the esthetic education of the adolescents. They are connected with hundreds of

educational and vocational and technical schools in the capital and its suburbs. Last year they organized thousands of concerts at oblast enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, vocational and technical schools, and training-production centers of big enterprises.

Today, in our country more than 30 million adolescents can and should become involved in the esthetic education process. Vocational guidance and labor upbringing, contacts between the family and the school, new educational methods, and the development of a feeling for and of creative forms of recreation must become a permanent task of the culture organs. On the other hand, regardless of the population group involved, particular attention must be paid to the organization of ties between the educational process and art today. Teachers, educators and naturally, above all librarians, must be always concerned with providing a proper selection of works, remembering that esthetic taste is developed on the basis of the best works of art and is renovated and strengthened through the entire variety of contemporary works of art and as a result of a mature, thoughtful, and exigent attitude toward it.

The comprehensive solution of these problems and the systematic organization of the entire process of moral influence and of shaping an active life stance through literature and art is an essential aspect of our social development and an indicator of the effectiveness of culture and of its high social responsibility. A prerequisite for success in this area is found in the coordinated and purposeful activities of all cultural organs and institutions and creative associations which, under the guidance of the party organizations, must jointly resolve the problem of shaping the outlook of the Soviet people, their moral convictions and their spiritual culture.

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IN A SPIRIT OF PARTY EXACTINGNESS AND COMRADESHIP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 94-101

[Article by Ye. Bugayev on the 26th Communist Party of Georgia Congress]

[Text] The 26th CP of Georgia Congress lasted 3 days, from 22 to 24 January. This was a period of exceptionally intensive and fruitful work during which 1,400 delegates, representing a 350,000-strong combat detachment of Soviet communists, discussed the accountability reports of the republic's Central Committee and Auditing Commission, and the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," and elected the leading organs of the republic's party organization and the delegates for the 26th CPSU Congress.

The composition of the republic's party congress was significant: party veterans and young party members, members of different professions and generations, representatives of 77 different nationalities living in Georgia and 329 women. This was the flower of the republic's communist organization, political fighters who had earned the high trust of their party comrades and fellow workers. Not one of the delegates had failed to fulfill his five-year plan; 19 of them had fulfilled two five-year plans; 71 had fulfilled their five-year plans in 3 years and 150 in 4 years. Nine of the delegates were Heroes of Socialist Labor and 196 had been awarded orders and medals for labor successes achieved in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The congress was held in a spirit of unity and solidarity with the Leninist CC CPSU. All speakers noted with deep gratitude the tremendous help which the CC CPSU, its Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally, whose name was invariably pronounced with a sincere feeling of profound respect and love, had given the Georgian party organization and the concern they had shown for the blossoming of its economy and culture.

I

The congress was preceded by a variety of extensive preparatory operations. It summed up the results of the accountability and election campaign in the republic's party organizations and marked the final stage of preparations by the Georgian party members for the 26th CPSU Congress--the main forum of the party members in our homeland.

The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee did everything possible to insure that the delegates representing all cities and rayons, Abkhaziya, Adzhariya, and

South Osetia come to the congress properly informed about the state of affairs in their party house. Every one of them had received in advance the fourth volume of documents entitled "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Gruzii v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezдов, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The Communist Party of Georgia in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums] which includes materials for the period between February 1972 and August 1980. The collection starts with the CC CPSU decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi City Party Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia on the Implementation of the Decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress," which is of party-wide significance and which played an exceptionally important role in the life of the republic and of its party organizations. The work includes the CC CPSU decrees "On the Implementation of the CC CPSU Decree by the Georgian Party Organization on the Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi City Party Committee," and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Measures for the Further Development of the National Economy of the Georgian SSR," "On the Further Development of the Economy and Culture of the Abkhazskaya ASSR," and "On Measures to Increase the Production of Southern and Subtropical Crops and on the Further Accelerated Development of Agriculture in the Georgian SSR."

These documents are a model example of the Leninist approach in assessing various aspects of Georgian party member activities and the solution of economic, social and ideological problems urgently facing the republic. They are imbued with the profound concern shown by the CC CPSU, its Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for Georgia's economic and cultural development and are the base of all the work done by the Georgian party organization in the past 8 years. Subsequent documents in the collection show the comprehensive activities of Georgian party committees for the implementation of these decisions and the considerable reorganization of its content and ways and means of work. After reading the book the delegates were able to assess in advance all positive aspects of such activities and to identify remaining bottlenecks.

Another book containing detailed data on the economic and social development of the Georgian SSR in the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans, materials on the growth and structure of the Communist Party of Georgia and its party organs and primary party organizations, the organization of political and economic training, and data on local soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol was also prepared. The delegates were also issued a collection of articles on experience in the party's guidance in various areas of life in the republic in the period between the 25th and 26th congresses of the Communist Party of Georgia, and the book "V Gushche Naroda" [In the Thick of the People], which was a compilation of materials printed in the newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA which starting with 1980, made a pre-congress survey of the party members' organizational and political work. The book describes the activities of all oblast, city and rayon party collectives in the republic. Unquestionably, the newspaper deserves great credit for publishing in less than one year 46 items on this subject, whose compilation enabled the delegates to benefit from the new viable communist-minded experience acquired in recent years.

Finally, every delegate was issued the book "Predlozheniya, Razmyshleniya, Problemy" [Suggestions, Thoughts, Problems], prepared by the Communist Party of

Georgia Central Committee Department of Organizational-Party Work. The book includes 15 sections on different topics ranging from the organization of economic management to youth military-patriotic education. The collection contains excerpts from accountability reports and speeches delivered at previous accountability and election party conferences and from letters received by the republic party committee on the eve of the conference.

The materials in this book, which reflect the most characteristic and quite disparate views and suggestions on topical problems, were attentively considered at the sessions of the 15 work groups set up at the congress. The purpose was to take most fully into consideration the opinions of party and nonparty working people in drafting decrees on the accountability report submitted by E. A. Shevardnadze, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary, and the report by Z. A. Pataridze, the republic's Council of Ministers chairman, on the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress.

"Greater publicity. Greater attention to the needs and views of the people. More direct and interested contacts with the masses." This advice given by Comrade L. I. Prezhnev, based on our party's Leninist traditions and followed since its founding, was the basis on which the congress of the Georgian party organization was prepared.

The thorough and comprehensive preparations for and efficient nature of the congress created an environment of party comradeship and involvement by every delegate in the concerns and responsibilities of the entire party organization in the republic, and an atmosphere of sincerity, frankness and principle-mindedness in the discussion of its past and future work.

As a result of the detailed preliminary familiarization by the delegates with the results of accomplishments in the period under consideration and with the ideas expressed in the course of the pregress accountability and election campaign, added to the content of the accountability report submitted by the republic's party committee, as a rule their addresses exceeded the limits of local, professional or departmental interest.

Naturally, U. A. Ivaniashvili, a metallurgical worker at the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant, discussed metal problems; G. G. Abashidze, chairman of the board of the Georgian Writers' Union, discussed the literary process; kolkhoz member L. O. Dzhavakhishvili spoke about viticulture; and G. D. Mgeladze, first secretary of the Abashkiy Rayon party committee, discussed a most important experiment conducted in his rayon on the management of agricultural production, an experiment which has fully justified all hopes and is now considered a valuable experience by the 14 rayons which are applying it and which will be comprehensively disseminated.

However, economic, social, ideological and moral problems were inseparably blended in these and, actually, in virtually all the other speeches delivered at the congress. This is something which our Leninist party has always encouraged. In the CC CPSU Accountability Report for the 25th party congress the exceptionally capacious definition of the nature of organizational work, which is that "everyone

who has the necessary rights must do his job and bear full responsibility for it within the limits of these rights," had not been included in the section dealing with organizational party work but in the one discussing the main problems of economic development. The same type of unity between party-political and economic-organizational work and a partywide statesman-like approach that could be heard in the speeches of the delegates to the Georgian party congress.

Twenty-year-old party member L. O. Dzhavakhishvili began her speech by describing the CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi city party committee, which was passed when she was only a Pioneer, as a guiding star for herself, her party organization and all republic party members. In describing the achievements of her kolkhoz she emphasized that one must always look truth and life straight in the eye, "and then everything will go well!" The young party member criticized the republic's Ministry of Agriculture and stated the following: "Where is it seen that ministers fail to obey governmental decrees? This is not accepted in our kolkhoz."

G. D. Mgeladze reported to the congress that Abashskiy Rayon, which plugged the "gap" and which, 10 years ago, "produced complaints mostly," has had the Red Challenge Banner as winner of the socialist competition for the past 7 consecutive years. The essence of the experiment conducted by the rayon, based on Ukrainian, Moldavian and Stavropol' achievements and experience, and which has now gained extensive recognition, is the creation of a single agricultural association operating on a cost effectiveness basis. It includes all kolkhozes, sovkhoses, interfarm enterprises, organizations and other enterprises of the republics ministries of food industry, reclamation and water resources, procurement and agricultural construction and the Committee for Production and Technical Support of Agriculture. The funds for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus of the association are contributed by its members, and 17 positions in the rayon agricultural department have been abolished.

Most of the raykom secretary's speech dealt with the spiritual growth of the people ("Like an empty bag man too must have something in him in order to keep a standing position" were his wise words!). Truthfulness, honesty, and strict but just criticism, which indicate the ways and means for the elimination of negative phenomena, were used by the party members. The result was that the rayon working people "stood up straight and have never been so united in their work or life." Here as well, the speaker asserted, the favorable changes were started with the CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom. The overall conclusion in his speech was that "The political skies over Georgia are clear, the moral climate is excellent, and the people of Georgia have straightened out their shoulders." The very approach to the question and the summation went far beyond the rayon scale. There was no complacency in G. D. Mgeladze's speech. The raykom secretary openly and impartially spoke of the negative features still encountered in the rayon and the republic.

Worker U. A. Ivaniashvili represented at the congress the Rustavi metallurgical workers who had launched the initiative of "No Single Laggard or Discipline Violator By Our Side," which was yet another answer to the CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom. In his explanation as to why his famous plant developed a hitch in the last year of the five-year plan (although as a whole the collective had fulfilled its plan on 14 December, while the speaker himself, who had worked 26

years at the same Martin furnace, had fulfilled his on 6 December), the steel smelter made the unusual remark that salaries had to be raised, not those of basic or auxiliary production workers but of the engineering and technical personnel. In justifying his idea, this Soviet worker and party member was considering the matter from a broad national viewpoint and was able to substantiate it thoroughly.

II

The speeches by E. A. Shevardnadze and Z. A. Pataridze and the report of the Auditing Commission (reported by I. G. Khazaradze) and that of the Mandate Commission (chaired by S. Ye. Khabeishvili, head of the CC CP of Georgia Organizational-Party Work Department) and the speeches of the delegates assessed the results of the work of the republic's party organization not for the previous 5 years but for the 8 years since the adoption of the CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom.

According to the decree, as a result of many mostly subjective reasons, at the beginning of the 1970s, favoritism, bribery and careerism, and toadying, subservience, embezzlement of public funds and eye washing, which accompany them, had become widespread. Recurrences of petit bourgeois mentality, individualism, and nationalistic prejudices (against which no struggle was waged or else the struggle was replaced by loud-mouthed statements which were disbelieved, for being frequently made by highly placed but dishonest officials) severely worsened the moral-political climate in the republic. This had a drastic effect on the republic's economy, culture, social relations, and all other areas of material and spiritual life. The influence of the party organizations and their authority among the masses were threatened. This situation became a matter of concern to the party members and the overwhelming majority of the working people who were unwilling to tolerate the tarnishing of this detachment of the Leninist party, which was proud of its traditions, and the dignity of the Georgian multinational people.

The CC CPSU decree inspired the republic's party organization and mobilized it to the active struggle against the nidus of petty ownership greed which is very durable in a person's mentality and which can come back to life if neglected. The great Lenin cautioned us against this (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 158), and the leader's warning remains pertinent. We must take into consideration also that whereas in our country the generation of private owners has truly disappeared, it is alive beyond the boundaries of the socialist world and is trying to poison the mind of the socialist generations with the ptomaine of bourgeois and petty ownership philistine ideology.

The very first results of the implementation of the CC CPSU decree confirmed its vital importance and the ability of the republic's party organizations to lead the toiling masses to its implementation. Whereas in the first 2 years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the republic was at the tail end in the rates of industrial and agricultural growth and in labor productivity, in the following 3 it was awarded the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for the all-union socialist competition. The Georgian

SSR has earned this high distinction seven times since 1973.* Georgia firmly refused any plan "corrections," which might have given the appearance of success. It fulfilled its planned assignments and socialist obligations by 20 November 1980, as was noted with satisfaction in the greetings which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev sent.

As the delegates to the republic's party congress stated with full justification, "The second half of the 1970s may be considered a period of transition to the final and irreversible establishment in the republic of the positive economic, social, political, and moral and psychological processes which were initiated in the wake of the familiar CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi Party Gorkom." The republic's committee reported to the congress that, as a whole, the Georgian party organization had fulfilled the assignments formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress for the republic. Its successes in economic and social development were substantial. Its national income rose by 43 percent in the 5 years; 86 percent of the growth of its national income and 74 percent of its increased industrial output, whose volume had risen by 41 percent, as stipulated in the five-year plan, were the result of increased public labor productivity. One-fifth of its output bears the state Emblem of Quality (2,263 items in 1980 as against slightly more than 200 five years ago). The entire transportation system fulfilled its five-year plan.

The successes achieved in the nationwide struggle for increasing production effectiveness is confirmed by the fact that capital returns in the republic's national economy rose by 5 percent; labor productivity in industry rose by 27.2 percent, while the efficiency of public labor as a whole rose by 40 percent rather than 35 percent as planned. Working time losses declined by almost one-third.

Many good words were said about the rural workers. Compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan the average annual volume of agricultural output rose by 34 percent; it rose by 45 percent in the public sector. Labor productivity in agriculture rose by 40 percent and an increase in capital returns was achieved for the first time in 20 years. The five-year plans for grain, tea leaves, grapes, fruits, citrus products, potatoes, and livestock products were overfulfilled. The republic is successfully combining the efforts of public farms and private plots which have become an important reserve for agricultural production. In 1973, 142,000 families living in the villages had no livestock and 232,000 had no cows. Consequently, from producers of livestock goods a large number of rural residents had become consumers.

B. I. Shindzhiashvili, Gurdzhaanskiy Raykom first secretary, V. R. Papunidze, Adzharskiy Obkom first secretary, M. I. Kurbanov, head of the agronomy department of the Kasumloyskiy Potato Growing Sovkhoz, Marneul'skiy Rayon, and others discussed with great concern the need for insuring the comprehensive development of animal husbandry and the utilization of all arable land for this purpose. The delegates emphasized that public farming intensification, which is the main way

* After the congress, for the eighth time the Georgian SSR was awarded the Red Challenge Banner for accomplishments in the 10th Five-Year Plan and in 1980.

for increasing agricultural output, must be combined with encouraging the development of auxiliary plots in rural areas. The creation of truck gardening cooperatives by the urban population is entirely justified and expedient providing that it is treated as an auxiliary occupation which excludes any compromise with private ownership aspirations.

As we know, capital construction and its effectiveness and quality leave something to be desired everywhere. Georgia is no exception. Under the five-year plan, however, the republic has achieved substantial progress in this area. Capital investment construction project assignments have been considerably overfulfilled. For the first time under the Soviet system the growth rates of capital investments in the republic have risen above the average for the union. Throughout the 5-year period assignments on completion of housing, hospitals, schools, children's pre-school institutions and vocational and technical schools were carried out.

The republic's working people have taken a major step to surmount its lag behind the average union level in some decisive indicators such as the volume of the overall public product and per capita national income. This was particularly emphasized in the 24 June 1976 CC CPSU decree on the Georgian party organization.

The extensive work which was done to provide ideological support for the party's economic and social strategy was discussed in the accountability report and in many of the delegates' speeches. This topic was mentioned by T. N. Menteshashvili, Tbilisi city party committee first secretary, T. V. Rostiashvili, turner at the Aerospace Plant imeni Dimitrov (he was elected bureau member at the first plenum of the new Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee), G. G. Abashidze, chairman of the board of the republic's writers' union, P. G. Gilashvili, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, G. N. Yenukidze, CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary, V. M. Okudzhava, Tbilisi University rector, F. S. Sanakoyev, first secretary of the Yugo-Osetinskaya Oblast party committee, R. D. Chkneidze, director of the Gruzziya-Film Movie Studio, O. Ye. Cherkeziya, Georgian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and others.

Substantial proof of the considerable improvements achieved in organizational-party work, in the selection, deployment, training and upbringing of cadres in particular, was cited in the accountability report and in the addresses by G. V. Kolbin, CP of Georgia Central Committee second secretary, and the secretaries of oblast, city and rayon party committees.

While noting their achievements and their gains and voicing their just pride in the major successes achieved by their party organization, the delegates were not offering reassurances to themselves, their party comrades or the Georgian working people. The accountability report and the delegates' speeches were imbued with a practical, exacting and supportive spirit of criticism and self-criticism. In reporting the state of affairs in various areas of party work and describing the level of the party's leadership of the various economic sectors, E. A. Shevardnadze reported also the extent to which the various leading officials of the CC CP of Georgia or the republic's Council of Ministers, in charge of various sectors, were coping with their obligations and mentioned the party and economic sectors under the jurisdiction of such officials to which greater attention should be paid.

The accountability report deliberately pointed out that "The future is the most important delegate of our congress." While noting all the positive accomplishments of the party organization in the period under consideration, the delegates' speeches were based on Lenin's appeal: "...We must not be satisfied with the skill which we have developed as a result of previous experience. We must absolutely advance further and achieve more, we must mandatorily advance from lighter to more difficult tasks. No progress at all is possible without this, and no progress is possible in the building of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 196).

The same positions were held in the discussion of the problems facing the republic in the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans. These problems are bigger and more complex by far compared with those of the 10th Five-Year Plan. They were also applied in subjecting everything which hinders the work, subjective omissions and objective reasons for one failure or another (there were many of them), and in formulating the means for the correction of the former and the prevention or minimizing of the latter, were subjected to sharp and effective criticism.

The delegates stated that the republic is not applying progressive methods for the growth of labor productivity, such as the Shchekino and brigade contracting methods, to a sufficient extent. More than 55 percent of the total number of workers in Georgian industrial enterprises are engaged in manual labor. This is considerably higher than the union-wide average. Very extensive work must be done for the implementation of the existing comprehensive target program for the mechanization of annual labor in the republic's entire national economy. A considerable labor force remains unused despite manpower shortages, although the usefulness of creating branches of large enterprises and associations in small towns and settlements with manpower surpluses has proved its usefulness. The opening of such branches in areas in the foothills and the mountains is encountering particular hardships.

Consumer services, trade and urban transportation were criticized extensively. B. I. Shindzhiashvili provided some interesting data. In Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon, where the population has purchased television sets worth 12 million rubles and 35 million rubles' worth of automobiles, there are 60 million rubles deposited in savings accounts. Good high quality consumer goods are needed but are unavailable. M. I. Kurbanov was pleased to report that in 10 years the volume of agricultural output in Marneul'skiy Rayon tripled. To this day, however, potatoes are loaded in bulk and are subject to spoilage; however, less claims are filed not against those who spoil the crops but those who raise them.

V. P. Papunidze asked that the existing system of procurement prices be differentiated according to natural conditions. As it stands now the working people in mountainous areas sometimes earn one-third the income of kolkhoz members working in the valleys for equal labor. In discussing the same problem M. I. Kurbanov suggested the use of an intracost accounting system which could bring order in the wages of sovkhos workers. In support of his suggestion, he rephrased the principle of distribution under socialism as follows: "He who works less and worse should be entitled to less and worse."

Many critical remarks were addressed to the construction organizations which are continuing to scatter their forces and facilities among numerous projects. I. T. Todua, first secretary of the Zugdidskiy Rayon party committee, justifiably blamed the construction workers who had thoughtlessly undertaken to lay a water main in accordance with a 20-year-old blueprint. It was only after they had built towers in the mountains and wasted much money and labor that it became "apparent" that the plan was ineffective and no water could be supplied.

Shortcomings still exist in cadre training. This applies also to the training system for scientific cadres, which remains largely uncontrolled. As I. N. Ordzhonikidze, Georgian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary said, as a result many candidates of sciences in Tbilisi work as laboratory technicians, although there is a shortage of chemists.

The delegates pointed out cases of formalism in ideological and moral upbringing and fear of openly raising vital problems. This was condemned in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." They stated that leading officials are still all too frequently using the pronoun "I." This is a type of still existing "arrogance" which was so mercilessly opposed by Lenin; cases were cited of efforts to present "a gift" to a visiting official, under the pretext that this is a traditional gesture whose violation would "insult mortally" the giver. Meanwhile, new ceremonies and dances which must replace obsolete customs and pop art mannerisms are sometimes cooked up in haste, like poorly prepared bliny, for which reason they cannot take hold.

Notwithstanding the extensive purging and educational work done, bureaucrats, conceited egotists, careerists and eye-washers, to whom Lenin's words, "A false sentence, false boasting mean moral doom and a real prerequisite for political doom" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol II, p 330) fully apply, have not become extinct. N. A. Popkhadze, chairman of the republic's Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, noted that almost one-half of the republic's population is unable to receive Moscow transmissions and is forced to listen to foreign "voices," something which causes serious ideological and political harm, by the fault of the construction workers who seem to be totally unable to complete the radio station. He mentioned the original efforts made by some comrades to avoid criticism. Some such "victims" complain that their reputations have been tarnished, while some of them wait for the intervention of the CP of Georgia Central Committee before answering critical remarks. The delegate justifiably pointed out that, naturally, a measure of tactfulness has to be exercised in dealing with leading cadres. However, this makes it no less necessary to attack the reputation of a manager who must always maintain adequate standards. A common explanation for a painful reaction to criticism may be found in the excessive ambitions and low standards of people who consider themselves infallible.

Teacher A. N. Leselidze pointed out the serious shortcomings in the public education system. The need for school training-production combines has been a long standing topic without anything being done about it. Meanwhile, this affects the labor education of school students and their training for production work. The Ministry of Education is ignoring the unanimous opinion of experienced educators that curricula are overloaded. O. Ye. Cherkesiya, Georgian Council of Ministers

deputy chairman, drew the delegates' attention to the scarcity of teachers with a higher education, although many people who have earned their diplomas in pedagogical institutes and universities avoid teaching because of total lack of inclination to engage in educational work.

The same type of scrupulous attention was paid to the situation in other areas. The delegates--leading party and soviet officers, workers and kolkhoz members, and workers in the sciences and culture--closely analyzed underaccomplishments, errors, omissions, and violations of party, state and performing discipline. The purpose of all of this was not to reopen and exacerbate wounds or for the sake of formality, for some criticism and self-criticism must be made, or for the sake of hurting someone. They proceeded from the understanding that the correction of anything undesirable or unfinished, regardless of the reason or the culprit, is a substantial reserve which could and should be used.

After a close study of shortcomings and omissions, the congress greatly emphasized the summation of gained experience. Many of the accomplishments of the republic's party organization are of partywide interest and are worthy of dissemination. Some new developments, however, necessitate further work.

III

In developing the struggle for surmounting existing violations of Leninist norms of party life and management principles, the CP of Georgia Central Committee directed the efforts of the party members to the all-round development of democracy and strengthening of the discipline and, on this basis, to improving the constructive activity of the masses. Many interesting organizational forms developed in the republic were aimed at reaching these objectives, strengthening the ties between party organizations and nonparty working people, upgrading the responsibility of every party member to the party and the people, and insuring his direct involvement in the formulation and implementation of party decisions at all levels.

Thus, 17 permanent commissions, headed by secretaries, bureau members, heads of departments of the republic's party committee, and deputy chairmen of the Georgian Council of Ministers worked on the formulation of the main directions in the economic and social development of the republic after the 25th CPSU Congress. These organs coordinated the activities of a substantial number of collectives. They relied on the broad strata of party members, involving them in the control of economic and social processes. The commissions' activities were justifiably rated at the congress as a further development of the democratic principles of the organization and management of the production process. Similar local commissions were created as well, involving thousands upon thousands of party members and members of the nonparty aktiv in energetic management activities.

For example, the republic quality commission relies on the work of similar organs set up by all party committees, ministries, departments, and industrial and construction enterprises and organizations, the works of which it coordinates. The reader is already familiar with the results achieved by the republic in the struggle for the quality of goods produced.

The republic's consumer goods commission, chaired by N. A. Chitanava, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee bureau member and first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, is working on a long-term program for the development of sectors which affect the interests of all working people directly.

B. A. Shevardnadze is head of the commission for the formulation and implementation of the 10-year food program. Some of the measures it has formulated, particularly those concerning preparations for spring work, have been already implemented. Similar commissions set up by the party's obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are headed also by their first secretaries.

Commissions have been set up for the operative solution of agricultural problems (chaired by D. I. Patiashvili, bureau member and CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary), transportation (chaired by Z. A. Chkheidze, bureau member and CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary), and others.

The following question may be asked: does this not assume the functions of ministries and departments, and do the party committees themselves not assign their basic duties to the commissions? Such cases have occurred in many places and must not be ignored. However, in the Georgian party organization such commissions do not lower the responsibility of party bureaus and committees in the least. On the contrary, they steadily urge on the committees which have set them up to act with increasing energy and to engage in the all-round planning and resolution of arising problems. Their main duty is to mobilize the tremendous additional forces and to involve the broad toiling strata in the practical management of the national economy, i.e., to follow the main direction of the development of our entire sociopolitical system.

The Georgian party members have acquired a great deal of interesting experience in the area of ideological and political-educational activity based, as we know, on the familiar CC CPSU decree. As was pointed out at the congress, the struggle for socioeconomic achievements cannot be separated from the struggle for man, for the assertion of the lofty political and moral ideals and spiritual values of socialism and of the norms of socialist community life. This close interaction is achieved not with short campaigns, thrusts and attacks, but with painstaking and persistent work.

The accountability report expressed the unquestionable truth that the party had acquired political knowledge, a healthy psychological climate and other ideological categories for the purpose of developing new features and habits of the socialist way of life, which is inseparable from the way of thinking, and for encouraging human behavioral motivations and views concerning labor, sociopolitical activity, and material and spiritual values. The effectiveness of this work, as indicated by the experience of the republic's party organization over the past 8 years, will be increased considerably if, while giving our accomplishments their proper due and summing up positive results, we tirelessly clear up everything that is negative and we do not weaken even for a single hour our uncompromising struggle against anything which conflicts with the social, political and moral foundations of our society.

The development of sociological research in the republic and the study of public opinion in particular are of considerable interest from this viewpoint. The CP of Georgia Central Committee has set up a Public Opinion Council, whose recommendations have begun to play a substantial role in the ideological activities of the party organizations.

Let us note the practice of sponsoring a single political day during which members of the republic's party committee and managers of all ranks and positions meet with the people in production collectives, speak to them and listen to their suggestions and critical remarks. Members of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee and Central Committee Bureau and their personnel teach political circles, courses and theory seminars. The accountability report noted that "precedents of public and practical discussions between audiences and republic, oblast, city, and rayon leaders are being set for the first time in the existence of our republic."

An important conclusion drawn by the congress, based on the entire experience of the Leninist party and particularly, the practice of the Georgian party organizations, is that a more thoughtful approach must be adopted in ideological work as a result of the higher cultural, educational, and information standards reached by the working people. To hope that the minds and hearts of our contemporaries can be reached merely with slogans, pious wishes, or even impassionate emotional appeals, or to play up to the mood of the audience for fear of "being misunderstood" is the equivalent of political thoughtlessness or self-deception. Unfortunately, not all propagandists, lecturers, or social scientists have understood this. This is the reason for many errors and shortcomings in the ideological work of the republic's party organizations. One must go to the people "with an open heart, sincerity and directness, and the dialogue with the people must be conducted as with equals," E. A. Shevardnadze emphasized.

The Georgian SSR (which includes two autonomous republics and an autonomous oblast) is inhabited by dozens of nationalities. Here the actual implementation of the Leninist national policy is the foundation for the comprehensive assertion of internationalism. The council in charge of coordinating the further development of relations among nations and the international upbringing of the working people, recently set up by the CP of Georgia Central Committee, has acquired interesting experience. Its activities should be studied closely.

Some new forms of organizational-party work are of substantial theoretical and practical interest as well. The republic's party committee proceeded in their application from the fact that intraparty life and its consistency with the Leninist norms greatly affect all aspects of social life and the development of intraparty democracy. They contribute to the intensification of democracy in all areas in our society. In turn, this encourages the further growth of the labor and political activeness of the masses.

Unfortunately, this truth does not always reach those who have become accustomed to rely in their work on nothing but their official position. E. A. Shevardnadze cited a characteristic example: "A comrade holding a very high position has said that 'The result of this democratization is that I will lose my job'." The speaker added that "This too is possible."

The submission to primary party organizations of reports on the implementation of most important decisions has become the practice of the republic, oblast, city and rayon party committees in recent years. It is of particular interest to note that many problems related to improving the activities of republic organs are discussed by the labor collectives in advance of the decision. The regular meetings held between members of the CP of Georgia Central Committee Bureau and other republic officials and representatives of different population strata are an important form of such consultations.

The conclusion drawn at the congress, based on the attitude toward criticism and self-criticism as the most important indicator of democratic party-mindedness, of governmental and social life and as a characteristic of the political health of the party organization, to use Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's expression, was accurate. It was quite categorical: "We consider the suppression of criticism an evil equal to political and social sabotage, which develops an attitude of indifference in the citizens and which obstructs our progress."

The republic's party committee holds bureau meetings without an agenda, in the course of which a thorough study is made of the work of its members, including that of the first secretary. It is such reciprocal exigency and strictness, combined with love of fellow-man and comradeship that creates an efficient party atmosphere. The accountability report contained a progressive and well-wishing study of the strong and weak aspects of the work of all CC CP of Georgia Bureau members and secretaries. It also included a very detailed and self-critical consideration of the results of the work of the speaker himself, which influenced the nature and tone of the overall debate.

A new type of organization was adopted for the proceedings of the congress: work groups on various aspects of party activities were set up. In the afternoon all delegates, supplied with the proper materials, met within the groups. The view was expressed that such groups should become permanent and operate until the next congress.

Naturally, at the evening session the delegates found themselves split. This may have seemed to clash with the idea that each one of them should discuss all matters and concerns of the republic's party organization. However, in the party groups virtually all delegates were given the opportunity to discuss matters in their specific area of competence. Some of their statements were used in the final draft of the congress' decrees. Most of them were added as appendixes to the resolution on the accountability report, as "recommendations for the further improvement of the organizational and political work of the Communist Party of Georgia and for raising the standard of the party's leadership of the economic and social development of the republic in the 11th Five-Year Plan." In his concluding words the speaker acknowledged that such suggestions and their implementation represent an additional yet a necessary obligation of the new Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee membership and Bureau.

The experience of creating work groups by the congress is worth studying. Arguments broke out on the subject of making them permanent. A party congress is not a supreme soviet of a republic which sets up permanent commissions for the

duration of its term. The functions of the party congress are defined by the CPSU bylaws and by custom. The mandate of the delegates expires after the congress. Naturally, as participants in the formulation and adoption of congressional decisions, they must remain in the vanguard of the fighters for their implementation. In this sense, it is natural that the new membership of the republic's party committee and its bureau will staff its permanent or temporary commissions and councils with former delegates. Nevertheless, such agencies will be commissions of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee and not of the congress. For this reason, this matter should be discussed thoroughly and comprehensively.

In his last work, "Better Less But Better," Lenin formulated measures for the circumspect and considered improvement of the party and state apparatus. He pointed out that "In order to achieve this, the best elements in our social system, such as frontranking workers and truly educated elements on whom one could rely should not accept anything on faith or act against their conscience. They should not be afraid of acknowledging difficulties or of committing themselves to the struggle for reaching properly set targets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, pp 391-392). In the past few years the Georgian party members have proved that the overwhelming majority among them are such kind of people.

The 26th Communist Party of Georgia Congress assured most firmly the CC CPSU, Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev that the republic's party members and all working people will spare no efforts to meet worthily the 26th CPSU Congress and that they will honorably fulfill the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the great projects of the Leninist party.

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CPSU CONGRESSES ARE MILESTONES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Stefan Doernberg, director of the Institute of Contemporary History (GDR)]

[Text] These days the eyes of the communists and of all progressive forces in the world are turning to Moscow where the 26th CPSU Congress will begin its proceedings on 23 February 1981. Like all progressive people in the world, the peoples of the socialist states have always expected a great deal from such congresses. They know that Lenin's party, as the leading force in the building of the new communist society, and as the pioneer in the historically determined process of human development, is opening a path to the future for all peoples. The CPSU congresses have invariably been milestones of socialist progress and revolutionary theory and practice and of the embodiment of socialism in all areas of social life of the first socialist state and a force of influence on international events.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has pointed out that the history of the Leninist party "has been marked by an outstanding galaxy of congresses. Each one of them has been an important milestone in the life of the party and the country." It is precisely today, when the confrontation between socialism and imperialism has developed on an even wider scale, while the profound influence of the tremendous building of communism in the Soviet Union and of its policy of safeguarding the peace, imbued with the ideals of communist humanism and internationalism, has increased considerably, that the impact of the CPSU on global events has become more tangible. Communists everywhere and all peace loving and democratic people and all people who are in favor of peace and social progress know that they can rely on the CPSU.

Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, has pointed out that it is already clear that the 26th CPSU Congress will become an event of universal-historical importance: "The congress will give a strong impetus to the communist movement, particularly to the close and fruitful cooperation among parties and countries within the socialist comity, for our family of nations is developing steadily in a state of organic unity with the Soviet Union."

The CPSU has the richest possible experience in resolving the problems which our century has posed to the working class and the working people and to all mankind. Created by V. I. Lenin at a time when capitalism had reached its highest and final

stage--imperialism--it not only realized the necessity and possibility of eliminating the capitalist exploiting system but was able to mobilize and to organize the toiling masses, led by the working class, for such purposes. As the power which inspired and organized the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the party laid the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the era of the creation of a socialist social system. Since then it has remained a pioneer of social progress, linking the defined and as yet unknown ways for the building of socialism and communism to the solution of the complex and varied problems which arise in this connection and with the protection of accomplishments from the constant threat presented by imperialism and from its open and concealed attempts upon socialism. "The very history of the Soviet Union, of the country of Lenin and the victorious October Revolution," Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized, "has played a role of worldwide significance. The USSR has acted as a powerful and decisive pioneer of social progress, as the main bastion of socialism and communism and as the flag bearer in the struggle for peace for more than six decades. This is consistent with the high prestige enjoyed by the Soviet Union in the fraternal family of socialist countries."

In our time of complex and interdependent global problems CPSU policy is a reliable compass which guides all progressive forces. The carefully analyzed assessments and predictions formulated from the high rostrum of its most prestigious forums--the party congresses--help the fraternal parties, including the SED, to formulate and make the necessary decisions and to find the optimal combinations between the national and international aspects of their activities. Unquestionably, this pertains most of all to insuring both the systematic and dynamic development of the socialist society in the individual countries and the strengthening and uplifting of the entire socialist comity. The CPSU sets the example in this respect as well, for all its activities are imbued with the feeling of unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism. More than any other party it has assumed a historical responsibility, with all consequent obligations and tasks, and is fulfilling its duty honorably.

The collective wisdom of the CPSU is manifested with particular clarity in the documents of its party congresses, especially in the Central Committee accountability reports and decisions. The strength of Lenin's party lies in the comprehensive theoretical and political-organizational activities of its Central Committee and the experience, knowledge, creative criticism, initiative and efforts of millions of party members working in all areas of social life. The revolutionary actions of the CPSU, which act as a guiding force in the building of communism in the land of the soviets, are imbued with unshakeable loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and its creative application in accordance with changing historical circumstances and with the summation of the priceless experience of the Soviet people. Unity between revolutionary theory and practice in the party's activities makes its policy consistent with the laws and requirements of historical progress; the party consciously chooses the type of development within which the vital interests of the people can be satisfied optimally.

The tremendous successes which the Soviet Union has achieved in building a new social system convincingly prove the correctness of CPSU policy. Consistency,

dynamism, scientific substantiation and revolutionary creativity are characteristic features of CPSU policy, of its Central Committee's work and of the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary. This is precisely the basis for the fact that CPSU congress decisions are always imbued with historical optimism. "...If the party earmarks objectives and assigns tasks to itself and to the entire country as a result of its collective thinking," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "such objectives and assignments will be reached and implemented." The critical and future-oriented approach taken by the CPSU concerning problems to be resolved is the very basis of the preparations for party congresses and for their proceedings. The study and utilization of CPSU experience and theoretical elaborations contribute to the sober study of successes and to the discussion of unresolved problems, weaknesses and shortcomings. As the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress convincingly proved, the documents of the Leninist party are a priceless source of knowledge for the entire international communist and workers movement and for all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. The CPSU has never laid a claim to playing any kind of special or privileged role in the international workers movement or to giving instructions or exhortations. It has always acted through the force of the example it sets, through its tireless activities for the sake of the noble objectives of the class struggle, and the power of its profoundly idea-minded and tremendous theoretical work which is closely related to reality. That is precisely why the CPSU, which has always considered itself an organic component of the international revolutionary movement and has been guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism as the most important guideline in its political activities, has had such an influence on the course of world events unmatched by any other political party in the history of mankind during the eight decades of its life.

The German revolutionary movement has benefitted a great deal from the decisions of the Leninist party congresses. The direct acceptance of their basic and current conclusions has not been the only feature of their historical significance. The use and creative development of the entire theoretical wealth acquired by Lenin's party have been of decisive significance also.

This fully applies even to the very first congresses of the Bolshevik Party, particularly the second, which adopted the theoretical and organizational foundations of the revolutionary party of a new type, formulated by Lenin and Lenin's ISKRA. The entire subsequent period confirmed the universal accuracy of these developments and proved that the founding and activities of such a party are a most important mandatory prerequisite for the successful implementation of the working class' historical mission in the struggle against an experienced enemy--the big imperialist bourgeoisie with its refined mechanism of political power and ideological manipulations. In the final account, all the successes achieved by the revolutionary movement in the struggle for the overthrow of the antihumane imperialist system, for building a new socialist social system and for insuring peace and social progress depend on the implementation of the Leninist principles and norms governing the building of a revolutionary party, based on democratic centralism, on the understanding by it of its role as the guiding force of the working class and its allies, on its dedicated activities in the interest of social progress and on its unbreakable ties with the people's masses. In answering the current problems raised by life, each CPSU congress has systematically developed the theory of the Marxist-Leninist party and its role in our epoch.

Today, when the revolutionary parties of the working class and the acknowledged vanguard of the peoples of their countries are the ruling parties in the socialist comity and are responsible for the functioning of all areas of social life, and when they enjoy a reputation earned in the course of many decades, the situation prevailing in the world is radically different from what it was at the turn of the century. The conditions for struggle and, hence, the requirements concerning the specific tactics and organizational structure of the fighting forces, the possibilities of pursuing an effective policy in the creation of anti-imperialist alliances and the scale at which internal political problems are interwoven with global tasks have radically changed in the countries which are still under capitalism and in the countries which were newly created as a result of the victory of the national liberation movements. These changes were triggered, above all, by the existence of real socialism which is influencing world events not only through the power of the example it sets. The influence of socialism is rising thanks to the invaluable and unparalleled successes of CPSU theoretical and practical activities.

At the same time, the conclusions drawn at the first congresses of Lenin's party and codified in its first program and bylaws and the development of the theory of the leading role of the revolutionary party and of its ideological, political and organizational foundations have retained their entire significance to this day. This equally applies to the basic stipulations of combining the various forms of struggle--nonparliamentary and parliamentary--to relations between the party and the trade unions and other mass organizations, and to the policy of alliances with the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie and their parties.

All of these concepts, which were developed in the period of the establishment of a party of a new type and during the struggle against revisionists of all hues, are part of the treasury of the international revolutionary movement.

History itself placed Lenin's party in the sort of circumstances and the sort of country in which the various contradictions blended and in which the greatest possibility developed of achieving an initial break in the imperialist chain. This fact enhanced even further the historical responsibility assumed by the Bolshevik Party. The party was able to meet this responsibility to its own working class, the working people of all countries and all mankind properly. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the defense of the first socialist state in the world against the pressure of the internal and external counterrevolution marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind. In history nothing takes place automatically: there always exists a specific social force without whose subjective will and activities progress would be inconceivable. The inauguration of the new era in mankind's history is inseparably linked with the activities of Lenin's party which became not only the architect but the builder of a new social system.

The entire capitalist world was shaken up by revolutionary postwar crises under the direct impact of the Red October. Following the example of their Russian class brothers, workers and soldiers in many countries, Germany in particular, set up soviets and waged a heroic struggle against the policy of exploitation and wars pursued by the capitalists and their political leaders.

For a variety of reasons the November 1918 Revolution in Germany failed to bring about the ripe overthrow of the capitalist system in that country. Unquestionably, in this case, not only did the imperialist chain prove to be stronger, but the German working class faced an exceptionally strong enemy. The poison of reformism and bourgeois nationalism--the direct consequence of the treason which the right-wing leaders of the German social democratic movement had committed to the legacy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht--spread its stupefying influence over a considerable segment of the working class and the other working people. Finally, no leading revolutionary force existed, for the Communist Party of Germany was founded only in the flames of the November Revolution.

The first socialist state, which functioned under the conditions of total capitalist encirclement, pursued the difficult path of construction and protection of the new social system for more than one-quarter of a century. The creative activities of Lenin's party in the practical solution of the numerous complex problems of the transitional period, the surmounting of the backwardness left by tsarism, the building of a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man, the laying of its material and technical foundations and the organization of its governmental and political system, culture and science, based on the ideals of humanism, and the desire for knowledge with which to serve the interests of the people became the beacon guiding all progressive forces on earth. The conversion of the Communist Party of Germany into a revolutionary mass party, whose great objective was the indivisible combination of scientific socialism with the workers' movement, was largely determined by the fact that Thalmann's party conscientiously learned from Lenin's party and applied its experience creatively. The study of CPSU history and of the materials of its congresses became a mandatory prerequisite for the theoretical and political-organizational strengthening of the Communist Party of Germany.

The concepts and practical-political views on the basic functions of the state system in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the gradual organization of the base and the superstructure and their interaction in the period of laying the foundations for socialism, and the decisions of the Bolshevik Party concerning the significance of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy and the observance of unity and cohesion as the foundations for its combat power, developed by Lenin, were of essential significance. Many CPSU congress conclusions have played a tremendous direct role in strengthening the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany. At the same time, the long-term stipulations regarding basic problems of the new economic policy, Lenin's cooperative plan and the concepts held on the development of socialist culture and science and other aspects of the building of socialism were creatively mastered and put to practice under the conditions of the German Democratic Republic. Their application combined with a specific analysis of developments in the country, substantially contributed to the fact that the party acquired the necessary theoretical base which made it possible for the working class to fulfill its historical mission on German soil.

Under CPSU leadership the Soviet people and their great army defeated the fascist enslavers, rescued civilization and saved all mankind from the threat of a return to slavery. The plans of German monopoly capital, which called for the destruction

of entire nations and the enslavement of the people, were crushed. The liberation exploit of the Soviet people provided the historical opportunity for the appearance of antifascist-democratic grounds in Germany. This opportunity had to be used in the course of the conscious and purposeful activities of the working class. The study of CPSU experience, which blazed new paths, and of its historical legacy and innovations in resolving current problems (found mainly in congress documents) became the most important source of growth of the Marxist-Leninist party of the German working class. Based on Thalmann's instructions and the lessons learned from the international workers' movement, the German in particular, the SED has always considered the attitude toward the CPSU, the guiding force of the Soviet people, as the most important criterion of truly internationalist positions and of loyalty to the ideals of scientific socialism and the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In the very first difficult years which followed the liberation from the fascist yoke, when the foundations of the new social system were being laid on German soil, the German communists ascribed exceptional importance to the all-round study of CPSU history. This was an essential element in the founding of the SED as the result of the merger between the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1946, and its conversion into a party which was fully consistent with the requirements of a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type, a party acting as an inseparable component of the international communist movement. Since that time, the work style of all SED units, from the Central Committee on down to the primary party organizations, has been characterized by the tireless study of the entire rich legacy of CPSU congresses, pertaining to the theoretical, ideological, political and organizational foundations of a working class party, its strategy, tactics, inflexible loyalty to proletarian internationalism and unbreakable ties with the people.

The founding of the socialist comity and the growing interaction among its member countries are some of the biggest achievements of our age. In his speech on the occasion of the initialling of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty between the USSR and the GDR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated a tremendously important view: "The fact that today the socialist countries are engaged in the solution of similar problems greatly facilitates this solution. It enables us to combine our knowledge, experience and material and spiritual resources for the good of the individual nations and for the sake of the common interests of the socialist comity."

The fact that thanks to the international cooperation between the SED and the CPSU the peoples of the GDR and the USSR have become allies, fellow workers and friends is of exceptional importance. It is a reflection of the tremendous historical changes which have taken place in terms of the way of thinking and acting, in relations between the two countries and in the influence they exert on world events. In this process the study of the materials of CPSU congresses, the creative application of their propositions, and the growing interest shown by all party members and the entire population of the GDR, the young people in particular, in the documents of the congresses of Lenin's party play a most important role.

The publication 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" created a tremendous amount of interest. This document became yet another proof of the fact that the CPSU is implementing Lenin's basic stipulations regarding the preparations for and nature of the work of party congresses, formulated at a time when only the very first steps were being taken in the building of socialism: "We must go forward, we must look ahead, we must take to the congress the practical experience in economic construction which has been reworked carefully and attentively, through the joint efforts of all party members" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 142).

The published documents prove the extent to which the economic strategy formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses is being systematically pursued. Its highest purpose is to improve the material and cultural standards of the people and to create the best possible prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual. This calls for more effective social work and higher productivity and therefore, for the continuing and purposeful application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the making of profound qualitative changes in the material and technical foundations, based on public production intensification.

The most effective combination of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism is of decisive importance in the development of the national economy of the GDR. The improved quality and effectiveness of public labor must result in the creation of prerequisites for securing the already achieved material and cultural standards of the people and for insuring their further growth. The conservation of energy and materials, more complete processing of items, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the practical application of its results assume a major significance. The achieving of such high objectives, whose formulation became possible thanks to the unity between economic and social policy, cannot be separated from the further cooperation and specialization between the GDR and the USSR.

The legitimate process of rapprochement, characteristic of the development of the members of the socialist comity, demands answers to many arising problems. For this reason, the creative exchange of experience among fraternal parties is one of the decisive prerequisites for the intensification of this process for the good of all those who are participating in it and for the sake of improved effectiveness. The more systematic, profound and extensive the exchange of experience becomes, the greater are its results.

The study of the documents of CPSU congresses with a view to the extensive implementation of their stipulations and conclusions, as applicable to GDR conditions and possibilities, has the same effect as the exchange of experience. The SED considers this to be of great importance.

There is no single major problem related to the building of socialism and communism or to international affairs of all kinds on which the CPSU congresses have not assumed a clear position, formulated concepts supported by life itself, or earmarked new tasks and possibilities. The ideas expressed at the congresses are such as to encourage and inspire the creative thinking of all revolutionary

and progressive forces. We are entirely confident in saying that like the party members and the broad masses in various parts of the world, which fall within a great variety of social or professional strata, the SED members assign great hopes to CPSU congresses, both general and specific, and consistent with their own thoughts and expectations. They are specific in the sense that the consideration of individual problems by CPSU congresses such as, for example, in the area of public education, art, culture, national economic planning, agriculture, state construction, propagandist-ideological activities of party organizations, and so on, provides many valuable ideas and impulses for their own work.

As always, we are very hopeful that the 26th CPSU Congress will provide accurate assessments and formulate new initiatives on basic problems of international development which affect all people on earth. The peoples of the world know that strengthening the peace and international security, detente and disarmament, and the broadening of equal international cooperation are structural components of the consistent policy of the CPSU, which has been fully justified in the present difficult international circumstances. Today, the safeguarding of the peace and the continuation of detente require the firm rebuff of those who are pursuing a rigid confrontation course and who intend to throw international relations back to the worst periods of the cold war. We must upgrade also revolutionary vigilance and maintain on the proper level the defense readiness of Warsaw Pact members. The imperialist lovers of military adventures must always know that their plans are doomed to failure.

The CPSU has never limited itself to statements on the need to secure the peace, although in itself a clear, unequivocal and comprehensive declaration in which the question of safeguarding the peace is considered a prime foreign political task is by itself of great importance and, to a certain extent, affects worldwide events. The CPSU has always backed its policy of peace with constructive proposals on the kind of treaties and agreements of reciprocal interest which could and should be concluded, and the steps which should be taken with a view to reducing the danger of the outbreak of war, and the direction to be followed in order to secure a lasting peace. Such has always been the case. This applies to an even greater extent to the present, to the peace program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th congress of the Soviet communists. Lenin's party and country are throwing all their forces and prestige into the implementation of specific measures for laying the foundations for the formulation of treaties and agreements which would meet the interests of international detente and prevent the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe which could threaten the very existence of mankind.

The roots of the consistent peace policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state lie in the very nature of socialism and the class content of Marxism-Leninism. Whatever the supporters of anticommunist hysteria and the ideological accomplices of confrontation and the arms race may be shrieking about the "Soviet threat" and the imaginary expansionist and interventionist intentions of the USSR, of the "doctrines" of tutorship over or encroachments upon the freedom of other peoples, history proves that it is always possible to rely on the Leninist peace policy. Such was the case in the past, such it is in the present, and such it will remain in the future.

The peace policy pursued by the CC CPSU is always addressed at governments, whose most important area of competence is to conclude international legal treaties and agreements and to implement other measures with which to insure international security and equal cooperation, and at the peoples, who are striving for peace, who need peace and who can and must force their government to take specific steps for insuring the peace through their clearly expressed viewpoint and actions.

The 1970s passed under the sign of the implementation of the peace program formulated by the CPSU. Naturally, this applies most of all to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the special session on disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly, and the congresses and conferences of the forces in the world which have dedicated themselves to the struggle for peace. However, even bilateral and regional conferences, statements by politicians of different affiliations and even electoral programs of parties and government leaders, who consider peaceful coexistence and detente a thorn in the flesh, reflect in their own way the fact that today the all-embracing programmatic theses formulated at CPSU congresses can no longer be ignored.

The CPSU always favors political detente to be widened by the addition of military detente and the elimination from the practice of international relations of attempts to threaten with or to use force; it favors restraint in material and mental preparations for war, and total and universal disarmament. Considerable successes have been achieved in this area, as confirmed by the longest period of peace achieved in modern European history and by the fact that the people have profoundly accepted the fact that safeguarding the peace is the most important factor in international politics.

In this connection, let us not forget that the conversion of the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO members to a policy of confrontation and provocations, the support of this policy by Beijing, the arms race they have launched and their adventurist and shortsighted actions aimed at spoiling and abandoning the jointly achieved results of the detente process, have been the reason for a substantial worsening of the international situation. All of these factors are dangerous, for the fanning of conflicts today could easily bring about the type of escalation which would make the entire international situation uncontrollable.

Those who initiate and pursue this devilish play with the lives of hundreds of millions of people of the present and future generations hope to be able to frighten the socialist countries and turn back the wheel of history or at least to stop it. Historical experience proves that this is a policy without a future which, in the final account, will boomerang at the political and economic interests and safety of their own countries.

Amazingly, the propagandists of this adventurist policy hostile to the nation are trying to present matters as though it was imposed by the socialist countries. Meanwhile, they are disseminating feelings of historical pessimism and doom.

Confident of the justice of its struggle, as befits pioneers of social progress, Lenin's party is pitting against this policy a position of historical optimism.

This is not a starry-eyed dream of a better future but a scientific outlook which takes into consideration the entire complexity of the struggle. This struggle is taking place in several areas such as politics, economics, international relations, different areas of social life, the peaceful competition between socioeconomic systems and in the minds of the people themselves. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the key problems are those of limiting and restricting armaments and of the related significance of the military factor in international politics.

The CPSU congresses have held a consistent position on such matters and have developed a concept consistent with the interests of all nations and countries. On the basis of the approximate military-strategic balance between the members of the socialist comity and the imperialist forces, which is an important prerequisite and a foundation for detente, we must gradually reduce the level of military confrontation, stop the arms race and, most of all, terminate the process of further stockpiling of mass destruction weapons which are being steadily improved.

The further development of political detente and the readiness to conclude treaties and agreements for strengthening international trust can be a contribution to the improvement of the international situation which is threatened by the imperialist policy of confrontation.

Ever since Lenin's Decree on Peace was promulgated, i.e., from the time of its birth, the Soviet state has been the flag bearer in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and expansion, of stirring up some nations against others and of the arms race, a policy which is gambling light-handedly with the safety of the peoples and even with the very future existence of human civilization today.

The German socialist state is involved in this struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union, with a great feeling of responsibility. In the field of international politics the GDR is a reliable bulwark of socialism and peace in Europe today. We can rely on the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity in our activities.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which are changing the world, have been largely embodied today in the decisions and documents of the congresses of Lenin's party in particular. This is manifested in their precise scientific analysis of the international situation and the level achieved in the building of communism and the consequent tasks to be implemented in the immediate future, as well as in the basic assessments of the key problems of the 20th century and of the entire epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a universal scale. The progressive forces in the world expect a great deal of the CPSU congresses, for they are firmly convinced that the highest forums of the Soviet communists always provide major impulses for further historical progress and for the creative development of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

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REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT: OCTOBER AND THE FIRST POST-OCTOBER YEARS

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[Review by Prof Yu. Krasin, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book "Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye. Voprosy Istorii i Teorii" [The International Workers Movement. Problems of History and Theory]. Academician B. N. Ponomarev chairman of the chief editorial commission. Vol 4. "Veliky Oktyabr' i Mezhdunarodnyy Rabochiy Klass (1917-1923)" [The Great October and the International Working Class, 1917-1923]. V. V. Zagladin editor in chief. By a group of authors headed by V. V. Zagladin and Ya. S. Drabkin. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 732 pp]

[Text] More and more time separates us from October 1917 and the number of remaining eyewitnesses of the legendary events of that period is diminishing steadily. However, the more distant from us such events become, the more apparent the greatness of the historical exploit accomplished by the Russian working class and the Leninist party and the importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the destinies of all mankind becomes. The reason is that the October Revolution was a powerful explosion of the revolutionary energy of the masses. It was a breakthrough to socialism in world history, which had followed a process of evolution and alternation of various forms of private ownership systems for millenia. That is why the assessment of this event is related not only to the past but to the present and to the future also, and to the entire great international process of the establishment of a communist civilization.

The flood of publications which deal with the Great October Revolution and which enrich our understanding of the epoch-making events of that period is ceaseless. However, this creates some difficulties for those who choose such an important topic. Similar difficulties faced the group of authors of the fourth volume of the work "Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye."

Let us point out from the start that the authors developed their own viewpoint in the interpretation of the richest period in the history of the international workers movement--the period of the October Revolution and of the first post-October years. The approach taken in the book is one which skillfully combines a broad view of revolutionary events in the 6 post-October years with a theoretical analysis of the profound historical trends which run throughout the entire period since that time.

The period between 1917 and 1923 was a time of great worldwide upheaval. It was a period in the course of which the main way of contemporary history, leading to

socialism and communism, was defined. It was the period of the establishment and consolidation of the international communist movement on the basis of the theoretical and political principles of Leninism as the Marxism of the contemporary age. This period concentrates within itself all the basic problems which the world revolutionary-liberation movement faces to this day. "...It is precisely then," the authors justifiably point out, "that the decisive changes were initiated with V. I. Lenin's participation and which greatly predetermined the direction and nature of subsequent developments" (p 7).

Unquestionably, the main feature in the assessment of the Great October Socialist Revolution is its international nature. This problem has remained as the topic of a most acute ideological struggle. Bourgeois "Sovietology" and reformist and revisionist theoreticians have always tried to squeeze the October Revolution within strictly national boundaries and to prove its national or, at best, regional extent. Based on Lenin's ideological legacy and the study of a mountain of economic, social, political and spiritual-ideological facts, Marxist historical science has proved that the Great October Socialist Revolution was the legitimate result of the development of the contradictions within the global imperialist system and of the objective logic of universal history, as well as the starting point of the contemporary global revolutionary process with its inherent comprehensive dialectics of the international and the national.

Yes, the Great October Socialist Revolution is a Russian revolution. It answered the need of the development of the country. It grew from the confrontation among the class forces in Russian society, caused by domestic reasons. However, the contradictions which led to the October Revolution were a concentration of the worldwide contradictions of capitalism. The extreme unevenness of its development and the consequent unevenness in the development of the international revolutionary movement placed Russia at the front end of the objectively ripe global social revolution of the proletariat at the beginning of the 20th century.

The ideological opponents of the October Revolution usually resort to the so-called backwardness doctrine. Russia, they claim, was a backward country in which the objective conditions for the building of socialism had not become ripe. This view is based on a doctrinarian-dogmatic methodology of the historical process: the ripening of the economic and social prerequisites for socialism is depicted as a rhythmical and smooth process; it ignores the contradictoriness of global development, which under imperialist conditions, assumes the nature of a conflicting unevenness in the development of capitalist countries.

Lenin pitted against this vulgar methodology the dialectics of global development in the epoch of imperialism. It is true that Russia was characterized by a general economic backwardness. However, the country was part of the global imperialist system and Lenin, who defined it as an "average to weak" country in terms of the level of capital development, noted, particularly in his argument with Bukharin, that "nothing could have happened in our country without a certain level of capitalist development" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XI" [Leninist Collection XI], p 397). The onslaught of monopoly capital led to the development of its latest forms, so that in this respect Russia outstripped other capitalist countries in a number of indicators. Monopoly capital created in Russia the skeleton of an apparatus for

social control over the national economy, which could be given a socialist content should the working class come to power and be converted into a tool for controlling the development of the national economy.

At the same time, Russia's lag behind other capitalist countries in terms of the level of its industrial development, and the preservation of a system of semi-feudal relations in the countryside, which hampered the entire economy, constituted tremendous obstacles on the way to the solution of the constructive problems of the socialist revolution. Entire layers of precapitalist social relations had to be peeled off and the way of life of dozens of millions of people had to be changed radically. Bearing in mind such complex problems, Lenin was to note later that it was easier to start a socialist revolution in Russia, compared with other capitalist countries, but that it was far more difficult to urge it on toward a completion of the building of socialism.

The radical contradiction within Russia's economic development was manifested to its fullest extent and with particular gravity in the area of socioclass relations as well. The majority of the population (82 percent) lived in the countryside. Meanwhile, the tempestuous development of monopoly capitalism, under the conditions of the growth of the democratic revolution, led to the development of a militant working class in the country, which displayed a radical mood and was able to assume the leadership of the approaching coup d'etat. The authors justifiably write that "Nevertheless, regardless of its relatively small size, the proletariat was a significant social and political force which was incomparably larger than that of the multimillion-strong mass of the peasantry, which was scattered and disunited. The explanation for this lies mostly in the high concentration of the working class in the vitally important centers of the country and in its large enterprises" (p 21).

This was a proletariat which had mastered the richest possible experience of the international workers' movement and had adopted and multiplied the best revolutionary traditions of the Western European proletariat. In refuting the Menshevik myth according to which Bolshevism was allegedly a manifestation of petit bourgeois revolutionism of the backward strata of the working class, on the basis of an extensive study of the structure and development of the Russian proletariat, the authors reach the conclusion that "The nucleus of the frontranking workers, who had consciously taken the path of revolutionary struggle, consisted of skilled workers at large industrial enterprises (about 40 percent of the working class) who benefited from relatively better living conditions and were struggling not merely for another piece of bread for themselves and their families but for social justice for all working people and against the lack of rights and the oppression and arbitrariness of the rule of the rich" (p 23). It was precisely this working class that was the hegemon of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the leader of the socialist revolution and the guide in building a new society after the October victory.

The first victorious socialist revolution was international in terms of its origins, socioclass nature and type of development. "It was on the Russian proletariat," Lenin pointed out, "that befell the great honor of starting it. However, it must not forget that its movement and the revolution are only part of

the global revolutionary proletarian movement...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 341). The internationalism of the October Revolution was clearly manifested in the powerful support it received from the working people throughout the world. It was also seen in the unparalleled impact which the October Revolution had on all other countries and on the workers and national liberation movements. Thousands of ties connected the socialist revolution in Russia with the global revolutionary process in the entire variety of its manifestations. The reader who has studied the most important among these relations can justifiably say, together with the authors, that "as is the case only with events of a truly epoch-making nature, the influence of the October Revolution on other countries and continents was hardly limited to the direct or indirect reverberations which it triggered in the very first months which followed its victory. Its international influence increased in strength and scope as time went on, for the soil from which it grew was international" (p 139).

The study of the period between 1917 and 1923 is of exceptional importance in order to understand the Leninist theory of social revolution. Naturally, the party was equipped with the necessary theory in leading the October Revolution. Nevertheless, the post-October period is of particular importance in the creative development of Leninism. It was precisely then that Lenin's mind plunged into the whirlpool of world revolutionary events, delving with increasing depth on the nature of the rapidly developing global revolutionary process. The ideas, hypotheses, or predictions of previous years were applied in the practice of the social battles fought by the international working class. They were corrected, reinterpreted and enriched with new experience.

What route will the global revolution follow, at what pace will it develop in other countries, and what kind of support will the international proletariat give Soviet Russia? These problems faced Lenin urgently after the October Revolution victory. The strategy of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class depended on the answers to them. The workers revolution in Finland, the socialist revolution in Hungary, the Austrian revolution, the November revolution in Germany and the wave of revolutionary activities which rolled along the colonial periphery of the capitalist world were all triggered by national needs and internal contradictions and crises. They could not have been artificially provoked or imported from the outside. At the same time, however, these events constituted separate national links within the single worldwide revolutionary process which had ripened in the 20th century as an answer to a general need experienced by human society in its transition to a new and more progressive socio-economic system.

A most profound revolutionary crisis broke out throughout the world and developed into open mass actions in a number of countries under the influence of the October Revolution. This gave hope for a relatively quick transition which would open wide possibilities for a direct conversion to socialism. Lenin said in October 1918: "...We have never been so close to an international proletarian revolution as we are now..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 111). "Not only a European," he wrote at that time, "but a global proletarian revolution is ripening visibly in front of everyone..." (Ibid, p 305). "In a short while," Lenin said in March 1919, "we shall witness the victory of communism throughout the world. We shall see the

founding of the Universal Soviet Federal Republic" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 231). One month later, he noted that "At this point only a few months separate us from victory over the capitalists throughout the world" (Ibid., p 295).

The enemies of socialism have never concealed their gloating at the fact that the actual course of events turned out to be more difficult than complex. Nevertheless, what matters here is not the inaccuracy of the predictions regarding the deadlines for a socialist revolution. A characteristic feature of the revolutionaries, Lenin pointed out, is their desire to bring the hour of victory closer. In 1918-1919 the depth and gravity of the universal revolutionary crisis, triggered by the victory of the October Revolution, were so significant that an entirely realistic possibility of a victory of the socialist revolution had developed, and not only in Russia. "A Marxist," Lenin wrote in this connection, must rely on a European revolution if a revolutionary situation exists" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 300). The decisive pressure which the European proletariat applied promised real victory. "...At that time," Lenin noted, "the proletariat could have settled a case against capitalism with a single strike" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 311).

The methodology used by Lenin in assessing the international nature of the socialist revolution conflicted with that of the Trotskyites and the "left communists" who tried to take the revolutionary "fire" to other countries automatically, totally linking the fate of the Russian revolution with the actions of the Western proletariat. For example, Bukharin stated that "The Russian revolution will either be saved by the international revolution or will perish under the blows of international capital."

Lenin, who opposed such left-wing adventuristic views, took into consideration the entire complexity of the ripening and development of the revolution in different countries. While assuming the possibility of its international victory in 1918-1919, Lenin also emphasized the relatively autonomous nature of national revolutions. The internal conditions from which a revolution may grow are influenced by international circumstances. However, they develop differently in the different countries, in accordance with economic standards, gravity of social conflicts, ratio of class forces, national traditions and so on. The overall revolutionary situation in Europe nurtured the hope that these differences would be smoothed over by the power of the revolutionary upsurge. However, while hoping for a European revolution under such circumstances, Lenin also pointed out the stupidity of a tactic based on hope for making a revolution within a specific time. "Since there is absolutely no way to determine this," he wrote, "objectively, any such attempt is reduced to a blind game of chance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 245). "A considerable amount of time may be required," he wrote. We have no way of knowing how long it will take for a socialist revolution to spread to other countries" (Ibid., p 301).

In fact, it soon became apparent that the uneven revolutionary development in these countries had not been neutralized by the revolutionary crisis in Europe. The attempts which the German and Hungarian proletariat made to benefit from the revolutionary situation and to raise the banner of the socialist revolution ended in defeat. The Western bourgeoisie still had enough strength to suppress the

working class by force. To a certain extent the European revolutionary situation concealed the uneven growth of contradictions in the different European countries. However, it was unable to compensate for the immaturity of the subjective revolutionary factor: these countries had no revolutionary parties of the working class which could mobilize the mass sociopolitical forces needed for victory.

After his analysis of the experience of the three post-October years, Lenin soberly assessed which predictions concerning a global revolution were accurate and which were not. "They were inaccurate," he pointed out, "in the fact that no quick and simple resolution of this problem was obtained.... They were accurate to the extent to which they gave us the main feature, the possibility of insuring the existence of the proletarian system and the Soviet republic even if the socialist revolution in the rest of the world had to be put off" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, pp 20-21).

In accordance with Lenin's assessments of the global revolutionary process, the authors of the fourth volume compare the victorious experience of the October Revolution with the experience of the failed revolutions in the Western European countries. "Victories and failures of a revolution are equally instructive," they write (p 207). The new political course of the international revolutionary workers' movement stood out in the totality of most October Revolution events. The authors follow Lenin in defining the meaning of this strategic course as a conversion from mounting an attack to laying a siege.

Profound qualitative changes occurred in the workers' movement of the capitalist countries after the October Revolution. However, a certain amount of time was needed for the revolutionary direction within it to take shape, to strengthen and to stabilize. The October Revolution awakened the Orient also. A combination of Marxism with the national liberation movement was initiated there, and the forces of national liberation entered the political arena as participants in universal history. However, this process also required time. It was faced with tremendous difficulties caused by the economic and social underdevelopment of the colonies and semicolonies, and the narrowness of the class base for the founding and work of communist parties in the area.

The conversion from attacking to laying a siege required, above all, a definition of the prospects for the development of the most advanced revolutionary bastion--the socialist state--and the clarification of its place and role in the overall global revolutionary forces. Fierce ideological-theoretical disputes developed concerning the future path to be followed by the Russian Revolution. Lenin countered the adventurist and capitulationist concepts with a course which called for a system of transitional measures capable of strengthening the dictatorship of the working class and insuring conditions for the victorious building of a socialist society under circumstances governed by capitalist encirclement. "Priority was given to an even more urgent task," the authors justifiably state, i.e., "to the need for special transitional measures which would insure the establishment of proper economic relations between the two main classes of Soviet society, the workers and the peasants" (p 468).

It was these measures, which supported the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, that constituted the content of the new

economic policy which was aimed at the gradual reorganization of economic relations and the laying of the economic foundations for a socialist society. "...We must not destroy the old socioeconomic system, trade, petty farming, petty private enterprise and capitalism," Lenin wrote, "but revive trade, petty private enterprise and capitalism, taking them over cautiously and gradually, or else acquiring the possibility of placing them under state control, but only to the extent to which they have revived" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 222).

Regardless of the stir which the enemies of communism made on the subject of the NEP, describing it as the "collapse" of the Russian revolution or as the "Russian Thermidor," whose path, allegedly, the Bolsheviks were following in following Lenin's path, our party not only fully blocked the threat of the occurrence of a real "Thermidor," which was hiding in the petit bourgeois-anarchic element, but led the country to the victory of socialism.

Nevertheless, the NEP itself was not a purely Russian phenomenon. It contained some of the features of any society in transition from capitalism to socialism. In noting the tremendous international significance of the new economic policy as an instrument for restraining the petit bourgeois element and for insuring the possibility of a socialist development, the authors justifiably point out its universally significant elements: temporary admission of capitalist elements in the economy, providing that they are restricted and controlled by the proletarian state; the holding of command positions in the economy by this state; and reliance on the firm alliance between the working class and the nonproletarian toiling strata. This experience in the area of transitional ways and means of social change remain valid in the case of developed capitalist countries and, even more so, of developing countries with a mixed economy.

The international meaning of the Leninist course which was implemented through the new economic policy was that it was oriented toward the solution of the constructive problems of the socialist revolution, problems which were of decisive importance to the global revolutionary process. They included the problem of the socialist ideal and the realistic nature of the objectives of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the course which was taken of strengthening the main base of the global revolutionary process.

The complexity and contradictoriness of this entire process, the variety of its origins and forms, and its many variants faced the subjective factor in the initiated revolutionary renovation of the world with tremendous requirements. For this reason, the pivotal problem which faced the international workers' movement in the post-October period was that of organizing a party of a new type. The practice of the October revolution and of the post-October revolutionary movement had clearly indicated that without such a party the working class cannot win and throw off its political and ideological dependence on the bourgeoisie, opportunism and reformism.

The creation of Leninist-type parties and their unification in an international organization became a necessity for the development of a revolutionary workers' movement at that time. In describing the atmosphere in which the third Communist International was being created, Lenin noted that "We recorded what had been

accomplished. We wrote down that which had firmly penetrated the minds of the masses. All of us knew that this was not enough. All of us had seen, felt and experienced, each one through the experience of his own country, the fact that a new proletarian movement of unparalleled strength and depth had developed and that it could not be contained within any one of the old frameworks..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 513). "The unification of the revolutionary forces of the workers' movement and the organization of revolutionary workers' parties," the authors note, "were not at all arbitrary actions committed by 'dissidents,' but a legitimate and necessary process which expressed both continuity in terms of the revolutionary legacy from the past and the qualitatively new features of the workers' movement at the stage related to the first break of the imperialist chain and the initiated transition to socialism. This process was not simple. It faced many difficulties and varied greatly from country to country" (p 252).

In describing this, the authors do not circumvene complex problems or hard assessments. They paint for us a historically truthful picture of the initial stage of development of the contemporary international communist movement. "A certain underestimating of specific historical features, as found in some documents of the period," they write, "was not a manifestation of a deliberate course, but could be explained by the insufficient maturity of the communist movement" (p 381).

The Marxists would be guilty of unforgivable narrow-mindedness were they to assess the first specific steps of the communist parties separately from the profound historical meaning of events, namely the epoch-making process of the organization of an international political movement. However, the separation of this process from the specific situation marked by a sharp struggle, search, testing, and errors would be a violation of the principle of historicism. The authors of the monograph deserve credit for undertaking the study of the initial steps taken by the communist movement on a very broad scale, without ever losing track of the real grounds of the post-October period.

The book proves convincingly that the objective law of the appearance of communist parties assumed various forms which were determined by specific historical conditions. In their classification of this process, the authors single out five basic types of formation and consolidation of communist parties. In countries where revolutionary battles were under way the founding of communist parties was quicker and the parties developed as a result of the secession of the left wing of the social democratic parties and the unification of it with various revolutionary groups. In countries where left-wing social democratic parties existed the process followed the line of gradual transformation of such parties into communist parties and their consolidation on the basis of the revolutionary principles of the Comintern. In a third group of countries the communist parties were founded as the result of the internal conversion of sufficiently strong socialist and social democratic parties into communist parties as a result of their break with their opportunistic wing. In a fourth group of countries the nucleus of the new parties consisted of communist groups joined by revolutionary trade unions. Finally, in countries where mass reformist parties had been essentially able to preserve their influence, the communist parties developed as the result of the unification of small revolutionary groups or small leftist parties. Despite this entire variety

of circumstances leading to the birth of fraternal parties, the very fact of their establishment and consolidation was the most important turning point in the development of the international workers' movement, such as to change its overall aspect (see pp 506-507).

The founding of revolutionary parties of a new type was inseparable from the establishment of the entire global communist movement and from the activities of the Communist International. It was only by uniting on the basis of the internationalist platform of the revolutionary principles of Leninism that the parties of a new type could eliminate the familiar stereotypes in thinking and political behavior which had developed within the framework of the opportunistic practices of the Second International. Hence the certain strictness of requirements facing the parties which characterized the initial period of Comintern activities. The purpose of these stipulations, formulated in "21 conditions" of membership was to protect the revolutionary direction in the labor movement from the influence of opportunism. "From the very beginning," the authors state, "the leading organization of the global communist movement tried to recruit representatives of communist parties and groups from all countries who were able to combine the national traditions of the class struggle with the use of the summarized global experience" (p 271). The international communist movement was organized within the Comintern. This fact played the then effective role of instructing the young communist parties in the theory and practice of Leninism.

The anticommunist ideologues are zealously propagandizing their fabricated myth according to which everything in the Comintern was regulated, that it paralyzed the autonomy and initiative of the parties and that it prevented them from taking national specifics into consideration. The reality was different. "Centralization," the authors write, "was absolutely necessary in the first years of existence of the Comintern. It was a source of strength and it compensated for some weaknesses in the young communist parties. However, this organizational principle or the structure, which was subsequently changed, were not determining. The determining factor was the conscious readiness of each communist party to take into consideration in its activities the interests of the international working class and to link its struggle with it" (p 381). The Comintern was characterized by a wealth of ideological-political life and broad democracy. The authors introduce extensive factual data which proves the comprehensive activities of the Comintern, the lively exchange of experience at its congresses and in its commissions, and the creative discussions it held on a wide range of political and theoretical problems. The results of such creative activities remain topical to a great extent to this day. The extremely rich international experience acquired in the revolutionary struggle waged in different countries, which provided vitally important data for major theoretical summations of Marxist-Leninist policy, was gathered and reworked within the Comintern on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The problem of "the party and the masses" could be singled out among the most important problems which faced the theory of the communist movement at that time and whose solution was its essential practical task. The solution of this problem was related to the strategy of class and political alliances, the correlation between partial demands and the final objectives of the labor movement, the orientation toward linking the struggle for democracy with the struggle for

socialism, and the tactic of the single labor front. The young communist parties, which had broken away with the Second International only a short while back, maintained a high revolutionary mood and were highly sensitive to any manifestation of right-wing opportunism. Combined with political inexperience, this frequently triggered the desire to implement the principles of revolutionary policy in an excessively direct manner, taking insufficiently into consideration the level of awareness of the masses, their desires and their daily needs. Such directness was most frequently harmful. It isolated the vanguard from the masses and deprived it of the real means of achieving revolutionary objectives. In clarifying the importance of the ties between the revolutionary vanguard and the masses, Lenin formulated at the same time the basic law of the revolution which characterizes the unity between the objective and the subjective factor in the revolutionary struggle. Victor... the revolution, he wrote, is impossible "until the entire class, until the broad masses have assumed the positions of either open support of the vanguard or at least, of favorable neutrality toward it and of a total inability to support its opponent.... In order actually to lead the class and in order for the broad masses of working people and the people oppressed by capitalism to reach this position, propaganda or agitation are insufficient by themselves. This demands the political experience of the masses themselves. Such is the basic law of all great revolutions..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 78).

To the communists in the Western European countries Lenin explained, patiently but persistently, the objective laws of the socialist revolution which demand the active involvement of the majority of the working people. The authors cite Lenin's words to Klara Zetkin: "Klara, one must always think of the masses and it is then that you will make a revolution in the way that we did it: with the masses and through the masses" ("Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine" [Recollections About V. I. Lenin], Vol 5, p 34). Lenin spoke out sharply and firmly against the left sectarian separation of communist principles from the real movement of the masses. On the eve of the Third Comintern Congress he emphasized the inadmissibility of substituting the words "winning over the socially decisive segment of the working class" for the stipulation of the need to win over to the principles of communism "the majority of the working class." He emphasized that only "when the majority of the working class has already been won over to the principles of communism we must decisively strike in the direction of the majority of the socially decisive segment of the working class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, p 265).

The task of winning over the majority of the working class was inseparably linked to winning over the majority of the working people on the side of the revolutionary vanguard, i.e., to the problem of the allies of the proletariat. "The considerable percentage of intermediate or 'middle' strata in the developed capitalist countries," the authors justifiably point out, "faced the revolutionaries with an important new problem" (p 479). The experience gained in building socialism in Russia was of tremendous importance for its solution. However, in the revolutionary battles of the post-October period some Western communists fell short of gaining a full understanding of the entire importance of involving the peasantry and the urban middle classes on the side of the proletariat. In emphasizing the international significance of proper relations between the Soviet system and the petit bourgeois intermediate population strata, Lenin wrote: "From the international viewpoint, the fact that we are trying to define the attitude of

the proletariat, which holds the power in the state, toward the last capitalist class, the deepest foundations of capitalism, petty ownership and the petty producer represents tremendous progress" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, pp 41-42).

The problem of the allies of the working class invariably rose at all Comintern congresses. For example, the attitude of the working class toward the toiling middle strata was closely analyzed at the third congress. The study indicated that in Western Europe, where the social structure is significantly different from the one in Russia, the urban petite bourgeoisie, the broad strata of the so-called new middle class, the white collar workers, and so on, assume tremendous importance in terms of becoming the allies of the proletariat. The congress' resolution noted that the communists must pay attention to these strata and use their ferment, "even when these strata are still nurturing petit bourgeois illusions, and that those members of the intelligentsia and the white collar workers who have abandoned such illusions should be drawn over to the workers, to the proletarian front" (see pp 525-526).

The concept of unity within the workers' movement itself was developed during that period in the course of a sharp ideological and political struggle. The victory of the October Revolution and the revolutionary battles in other countries required of all parties and party leaders in the workers movement to assume clear positions toward the principles of revolutionary theory and politics in defining their attitude toward the Russian Revolution. The drawing of a demarcation line between the revolutionary direction and opportunism in the international workers movement became historically necessary. As the authors point out, "The task of surmounting opportunism ideologically and politically remained a prerequisite for the establishment of a revolutionary vanguard facing the entire communist movement" (p 356).

The book points out that the opportunists and conciliationists "bear the historical responsibility for the fact that the European proletariat missed a rarely favorable opportunity of seizing the power and achieving a historical turn of events" (p 291). Naturally, all of this set the revolutionary leadership of the young communist parties against the social democratic leadership. However, the way to the masses and to unity in the labor movement and to the implementation of the tactic formulated by Lenin and the Comintern dictated the need of adopting a dialectical approach to the social democrats. Lenin set the example of such an approach.

While uncompromisingly arguing with the ideological leaders of the Second International on problems of principle, Lenin also became the initiator of unity of action with the social democrats. To this effect he formulated a realistic platform of partial demands and general democratic tasks. Thus, despite his ideological and political differences with the social democrats, Lenin suggested that the Comintern resolution include the idea that "The conscientious workers... together with the tremendous majority of all workers wish and demand unity of action on the most urgent and immediate practical problems of interest to the workers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 404). The authors describe in detail the systematic and persistent way in which Lenin promoted the concepts of a united workers front on the basis of such dialectical positions, at the second, third and fourth Comintern congresses and in all of his practical activities.

Not everyone was convinced of the need for such strategy at that time. Some Comintern documents contained erroneous assessments of the tactic of a single workers front. As a whole, however, Lenin's line prevailed in the activities of the Comintern and its most important documents. The fault that the opportunities which the united workers front offered remained unutilized nonetheless, may be traced to the right-wing social democratic leadership. Numerous facts and documents cited in the monograph prove that this was the main reason precisely. Th. Wels, chairman of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, rejected "demagogic" all motions on organizing a united front at the international workers socialist congress held in Hamburg in May 1923 (see p 649). F. Adler took the same position. He firmly rejected the suggestions of the delegation of the International Committee for Action Against the Threat of War and Fascism for a discussion of joint measures. These were not isolated cases. The fully justified conclusion is that the responsibility for the fact that no positive steps were taken to insure the unity of action of the working class at the beginning of the 1920s falls, above all, on the social democratic leaders who were unwilling to abandon their anticommunist and antisoviet positions.

Lenin's personality and activities left their mark on the period between 1917 and 1923. It is understandable, therefore, that the clarification of the role of Lenin and Leninism runs through the entire volume which deals with that period.

The international communist movement raised an entire galaxy of outstanding leaders and proletarian revolutionaries. Even among them, Lenin stood out like a giant of theoretical thinking and practical action. His depth of understanding of revolutionary processes and of the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement was far higher than that of the other revolutionary leaders. The authors cite Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's assessment of Lenin's role in our history: "What was needed was a penetrating mental depth, broad outlook and bold thinking in order not to lose one's orientation and find and present in a theoretically impeccable manner the main, the fundamental trends of the movement toward socialism despite most complexly interwoven socioeconomic trends, political forces, and conflicting views and moods which prevailed in Russia, a country which was smashed up and dislocated by the war and the revolution." This description fully applies to Lenin's role in the international communist movement. His impact on the development of the global revolutionary process was of incomparable depth and scope.

Lenin's theoretical genius showed in the fact that he defined the nature of the new historical epoch, analyzed its new phenomena and processes, and formulated the most topical theoretical problems raised by the practice of the class struggle, the socialist revolution, the building of the new society and the development of international relations. Lenin's political genius was manifested in the creation of a revolutionary party of a new type and of the first socialist state in the world, the organization of the international communist movement and the mobilization of mass social and political forces for the implementation of the socialist objectives of the working class.

Hegel defined philosophy as an epoch grasped by the mind; it would be entirely true to say about Leninism that it is the philosophy of the contemporary epoch.

However, Leninism is more than a philosophy. With the help of the revolutionary workers' party, Lenin was able to translate the needs of social progress and the interests of the progressive class of the epoch, expressed in the Marxist theory, into the language of political action. He was able to convert the ideological power of Marxism into the power of the revolutionary activities of the masses which were transforming the world.

The revolutionary spirit of Leninism opposed the contemplative attitude toward reality and the methodology of unassertiveness which was inherent in the opportunism of the Second International. Lenin felt sick at the attempts of opportunistic pedants to reduce revolutionary theory and policy to an absolutely accurate assessment of chances of victory. One must not wait for a 100 percent guarantee, for history never gives such a guarantee to anyone, but commit oneself to battle if the objective circumstances for such an action are present. The moment a revolutionary situation has ripened the revolutionary vanguard has no other choice. "...Otherwise," Lenin pointed out, "no revolution would ever be possible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 381). This was the approach he applied in October 1917 and regardless of the exceptional difficulties which arose on the path to the building of socialism, this was the approach to which he remained loyal to the very end.

The live dialectics of the world revolutionary process resulted in the fact that as a result of the victory of the October Revolution the Russian working class gained the possibility of accomplishing an "inversion" of social development, the speculative plan of the opportunists in the Second International notwithstanding: begin by seizing the power and then use it for the resolution of the economic and cultural problems of building socialism. The legend that in the final years of his life Lenin questioned the correctness of the path he had chosen and that he almost revised his views on the prospects of the building of socialism is a fabrication of bourgeois "Sovietologists." As the book convincingly proves, this legend is refuted by the entire content of Lenin's last speeches and articles. Yes, Lenin's mind always sought answers to topical practical problems. This search went on in the final years of his life also. Lenin's articles and speeches are imbued with the passionate desire to find the best possible solution to the complex problems of building a new society. They are also imbued with his inflexible belief in the victory of socialism.

Lenin was confident of the accuracy of the way he had chosen. "There was not even a shadow of regret or hesitation," the authors note, "on whether it had been necessary or not to 'take up arms,' take risks, or to assume the tremendous burden of responsibility for the fate of mankind" (p 605).

The ideological struggle on the subject of Leninism continues unabatedly. Still today, for the umpteenth time, the anticommunist ideologues and theoretical revisionists claim that Lenin's doctrine has become obsolete. They would like to put this doctrine to rest by relating it exclusively to a specific historical period or to the backward parts of the world by separating the Leninist method from Leninist theory, and pitting Lenin against Marx. However, all such attempts merely prove the helplessness of the critics. Leninism has become part of the flesh and blood of our reality. "Lenin's thoughts and actions," the authors write,

"were not simply innovative. They were brilliant discoveries of essentially new directions of social progress. They not merely expressed the needs of the age but contributed to the shaping of the age itself" (p 712).

To us, the 1917-1923 period is history. However, it is the history of our age. The purpose of the interpretation of this period and the study of the trends of historical development which appeared in it is to shed a light on our own reality. It means to achieve a better understanding of the ways leading to the solution of today's revolutionary problems. The authors show the truth of the specific reality which developed in the post-October period, a truth extends to the present also. It reflects the most profound needs of the epoch and the laws governing the contemporary global revolutionary process.

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WARTIME INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

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[Review by Lt Gen P. Zhilin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the following books: 1) "Sovetskiy Soyuz na Mezhdunarodnykh Konferentsiyakh Perioda Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny 1941-1945 g.g." [The Soviet Union in International Conferences in the Period of the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War]. Vol 1. The Moscow Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, United States and Great Britain (19-30 October 1943). Moscow, 1978, 422 pp; Vol 2. The Tehran Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied Powers--the USSR, the United States and Great Britain (28 November-1 December 1943). Moscow, 1978, 198 pp; Vol 3. Conference of Representatives of the USSR, United States and Great Britain at Dumbarton Oaks (21 August-28 September 1944). Moscow, 1978, 294 pp; Vol 4. The Crimean Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied Powers--the USSR, the United States and Great Britain (4-11 February 1945). Moscow, 1979, 326 pp; Vol 5. Conference of the United Nations in San Francisco (25 April-26 June 1945). Moscow, 1980, 710 pp; Vol 6. The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied Powers--the USSR, the United States and Great Britain (17 July-2 August 1945). Moscow, 1980, 551 pp; 2) "Vneshnyaya Politika Sovetskogo Soyuz v Period Otechestvennoy Voyny" [The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union in the Patriotic War]. Volumes 1-3. Moscow, 1946-1947; 3) "Sovetsko-Frantsuzskiy Otnosheniya vo Vremya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny 1941-1945 g.g." [Soviet-French Relations During the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945]. Moscow, 1959; 4) "Sovetsko-Chekhoslovatskiye Otnosheniya vo Vremya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny 1941-1945 g.g." [Soviet-Czechoslovak Relations in the Period of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945]. Moscow, 1960; 5) "Perepiska Predsedatelya Soveta Ministrov SSSR s Prezidentami SSHA i Prem'yer-Ministrami Velikobritanii vo Vremya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny 1941-1945 g.g." [Correspondence Between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Presidents of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain in the Period of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945]. In two volumes, second edition, Moscow, 1976; 6) "Tehran-Yalta-Potsdam." Moscow, 1971; 7) "Diplomaticheskaya Istoriya Otkrytiya Vtorogo Fronta v Yevrope (1941-1944 g.g.)" [Diplomatic History of the Opening of the Second Front in Europe (1941-1944)]. Documentary survey. *MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'*, Nos 3, 5, and 11, 1970; Nos 4, 6, 9 and 12, 1974; Nos 2 and 3, 1975]

[Text] The victory won by the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over fascism, with the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union, and the results of World War II predetermined the main trends of the contemporary international situation and above all, the changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of democracy and socialism. The increased prestige of the USSR in the postwar period

had a decisive influence on international relations. Today no single major problem can be resolved without the participation of Soviet diplomacy. The foundations of the postwar world, laid with the decisions of the conferences held by the allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II and the creation of a world organization for the maintenance of peace and security exist to this day. The United Nations Organization has withstood a more than 30-year test and has helped to rescue mankind from a new global military conflict. Its charter, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "eases the ascent of human civilization to higher levels of international relations."

As a result of the systematic and steadfast struggle waged by the Soviet Union for the implementation of the peace program, which was formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th congress of the CPSU and the coordinated foreign political activities of the fraternal members of the socialist comity, and at the cost of the tremendous efforts on the part of all progressive forces, a transition was made from the cold war, which was the result of the anti-Soviet policy of the imperialist powers, to detente, which became the prevailing trend in world politics in the 1970s.

However, the winds of the cold war began to blow again at the beginning of the 1980s. The arms race intensified. The blame for this falls mainly on the ruling circles of the United States who are claiming a leading role in the world, trying to disturb the military-strategic balance and unceremoniously declaring many parts of the globe areas of their "vital interest."

The objective study of international developments demands that we consider it both through the lens of the past and the present and in its historical perspective. The worsened situation in the world confirms that detente is at an ebb. However, no sensible alternative to a policy which is consistent with the laws of the postwar historical process and the democratic spirit which was introduced in international relations as a result of the victory over fascism exists or is possible, the more so since in the past decade valuable experience was gained in how to settle international disputes and differences. This was proved by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. Today it is both possible and necessary to meet and talk most openly and frankly, as did the heads of the governments in the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II.

In this connection the six-volume publication of documents of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Foreign Policy Archives, which deal with the activities of the Soviet Union at international conferences in the period of the Great Patriotic War is of particularly topical and major historical-scientific and political significance.

The main editorial commission in charge of the publication of the documents consisted of the following: A. A. Gromyko, editor in chief; I. N. Zemskov, V. A. Kryuchkov, Sh. P. Sanakoyev, S. L. Tikhvinskiy, K. U. Chernenko, and P. P. Sevost'yanov, who was responsible secretary. The collections were prepared for printing by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Historical Diplomatic Administration and were published by Politizdat. Each volume has a preface in which the main international problems are traced in their development and which provide a

profound analysis of the prevailing foreign political circumstances at the time. The structure of the publication is highly professional. The materials are suitably classified in different sections, which facilitates the work with the documents.

Many of the materials, now made accessible to domestic and foreign readers, are of tremendous interest. They are a substantial addition to Soviet publications of documents of that period and broaden considerably the range of available sources for the study of the history of the Great Patriotic War and of World War II. Unquestionably, they will be useful also as proofs in exposing the bourgeois misrepresentations of the history of international relations and of Soviet foreign policy. In particular, they will make it possible to analyze critically, from the positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology, anthologies of materials, memoirs and monographs on these same events, already published in the West, in the United States above all.

The language of the documents is most trustworthy and convincing. The published archive materials make it possible to trace more profoundly and specifically the leading role which the Soviet Union played in resolving the major problems related to the struggle against the fascist aggressors and for the organization of the postwar world. Soviet diplomacy focused its main efforts on the creation and consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition of countries which opposed the fascist bloc, the ending of World War II as speedily as possible and with the lowest possible casualties for the peoples, and the elaboration of firm foundations and guarantees for postwar peace and security.

The published documents prove that the Soviet Union was able to insure the uninterrupted activities of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the duration of the war with the help of conferences of heads of states and governments, attended by representatives of the high military command; conferences of ministers of foreign affairs; and diplomatic correspondence, despite all difficulties. The active foreign political efforts of the USSR were a prerequisite for the effectiveness of its comprehensive wartime diplomacy. They were a model of goodwill which was required for the process of coordination and decision-making and for settling controversies which inevitably arose between the USSR, on the one hand, and the United States and Great Britain, on the other, as countries with opposite class natures.

The successful struggle which the Soviet Union waged at the conferences was made possible as a result of the coordination of diplomatic measures with the operations of the Soviet Armed Forces and of the allies, operations which insured the total defeat and capitulation of the oppressors in which the USSR played a decisive role.

The diplomatic documents of wartime prove the considerable advantages which the leading role of the CPSU and communist ideology gave Soviet foreign policy in its confrontation with the diplomacy of the aggressors and with imperialist reaction which influenced the positions held by the Western allies at conferences. The materials in the collection clearly show the realistic and practical approach taken by the Soviet side in discussions of the problems of the military and

political alliance and postwar settlement and the high standard of the Soviet art of diplomacy, most of all the ability to combine Leninist principle-mindedness and firmness with readiness for flexibility on one problem or another, loyalty to concluded agreements and assumed obligations, and political foresight and predictions based on specific historical circumstances.

The largely unprincipled foreign policy and trite diplomatic means used by the Western powers are clearly shown as compared with the consistent and firm Soviet diplomatic line, as the published materials reveal. U. S. and British diplomacy, which served above all the interests of the imperialist ruling group, considered participation in the anti-Hitlerite coalition a tactical maneuver dictated merely by the necessity of the war. The foreign political course followed by the allies at conferences was characterized by its contradictoriness caused by the pressure of monopoly circles, interimperialist differences and the influence of individual factors, such as the views held by and individual feelings of one bourgeois leader or another. The documents show cases of the Western countries forgetting their obligations as allies, and their aspirations to shift the heaviest burdens of the war on the Soviet people and to create or plan the future creation of conflict situations which could be used against the USSR and other preventive forces for provocatory purposes.

As the documents prove, the problems resolved by the allies at the conferences could be classified into three basic groups: 1) strategic and tactical problems of the military alliance and joint operations by the allied armed forces against the fascist aggressors with a view to shortening the duration of the war; 2) problems of the political, economic and territorial settlement of legal problems in Europe as a result of Germany's surrender and the breakdown of the fascist bloc; 3) elaboration of the foundations of the postwar structure and the institution of an international organization whose purpose would be to maintain the peace and security.

The primary problem which the Soviet side faced the allies at the Moscow (see "The Moscow Conference....," pp 53-56) and Tehran conferences was that of shortening the duration of the war and for this purpose, opening a second front in the west. The Soviet leaders proceeded from the fact that joint coordinated strikes at the aggressor, simultaneously from the east and the west, would bring about the fastest possible defeat of the Third Reich, bring closer the liberation of the enslaved peoples and significantly reduce human casualties and material losses. However, it was only the fear of the further advance by the Soviet Armed Forces toward the west, which became possible after the radical turn of the war as the result of the great victories at Stalingrad and Kursk, that forced the Western allies to abandon their policy of exhaustion of the Soviet Union and act against Hitlerite Germany in Western Europe. After lengthy discussions, a separate secret protocol was drafted, now published in the USSR for the first time, in which the allies, even though asserting their intention to land Anglo-American forces in northern France in the spring of 1944 (operation Overlord), nevertheless included the stipulation that this would depend on certain conditions prevailing at the time scheduled for the start of the operation (Ibid., p 366).

J. V. Stalin, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Tehran conference, suggested that all operations conducted by the allies in the west in 1944 be based

on operation Overlord, which would be supported by an invasion of southern France (see "The Tehran Conference...", pp 100, 110, 128). This would present to the enemy with a real rather than an imaginary danger and would threaten his most important military-industrial sites, the Ruhr above all. However, Britain and the United States were engaged mostly in the consolidation of their imperialist positions in the Mediterranean Basin and were evading real and active participation in the war against fascist Germany.

The published documents prove that the United States and Great Britain persistently called upon the USSR to declare war on Japan prematurely.

The participation of the USSR in the war in the Far East was based on the long-term aggressive policy of the Japanese military, the continuous violations by Japan of the 13 April 1941 neutrality pact, and the fact that the Japanese aggressor was merely waiting for the proper time for the implementation of its anti-Soviet plans. This forced our country to keep large forces away from the western front for the sake of insuring the security of its Far Eastern borders. The USSR maintained a composed stance. It did not yield to Japanese provocations or to the insistence of the Western powers. It was only at the Crimean conference (February 1945), when we no longer faced the threat of war on two fronts, and when the defeat of Hitlerite Germany was already predetermined, that the USSR assumed the firm obligation to join in the war against Japan "2 to 3 months after the surrender of Germany and the end of the war in Europe" ("The Crimean Conference...", p 273).

It was obvious that without the help of the Soviet Union the United States and Great Britain could not have dealt with the Japanese aggressor in 1945. However, feeling more confident as a result of the surrender of Hitlerite Germany, a surrender which was secured mainly through the efforts of the Soviet Union, and after acquiring the possibility to resort to nuclear weapons as a means of political pressure and blackmail, the United States, while still interested in the fastest possible defeat of the Japanese aggressor with USSR help, also set itself the task of preventing the USSR from participating in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Far East.

As the Potsdam documents prove, proceeding from the interests of insuring a lasting peace and security in Asia, the Soviet Union reasserted its obligation as an ally in terms of joining the war against Japan, in accordance with the Crimean agreements (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", p 43). However, without coordinating their action with the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain issued the Potsdam declaration on behalf of three powers (including China) on 25 July 1945. In it they called upon the Japanese government to agree to an unconditional surrender in accordance with the conditions stipulated in the document. Since the declaration expressed the main desire of the peoples to defeat the Japanese aggressors as soon as possible and bring closer the date of the desired peace in the Far East, the Soviet government joined in the declaration, as was officially announced on 8 August 1945.

The agreement of the USSR government to join in the war against Japan was dictated mainly by its obligations as an ally. Our country tried to speed up the end of

World War II, which was continuing to bring incalculable suffering to the nations; the working people of East and Southeast Asia needed help in their struggle for liberation. Furthermore, the safety of the Soviet Far Eastern borders had to be secured; the historical rights of the Soviet Union on the territory seized illegally in the past by Japan had to be restored. That is why, taking into consideration the aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, the war which the USSR declared on militaristic Japan was not only a separate stage in World War II but the logical continuation of the Great Patriotic War.

The USSR's entry in the war in the Far East changed circumstances in that part of the world radically. It created favorable conditions for the waging of a successful war of liberation by many Asian nations and, subsequently, for their progress on the path to socialism. It contributed to the fastest possible ending of World War II and to a peaceful settlement in Asia and in the Pacific, on a democratic and antifascist basis.

The document on problems of postwar settlements with Germany and its satellites, and the restoration of the sovereignty and independency of the liberated countries, is particularly topical to researchers and to a broad circle of readers who are closely following the course of current developments in Europe. The formulation of these problems at the Moscow and Tehran conferences revealed the existence of sharp differences and contradictions between the approaches of the USSR and those of the Western countries. However, thanks largely to the systematic and sensible compromises in the positions held by the Soviet leaders, this did not prevent the reaching of agreements on the various items on the agenda of the Crimean and Potsdam conferences.

The Crimean Conference laid the beginning of a coordinated policy among the allies toward Germany, based on the principles of democratization, denazification and demilitarization. The stipulations of Germany's unconditional surrender, the agreements on the zones of occupation of German territory, the administration of "Greater Berlin" and the control mechanism of the country were made more detailed in the Crimea, on the basis of the documents drafted by the European Consultative Commission, which was set at the 1943 Moscow Conference. The three powers proclaimed that "The destruction of German militarism and Nazism and the creation of guarantees to the effect that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace the world over was their unbending objective" ("The Crimean Conference...", p 16).

At the Potsdam Conference an agreement on the political and economic principles to be used as guidelines in dealing with Germany in the initial control period was added to the Crimean decisions (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", p 462).

The obstructionism of the Western powers, which had become apparent already at the Crimean Conference, and which was intensified in Potsdam, hindered the solution of the problem of Germany's territorial integrity and greatly hindered the study of the problem of Europe's postwar borders, German reparations for the damages it had caused, and the size of such reparations. The archive materials prove that the question of dividing Germany was raised by the Western powers at the Moscow and Tehran conferences. The underlining reason for this position was the effort to

disarm a dangerous political rival and competitor in world markets, which German imperialism was to them. The documents provide one more refutation to the widespread thesis held by bourgeois historical science according to which at the Crimean conference the USSR called for the division of Germany and the allies were forced to accede to its wishes. In reality, as the defeat of Germany approached, and taking into consideration that the victory of the Soviet Union in the war would result in a considerable increase of its international influence, the Western allies were increasingly willing to restrict the role of the USSR in resolving the German problem to a minimum, and to retain the opportunity of using Germany for anti-Soviet purposes within the framework of a Western bloc they were planning.

The Soviet government had never demanded the destruction of Germany as a state. It had emphasized the diametrical difference between this objective and the elimination of the fascist regime and the reorganization of the administrative system of the country on a democratic basis. At the Crimean Conference, answering W. Churchill's question concerning the future fate of Germany, J. V. Stalin unequivocally stated that "Germany will have a future" ("The Crimean Conference...", p 64). When a commission of representatives of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain, set up on the basis of the Crimean Conference decisions, whose purpose was to consider the British and American plans for the division of Germany, began its work in London in March 1945, the Soviet Union assumed a clear and unequivocal position. Its representative addressed a letter to the commission chairman which read as follows: "The Soviet government considers the decision made at the Crimean conference on the division of Germany not to be a mandatory plan for the division of Germany but a possible opportunity for exerting pressure on Germany with a view to making it safe, should other means prove to be insufficient" (MEZH DUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', No 10, 1979, p 110).

The published materials prove that in the matter of reparations as well the positions held by the United States and Great Britain were marked by anti-Sovietism. The Western countries did everything to prevent the satisfaction of the legitimate requirements of the USSR. They were not interested in weakening Germany's economic potential, which was concentrated essentially in the Western zones of occupation, the Ruhr in particular. While the war was still on they had already planned to use Germany's military and industrial potential in their further policy toward the USSR. The documents prove that the Soviet side used all available opportunities for defending the interests and rights of the Soviet people in the matter of reparations (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", pp 193, 243, 354, 356, and 431).

The struggle on the subject of the postwar peace system in Europe and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the European nations to self-determination, violated by fascism, and of freely choosing their path of social development was particularly stressed at the interallied conferences. Whereas Soviet diplomacy firmly watched over the basic interests of the peoples and the principles of democracy, the Anglo-American side, which feared a further revolutionary upsurge in the European countries, defended the interests of the bourgeoisie of those countries, which coincided with its own. As a result of the adamant efforts of the Soviet Union, the declaration on the liberation of Europe, adopted at the

conference in Crimea, including the following basic stipulation: "The establishment of order in Europe and the reorganization of national economic life must be achieved in ways which will make it possible for the liberated nations to eliminate even the traces of Nazism and fascism and to establish democratic institutions according to their own choice" ("The Crimean Conference...", p 268).

The implementation of this principle encountered major hurdles, as the history of the discussion of the Polish problem at the conferences reveals. The USSR consistently supported the creation of a new, independent and democratic Poland. The Soviet government broke diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile in London and supported the Polish Committee for National Liberation, which subsequently became the Polish provisional government. At the Crimean Conference the Soviet Union refused to accept the compromise on the Polish problem suggested by the Western allies, and helped to reach an agreement on the creation of a provisional Polish government of national unity, on a democratic basis, and its recognition by the United States and Great Britain (Ibid., p 269). The purpose of the declaration on Poland adopted at the Berlin Conference was to protect the interests of that country and of its provisional government of national unity (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", pp 472, 492).

The USSR adopted an equally consistent position on the future of Yugoslavia. The sympathy of the Soviet people was on the side of the national liberation movement, headed by the communist party. At the Crimean and Potsdam conferences the Soviet side firmly supported decisions which helped to strengthen the position of J. Broz Tito, the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and of the government he headed, which represented the interests of the toiling population of the country (see "The Crimean Conference...", p 270; "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", p 426).

In the course of the protracted and terse discussion in which the Soviet delegation combined firmness in defending its principled position with readiness to make certain concessions, the Berlin Conference also resolved the problem of peace settlements with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Romania. Agreement was reached on the signing of peace treaties and on the admission of members in the United Nations (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", pp 473, 494). As a result, the Soviet Union was able to secure favorable conditions for the development of the people's democratic systems which had prevailed in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, and the strengthening of their international positions.

The documents included in the six-volume work prove that in the course of the intensive talks with the allies Soviet diplomacy adamantly and consistently defended the state interests of the USSR and gained guarantees concerning its territorial security and the restoration of the historical rights of the Soviet people, which had been violated in the past by neighboring countries, frequently at the bidding of the imperialist powers.

The Soviet government raised the question of the recognition of the Soviet-Polish border along the so-called Kurzon line by the allies at the Tehran conference. It called for the inclusion of Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine, respectively, within the Belorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR, and the handing over of

Konigsberg and the respective section of Eastern Russia to the USSR. It was only at the Crimean conference that F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill were forced to accept this demand as well as that of giving to the USSR the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurilo Islands (see "The Crimean Conference...", p 273). The Soviet delegation suggested that the problem of the Western Polish border, which was not resolved in the Crimea, be considered at Potsdam (see "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference...", p 331). The British and American delegations, which tried to avoid the acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line as this border, as suggested by the Soviet side, linked this matter to the problems of the resettlement and the feeding of the German population, the problem of reparations, and so on. The Western allies ignored the comprehensive substantiation of the just Polish demands as presented by the heads of the Polish government delegation at the Potsdam Conference. Conversely, the Soviet delegation supported them readily.

The initialling of the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1975, which codified the postwar status quo in Europe, proves that the Western powers--the former allies of the USSR in the anti-Hitlerite coalition--30 years later, in the final account, were forced to acknowledge the justice of the Soviet and Polish position held during the war on this matter and which took into consideration the requirements of European security and the vital interests of the peoples on the European continent.

The published documents recreate the picture of the struggle which the Soviet Union waged during the wartime conferences for the establishment of an international organization which would not duplicate the faulty foundation of and errors committed by the League of Nations and which would be a reliable and truly universal instrument of postwar peace and security. A conference at which the statutes, content and forms of activities of this international organization, which was given the name "United Nations," was held in Dumbarton Oaks in August-September 1944.

Its principal objectives were the following: to maintain international peace and security and, to this purpose, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and elimination of threats to the peace; to suppress acts of aggression or other violations of the peace and to insure through peaceful means reconciliations or the settlement of international disputes; to encourage the development of friendly relations among nations; and to promote international cooperation for the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems (see "The Conference... in Dumbarton Oaks...", p 229).

However, at Dumbarton Oaks the three powers were unable to surmount differences on two important problems: the voting procedure, which was based on the unanimity of the main organ assigned to safeguard the peace and security--the Security Council--and, as the Soviet Union suggested, that all Soviet Union republics become charter members of the new international organization (Ibid., pp 142-145).

Agreement on the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council ("The Yalta Formula") and a compromise to the effect that at the constituent conference of the United Nations the United States and Great Britain "will support the motion to grant charter membership to two Soviet socialist

republics, namely the Ukraine and Belorussia" was reached in the Crimean talks ("The Crimean Conference...", p 274).

The documents show the manner and the circumstances in which the preparations for and proceedings of the special conference on the establishment of the United Nations took place. The conference was held in San Francisco, between 25 April and 26 June 1945. Delegations of countries from different continents, with different levels of socioeconomic development and different approaches to the solution of one postwar problem or another gathered in San Francisco to attend the most representative and broad international forum possible. Despite these differences, however, the idea of creating an effective international organization and the desire to implement this idea rode the crest of the democratic wave triggered by the wish of all nations to bring closer the long-desired end of the war against Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan, which had caused innumerable disasters and suffering.

The United Nations Charter was drafted and adopted in San Francisco on the basis of the proposals approved at Dumbarton Oaks. Its preamble stipulated that the main purpose of the United Nations is to insure peace on earth (see "The Conference... in San Francisco...", p 585).

The principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council is a key provision in the United Nations Charter. It reflects the need for coordinated decision-making, particularly in the case of a problem of such tremendous importance as the preservation of the international peace and security.

Today, when the role of the liberated and developing countries has increased substantially in world politics, the archive documents proving the just struggle waged by the Soviet Union, particularly at the Crimean and Berlin conferences and in San Francisco, in supporting the interests of the peoples of the colonies against a new imperialist division of the world, become very topical. The colonial powers--Great Britain and France--wanted to preserve their positions in the enslaved countries and hold onto their possessions within their colonial empires. The United States as well was hoping to take over small countries, which it considered strategically and economically desirable, including former colonies or countries which had been within the sphere of influence of one Western power or another. Under the conditions of the stormy upsurge of the liberation struggle American imperialism hoped to make use mainly of economic expansion which, essentially, was the initial manifestation of contemporary neocolonialism (see "The Moscow Conference...", pp 356-363).

The Soviet Union firmly rejected the plans for world domination by the United States, which were expressed in the organization of a system of trusteeships of the colonial nations, formulated by the imperialist system, and the suggestion that the USSR and the United States cooperate in colonial matters (!), which had been persistently raised by American diplomacy at every single conference. In San Francisco, the Soviet delegation asked that the United Nations Charter stipulate that one of the basic purposes of trusteeship is to prepare systematically the nonself-governing nations "with the active participation of their populations for self-management and self-determination, with a view to gaining access to full

national independence" ("The Conference...in San Francisco...", pp 428-429). The unbending position taken by the USSR, which asked that the United Nations Charter reflect the humane principles of self-determination of the nations, the equality between large and small nations and the equality among all peoples, regardless of race, language or religion, gained it the support of the majority of the participants in the conference. The colonial powers were forced to yield and the stipulation was included in the Charter according to which the basic task of the trusteeship system was to assist in the progressive development of the population of the trust territories "along the way to self-rule."

In his address at the final plenary meeting of the San Francisco conference, on 26 June 1945, A. A. Gromyko, the head of the Soviet delegation, expressed the confidence that the efforts of the United Nations will bring positive results to all peace-loving peoples in the world, who had suffered such hardships and sufferings as a result of the military conflagration started by Hitlerite fascism (Ibid., p 286).

The six volumes of diplomatic materials published by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs provide a broad view of Soviet foreign policy at a turning point in history, when the fate of human civilization hung on the balance in the struggle against fascism. The wartime documents prove that while the Soviet Armed Forces made a decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism, Soviet diplomacy played a leading role in consolidating the results of the victory won by the allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, based on the democratic principles of peace and the interests of the peoples of all countries.

The experience of the allied conferences in the period of the Great Patriotic War proves that with goodwill countries with opposite class structures can reach agreements very quickly and resolve constructively most important international problems affecting the vital interests of millions of people. If we bear in mind that this was accomplished in difficult wartime circumstances, there are even less reasons today to justify the actions of those who obstruct the use of the most reliable instrument of international politics: the voluntary cooperation among countries with different social systems in the interest of the peace and security.

The publication of this valuable documentary work on the history of foreign policy during the Great Patriotic War sets a good example for the preparation and publication of other similar documentary materials which show the party, governmental, economic and military activities of the country during the war. In our view, the time has come to publish documents which would give us an overall view of the topic "The Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War."

The published wartime diplomatic documents are the best possible proof of the unbreakable tie between history and our times; they are also a message from the generation which experienced the horrors of World War II addressed to those for whom peaceful conditions for constructive toil must be secured today.

Loyal to the Leninist principles of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union is inflexibly pursuing a line of detente, cooperation and security for all nations. With this course, proclaimed at the 24th and confirmed at the 25th CPSU Congress, our party and entire Soviet people are marching confidently toward the 26th party congress.

TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 125-126

[Review by Prof N. Kuz'min, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Ocherki Metodologii Istorii" [Essays on Historical Methodology] by Ye. M. Zhukov. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 247 pp]

[Text] In his most recent book Academician Ye. M. Zhukov sums up the results of many years of study and consideration of basic problems related to the methodology of historical science. The author concentrates on matters related to its topic, the theory of knowledge and the science of history, and the principles of party-mindedness and the struggle of ideas within it.

The work deals extensively with the laws of the universal-historical process. In this connection the author examines sociological and historical laws, socioeconomic systems, and problems of the division of history into periods and of social progress.

Methodological problems in the natural and social sciences are the nuclei of scientific disciplines and the subjects of sharp ideological struggle in the international arena. Naturally, the activeness of opponents demands of the Marxist social scientists their closest possible attention and not merely their intensified criticism of bourgeois and revisionist views but a creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist historical methodology.

The author has picked among the many problems related to the dialectical-materialistic approach to the process of social development that of "emphasizing the theoretical unity, dialectical interconnection and integrity of the most important problems pertaining to historical methodology" (p 4). He notes that social practice itself irrefutably confirms the vital force of the Marxist-Leninist study of historical processes. The dialectical-materialistic understanding of social development, which was reached by K. Marx, made it possible to elaborate a truly scientific method for the study of history "as a single and natural process in its entire tremendous variety and contradictoriness" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 58).

The theoretical foundation of the science of history is historical materialism on the basis of which it studies society in its integrity and development. The Marxist-Leninist theory of socioeconomic systems is of essential methodological significance in the study of the laws of universal-historical development. It

enables us to define both the general laws of different countries and nations and the specific characteristics related to historical conditions, national traditions and so on with scientific accuracy and reliability. It arms researchers with a truly scientific methodological weapon and gives them firm and reliable starting points with which to find the right way in the complex labyrinth of historical processes and phenomena they study.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that a Marxist does not limit himself to indicating the need for a process but explains what specific socioeconomic system gives it its content and what class determines this necessity (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 418). A simple description of events or enumeration of facts does not allow us to shed light on the essence, on the laws governing social development, or to understand the main contradiction which is the motive force of progress. The author points out that regardless of the selected research framework (chronological, spatial-territorial, or any other), the consideration of empirical data in their logical and chronological sequence and the interconnection and interdependence of all their components remain an invariable basic requirement. The historical process represents the dialectical unity between the common and the individual. However, what is common is not identical, just as variety does not mean the absence of common laws. Any exaggeration or absolutizing of one side or another invariably leads to major errors and to the distortion of reality. The pluralistic concepts of social development, based on neglect of the overall laws governing social development, are a characteristic manifestation of such an approach. Pluralism inevitably leads to vulgar positivistic empiricism which excludes the possibility of summation.

Neither society nor nature remain unchanged. They exist in a state of motion, of development. Consequently, their study requires a historical approach. It was precisely in this sense that K. Marx and F. Engels said that they know of "only one science, the science of history" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 16).

The author examines the correlation between necessity and chance in the historical development process. He discusses Engels' familiar statement that people make their own history. The determining nature of economic factors in human activities, acknowledged by Marxism, has nothing in common with fatalism. History is made by people whose freedom is restricted by socioeconomic and natural working conditions. The more we separate research from economics the greater will be the number of chances we may find in its development. However, this does not change the determining role of economic factors or economic determinism. This is not to say in the least that "chance" plays no role whatever in history. Marx pointed out that history would be rather mystical had "chance" not played any role at all. "Naturally, such chances are a component of the overall course of development and are balanced by other chances. However, accelerations or slowdowns greatly depend on such 'chances' among which may be the character of a person who becomes the leader of a movement" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 33, p 175).

The people's masses, the classes play a determining role in history. Science recognizes, however, that the individual as well could have a great influence on the course of historical events. In some events individual initiative may be

historically progressive, awakening the people's masses; in others it may be reactionary, acting as an obstruction. Everything depends on the type of class interests which one individual or another represents and the extent to which he understands and takes into consideration existing social requirements and actual possibilities and finds the proper means for the solution of the main problems related to progress.

As we look for the profound economic reasons affecting the historical process, the author emphasizes, we must take into consideration the social behavior of the people's masses in one specific historical age or another and the choice which a historical personality makes in selecting his own social position. This position is determined largely by the spiritual life of the epoch, the confrontation of ideas within it and the inherited traditions. That is why the problems of social consciousness and culture as a whole are part of the science of history.

The author indicates the exceptional importance of and need for making a profound study of historical and cultural processes in social development and the inadmissibility of adopting a simplistic automatic approach to the interpretation of processes which, as a rule, do not directly stem from changes in the political or economic area or are considered only within narrow chronological frameworks.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have given us unsurpassable models of historical research, based on the comprehensive study and interpretation of actual events. Guided by the methodological principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet historians have created many truly scientific works on the history of our homeland and of the world.

In the final section of the book the author justifiably writes that in resolving the problem of the correlation between history and modern times, Marxist-Leninist historical science must be on the level of the tasks dictated by the requirements of contemporary social developments. "The rich legacy of the past can be mobilized and used adequately in the interest of the building of communism only if it is handled by historians armed with a Marxist-Leninist methodology" (p 242).

Unquestionably, this book will be of great interest to historians and to social scientists. The entire monograph by this noted Soviet scientist calls upon Soviet historians to engage in the profound study and elaboration of the topical problems of Marxist-Leninist methodology as the most important prerequisite for the further enhancement of the ideological and theoretical standard of their research, summation of historical experience in the building of socialism and communism and intensification of the aggressive struggle against the falsifiers of history.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 pp 127-128

[Review by S. Golyakov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "TsRU Protiv SSSR" [The CIA Against the USSR] by N. N. Yakovlev. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1980, 287 pp]

[Text] The sentence from the Scriptures "And you shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free" is engraved in the marble wall of the main entrance hall of CIA headquarters in Langley, a Washington suburb. Those to whom this admonition is addressed, however, are concerned with the truth the least of all. "No greater error could be made than that of imagining the CIA merely as an intelligence and counterintelligence organ," points out the author of a new book which exposes CIA subversive activities (p 6). Intelligence, i.e., the gathering of information, accounts for no more than 10 percent of its occupation. Its main task is the secret war which accounts for the other 90 percent of the resources of this giant agency. The CIA is the main organizer of conspiracies, subversions and terrorist actions in the world. It is used by Washington for its support of dictatorial regimes which cling to power by the sole use of terror, the overthrow of governments displeasing to the United States, and for attempts against the lives of political and public figures abroad and inside the United States.

The spearhead of the CIA's secret war is aimed above all at the Soviet Union. This, precisely, was the purpose of the creation and the existence of an organization without a historical precedent. The CIA is making particular efforts to promote subversive activities against the USSR and the other socialist countries by all possible means. Why? The answer to this question may be found in the opening chapters of the book.

In the initial postwar period U. S. anti-Soviet policy was presented to the world as the alleged "restraining" of communism. A reorganization of the higher governmental administration in Washington was carried out using the "restraining" pretext at the end of 1947. The National Security Council (NSC) was organized, headed by the U. S. president. This is a special administrative organ which decides on foreign policy problems in profound secrecy to this day. The CIA was placed under the direct control of the NSC. A department of defense was created to assume control over the armed forces and to coordinate the military effort. "This governmental structure was created for the purpose of war and geared to the unleashing of a war against the USSR within the shortest possible time," the author emphasizes (p 30). The book extensively quotes from the top secret NSC

Directive 20/1, which was issued on 18 August 1948, describing the "main objectives" of the United States toward the Soviet Union: "a. Reduce Moscow's power and influence to a minimum.... b. Promote radical changes in the theory and practice of foreign policy pursued by the ruling government in Russia."

At that time Washington considered a war involving the use of nuclear weapons as the most realistic way for achieving such purposes. A number of operative plans for attacking the Soviet Union piled up in the safes of American headquarters. The CIA was assigned the task of introducing agents inside Soviet territory for the purpose of creating an armed anti-Soviet underground and of gathering military information. These operations became particularly extensive starting with 1949. Bandits trained at various CIA schools, tried to penetrate into the USSR through Scandinavia, West Germany, Greece, Turkey, Iran and Japan by land, sea or air. At the same time, the CIA galvanized its work among the emigre rabble, the traitors, the defectors and other "displaced" groups who had dug in in the West after the war, recruiting among them "specialists" in "psychological warfare," which it considered to be "an exceptionally important tool in the promotion of dissidence and treason among the Soviet people," and which would "undermine its morale, sow the seeds of mutiny and promote disorganization in the country...." (p 49).

The appearance of a thermonuclear weapon in the Soviet Union made Washington realize that, under the existing ratio of forces an armed conflict with the USSR may prove to be fatal to the United States. A new directive--NSC-68--was formulated by Washington in 1950. On the one hand, it called for drastically increasing U. S. war preparations; on the other, it called for "sowing the seeds of destruction within the Soviet system in order to force the Kremlin at least into a change of policy...." (see p 56). In the official jargon of the CIA, henceforth and to an ever mounting extent, the Soviet Union began to be referred to the "hard target" which should be "softened up from within."

The document "Psychological Offensive on the USSR. Targets and Tasks," excerpts of which are included by N. N. Yakovlev in his book, and which was declassified in 1976, provides a complete idea of what precisely this meant. It was a question of efforts to restore the capitalist system in the USSR by energizing anti-Soviet propaganda and slandering the Soviet social and governmental system, mainly the CPSU--the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. This official instruction in the waging of "psychological warfare" against our country was to be repeated later, almost verbatim, in the various memoranda of the subversive organizations which the CIA had created at the beginning of the 1950s, mainly the Liberty and Free Europe radio stations, although with some tactical corrections caused by the changes in the international situation.

In tracing CIA subversive activities through the present, and with the help of a substantial number of facts and documents, some of them previously unknown, the author convincingly proves that they represent gross interferences in the internal affairs of other countries, something which is incompatible with the norms of international law. The document entitled "Foundations of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America," which was initialed on 29 May 1972, however, stipulates that the parties "will proceed from the common belief that in the nuclear age no other basis for relations between

them other than peaceful coexistence is possible." In this connection, the author justifiably emphasizes that "There neither is nor could there be a place for 'psychological warfare' in the doctrine of peaceful coexistence, officially acknowledged by the United States." In continuing its subversive activities against the Soviet Union, the CIA is shaking the very foundations of Soviet-American relations" (p 278).

The dozens of billions of dollars annually allocated to the CIA for subversive efforts against the Soviet Union and for secret operations against other socialist countries are the tangible manifestation of the desire of big monopoly capital to protect its positions in a world which is in the throes of gigantic sociopolitical changes.

The book by N. N. Yakovlev, written in the author's customary publicistic style, calls for vigilance concerning the subversive intrigues of the American special services, whose intention is to hinder by all possible means the progress of mankind on the path of peace, democracy and social progress.

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OBITUARY OF KONSTANTIN IVANOVICH ROMANOVSKIY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 81 p 128

[Obituary by the editors]

[Text] Konstantin Ivanovich Romanovskiy, a noted international affairs journalist, KOMMUNIST editor, and honored worker of culture of the RSFSR, passed away prematurely and unexpectedly at the age of 58.

K. I. Romanovskiy was noted for his party principle-mindedness, Marxist-Leninist convictions, openness and sincerity in relations with comrades, and an exceptionally honest attitude toward his duties. Whatever position Konstantin Ivanovich might have held--member of TASS, in the newspaper ZA RUBEZHOM, or as one of our editors, he dedicated to the work all his strength, experience, knowledge and character.

K. I. Romanovskiy was the bearer of the medals For Labor Valor and For Labor Distinction for his dedicated work as a journalist.

Warmth, respect, and friendly interest marked the attitude of the KOMMUNIST collective toward Konstantin Ivanovich. He will be remembered always.

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