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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 8, May 1981



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USSR REPORT  
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No. 8, May 1981

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

CONTENTS

L. I. Brezhnev's Speech in Kiev.....	1
Let Us Raise Organizational-Party Work to the Level of the Requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress (V. Grishin).....	6
The 26th CPSU Congress and Cultural Tasks (P. Demichev).....	21
Bowing Down to the Earth and the Sun (Yustinas Martsinkyavichyus).....	37
Always a Topical Subject.....	42
Harmonizing the World of Human Emotions (B. Pokrovskiy).....	54
Aviators in the Land of the Soviets (G. Skorikov).....	61
New Documents of the Great Patriotic War.....	73
Unity is Guaranteed for Victory (A. Dzasokhov).....	94
Anticommunism in Search of Social Reserves (G. Khromushin).....	105
On the Subject of Departmentalism; Economist's Notes (Mark Mikhaylov).....	119
Society in the Light of the Systemic Approach (A. Korzunov).....	132

Problems of the Family and the Birth Rate in Demographic Publications (M. Sonin).....	138
Study of Marriage-Family Relations (A. Myalovitskiy).....	144
Luigi Longo: '...The Fascist Menace Has Not Been Reduced in the World.....	148

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## L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IN KIEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 3-6

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at the solemn inauguration of the memorial complex in the city-hero of Kiev on 9 May 1981]

[Text] Dear people of Kiev! Honored delegates from the great city-heroes of our country!

Dear comrades!

Allow me, first of all, to present to you the warm congratulations of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium and Soviet government on the occasion of this true holiday of the whole people--on the occasion of Victory Day (applause).

There is no corner in our huge country, there is no Soviet family in which this holiday is not celebrated with deep emotion and with feelings of sacred sadness and great patriotic pride. Yes, to all of us this holiday, which carries the smell of gunpowder, is, in the words of the song, happiness with tears.

It is proper that it is precisely on such a day that this grandiose memorial complex commemorating the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people is being inaugurated. This ceremony touches the very bottom of my soul, as a person who walked the road of war from the beginning to the end and who participated in the battles for the liberation of Soviet Ukraine and of its glorious capital.

The Great Patriotic War broke out 40 years ago. Older people probably remember well that clear summer day of 22 June 1941, the day when the most sinister forces of imperialism--the forces of bloody fascism--hurled against our country the fiery squall of war. They did not hide their aims. They wanted to destroy socialism. They wanted to erase from the map the country itself, the people who had dared to throw off the oppression of capital. They wanted the dark night of bigotry, sadism and impudent crude soldiery to fall over all of mankind for a long time to come.

Fascism had made long preparations for its treacherous aggression. With the support of worldwide reaction, it had gathered tremendous power. Together with its allies it had conquered virtually all of Europe and a considerable part of Asia. At that time many people in the West believed that nothing could counter its pressure.

However, the Soviet people firmly blocked the path of the fascist plague. Rallied around Lenin's party, they rose to the defense of their country, freedom and ideals. The firmness and heroism of the Soviet people changed the course of events.

We were not alone in the struggle against fascism. We remember our fearless fellow fighters--the partisans and the heroes of the resistance in many countries occupied by the Hitlerites. We remember the soldiers of our allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. However, we cannot forget the obvious fact that the Soviet people assumed the main burden of the war.

The homeland lost 20 million sons and daughters. They could have become labor heroes in plants and fields, engineers, scientists, poets or conquerors of space, in a word, builders of the great happiness of the people. Destiny, however, decided otherwise. It was their lot to sacrifice their lives for the happiness of the Soviet people. They sacrificed it. They sacrificed it so that their comrades, their children and grandchildren could carry out their plans and so that the people may live in peace.

The heroic soldiers who fought on the front knew and felt that they were backed by the entire country, the entire people. Front and rear were one. And those who worked on the labor front accomplished the truly impossible for the sake of bringing victory closer.

The great monument we are inaugurating today is a monument to all of them, to all the winners.

It is the expression of the grateful remembrance of those who fought for the sake of the life and happiness of the homeland and for the sake of rescuing from fascist slavery the peoples of Europe and of other continents.

It is a mark of gratitude and profound respect toward those who hammered the weapons of victory in the rear.

The exploit of those who fought and defeated fascism is immortal. This exploit will live for centuries (applause).

The war ended long ago. In our memory, however, we hear the voices of our fellow fighters who died. We see their faces and our hands feel their firm handshakes. We remember what they spoke about and what together we dreamed about.

Death has no power over them, for they live in our hearts, in our deeds and accomplishments. In ordinary days and holidays they are with us. We clearly see in the generations which grew up after the war their bright features, inflexible character and sincere faith in the triumph of our revolutionary ideals.

In that unforgettable victorious spring of 1945 we, the front line soldiers, believed that this was to be the last world war. We believed that our children will never again hear the thunder of explosions, the piercing shriek of warning sirens, will not see how blood is shed and how their homes go up in hellish fire. This faith gave us strength in the decisive clash with the enemy. That is how millions and millions of people in our country and in all continents fought. Their hopes

cannot, must not be deceived. The land of the soviets has done and will do everything it can to insure this.

The Soviet people proved their ability to make proper use of the benefits of peace. The dreams of the frontline veterans and of all people who experienced the horrors and privations of the war years, of how powerful and beautiful our country will become after the victory, have come true.

Your beautiful Kiev, the city-hero which was rebuilt from the ruins, more beautiful than ever before, is one of the living proofs of this. And how many more cities we have, which rose from the ashes by the will of the Soviet people. The signs of a new life are found throughout our country. They are the cascades of hydraulic power stations on the Volga, Dnepr, Yenisey and Angara; the KamAZ and the Baykal-Amur Mainline, which runs across the hitherto inaccessible tayga, the petroleum and natural gas of Tyumen', the spaceships and atoms serving the peaceful life of the people, the millions of comfortable homes, the new schools, universities and theaters and the cozy kindergartens.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress clearly earmark the further schedule in our building of communism.

However, in order to turn our plans into reality we need peace.

Meanwhile, events in the international arena are reminding us ever more insistently that peace is not a benefit which comes automatically. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Peace is threatened, seriously at that. One must struggle for peace.

Many among those who shape capitalist policy today are soberly-thinking people. They realize that reliance on strength and on war in relations with the socialist world would be madness today, and that the only sensible way is that of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation.

However, the bourgeois world also contains statesmen who, judging by everything we know, have become accustomed to think only in terms of the categories of force and diktat. They actually take as their main political credo the achieving of military superiority over the Soviet Union. Apparently, they consider the solution of international problems through talks and mutually profitable agreements as quite unimportant if they seriously think about this at all.

Some of them openly state that peace is not the most important thing and that some things are more important than it.

Just think, comrades. Could one imagine a more monstrous position, a more cynical scorn for the fate of the peoples, including their own, or for the lives of hundreds of millions of people!

It is a fact that the instruments of warfare and the means for mass destruction have assumed today such a scope that their use would threaten the existence of many nations and even of all contemporary civilization.

Therefore, to rebuff the policy of the lovers of military adventures and to favor the strengthening of universal peace means, today, to take up the defense of the

very life of mankind, the defense of everything great, noble and priceless created by mankind in the course of millenia.

I do not even mention the stupidity of hopes that the development of the socialist countries or the struggle waged by the peoples for national freedom and social justice could be hindered with the help of threats, economic blockade or military aggression. World War II and the 35 years which followed it proved quite clearly that such methods not only do not benefit imperialism but yield opposite results. Apparently, however, they will not take advantage of all the lessons of history.

As to the Soviet Union, this is not the first time that we hear fabrications concerning our policies or slanders and threats. We shall not be frightened. Our nerves are strong and we have been well tempered (lengthy applause). We do not support the arms race, we oppose it. We could find entirely other uses for the means it absorbs. However, if we are forced to do so, we shall find a fast and effective response to any challenge hurled by militant imperialism (lengthy applause). For our first and most sacred duty is to insure the security of our country and of its allies and a reliable peace for the Soviet people (applause).

Postwar experience proved that wars can be prevented. Many dangers have threatened us in three and a half decades! There was the Cold War. There were times which were dangerous, even critical. However, the imperialists were unable to push mankind down the precipice.

With our authority and policy we were able to influence the international climate and to make it less severe. For an entire decade international relations developed under the sign of detente. This was the most valuable accomplishment of the 1970s. It was the result of the persistent and joint efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and all sensibly-thinking forces of our time.

Fear, prejudice, lies and hatred are the worst enemies of peace. It is they that imperialist reaction cultivates as it charges international tension.

More than ever before today's situation requires caution and prudence combined with honest and bold efforts for the sake of reaching agreement and for the sake of international trust.

Comrades! The recent CPSU Congress proved that peace is the supreme objective of the Soviet Union's international policy. The initiatives formulated at the congress were described by the people and the peace program for the 1980s. We well know that the peoples of the entire world are on our side in the struggle against the dangerous plans of the preachers of a new war and in the struggle for a lasting peace! (applause)

The formulation of the program is, naturally, the beginning rather than the end of the matter. The entire work, the entire struggle lie ahead. We do not claim a monopoly in the matter of strengthening the peace. We are in favor of a broad dialog and any constructive idea has always met with our understanding.

Wherever talks may be held and whatever the subject of such talks, we have always based them on the interests of peace and peaceful cooperation.

We have always supported the settling of crises and hotbeds of military conflicts created by imperialism and the end to declared and undeclared wars.

International circumstances may be better or worse. What is important, however, is to allow no deviation from the proper path. We shall adamantly work to lower the level of tension, preserve detente and insure its further development. This is a key problem.

Our thoughts are pure and noble. Our power is great. However, we shall never use it to the detriment of the peoples. It serves and will continue to serve the cause of peace (lengthy applause).

The freedom and security of other countries are an essential prerequisite for our own freedom and security. At the same time, our freedom and security are a necessary condition for the free and independent development of other countries.

It is a great nation, that which is always aware of the living tie with its history, which can select the best among its historical traditions and make it available to the present. This outstanding quality is fully inherent in the Soviet people. The inauguration of this memorial is yet another confirmation of this fact (applause).

I am convinced that this great memorial complex on the banks of the Dnepr will be cherished by all Soviet people. It will always symbolize the victory of life over death, of reason over madness and of good over evil (lengthy applause).

Glory to the Soviet people, the people-hero, the people-winner! (tempestuous and lengthy applause)

May peace triumph on earth! (tempestuous and lengthy applause)

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LET US RAISE ORGANIZATIONAL-PARTY WORK TO THE LEVEL OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE  
26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 7-20

[Article by V. Grishin, CC CPSU Politburo member, Moscow City Party Committee first secretary]

[Text] The Soviet people are successfully building communism--the most just society on earth--under the guidance of the communist party. The 26th CPSU Congress, which marked a new major step on the road to the building of communism, became an important milestone along this historical road.

"The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress of the forthcoming tasks of the party in domestic and foreign policy," delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, is an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" define a specific program for the party and the people for the 11th Five-Year Plan and beyond it. They constitute a further development of the party's Leninist course aimed at strengthening the economic and defense power of our country, the growth of the people's well-being, the spiritual blossoming of the mature socialist society and the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth.

The policy formulated by the CPSU is the linchpin in the scientific management of society. It is implemented as a result of the organizational and political work of the party and of all its detachments and is embodied in the practical accomplishments of the toiling masses.

Soon after the 26th party congress, the Moscow City Party Organization carried out important organizational and mass-political measures for the study, dissemination and interpretation of its materials. At the beginning of March the Moscow party aktiv discussed the results of the congress and the tasks facing the city party organization based on the congress' resolutions. The tasks formulated by the congress were discussed also at rayon party aktiv meetings, by all party organizations in the city, at meetings of the party aktiv of many sectors of the urban economy, at sessions of the Moscow city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, at a city Komsomol committee plenum, and at meetings held by the city's trade union and people's control aktivs.

During the discussions of the tasks formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party members and working people in the capital expressed their deep satisfaction with its results, their total support and approval of the party's domestic and foreign policy and the comprehensive activities of the CC CPSU and Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political and state leader of our time and loyal continuator of the great Lenin's cause.

With a view to the implementation of the party congress resolutions, the city party committee bureaus formulated and ratified a specific plan for long-term measures which calls for the implementation of a broad range of organizational, mass-political and other measures covering all aspects of the activities of the city party organization. Such plans were developed also by the rayon party committees and the party, soviet, economic and public organizations. Their main direction and content is the all-round development of the creative activity of the working people, the extensive utilization of acquired experience and of the possibilities and reserves for upgrading work effectiveness and quality, for the sake of achieving high end results by all labor collectives, and the successful implementation of the 1981 plan and of the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The discussion of the tasks formulated by the congress and the elaboration of the plans for their implementation are merely the initial stage of a tremendous amount of long-range work. The major and steady organizational efforts of the entire city party organization will be required in order to insure the strict implementation of the decisions of the party congress. It was precisely this that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev discussed: "The congress equipped the party and all the units within our political system with a clear and efficient program. The main thing now is to fill this program with real accomplishments and to organize, as Lenin taught us, the firm and united joint work of millions of people."

First of all, it is important to define the sectors on which we must focus our main efforts so that we may considerably raise the level and effectiveness of the organizational work required for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. In this connection, the rayon party committee bureau submitted for discussion by the Moscow City Party Committee Plenum the item "On the Tasks of the Moscow City Party Organization Related to Improving Organizational-Party Work in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Instructions and Recommendations of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary."

With a view to insuring the successful implementation of the decisions of the congress, the city party committee plenum deemed it necessary for all units within the city party organization to implement measures for strengthening the party's guidance of economic and cultural construction and for upgrading further the militancy of all party organizations and improving the management practices of the soviets, economic organs and public organizations. To improve organizational-party work means to insure the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life and of the principles of democratic centralism. It means to improve the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres, the organization of control over the implementation of decisions, the selection of the best representatives of the working people, of the working class above all, for CPSU membership, the strengthening of party discipline, upgrading the ideological tempering of party members and strengthening their ties with the masses.

At the dawn of the Soviet system V. I. Lenin said that in order to progress rapidly and to make the country powerful and plentiful, "we have the necessary materials in terms of natural resources, manpower and the splendid scope which the great revolution opened to the creativity of the people..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 80). Today we can add to this the tremendous economic and scientific and technical power of the USSR and the rich experience in the building of the new life acquired by the party and the people. We have truly everything necessary for our confident progress toward the great cherished goal--communism. "National economic management," the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress pointed out, "is the core of all party and governmental activities. It is precisely in the area of economics that the foundations are laid for the solution of social problems and for strengthening the country's defense capability and the foundations for an active foreign policy. It is precisely here that the necessary prerequisites are created for successful progress by Soviet society toward communism."

The Moscow City Party Organization is working actively for the implementation of the party's economic and social policy. Key long-term problems of urban economic and cultural development are discussed at city and rayon party conferences, plenums and aktiv meetings. The party members focus their attention on upgrading labor productivity and the quality of industrial output, accelerating the pace of scientific and technical progress, the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises, improvements in capital construction, and paying greater attention to the needs and demands of the working people.

Essentially, each rayon party organization has gained valuable experience. Zhdanovskiy, Proletarskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy and other rayon party committees are skillfully directing the activities of primary party organizations for the successful solution of problems of improving production management and of the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises. The Baumanskiy, Frunzenskiy, Sovetskiy, Leninskiy and Oktyabrskiy rayon party committees pay serious attention to the organizational strengthening of the party organizations and to improving control over the implementation of party and government directives. The Voroshilovskiy, Perovskiy, Timiryazevskiy, Zelenogradskiy and other rayon party committees are doing a great deal for the implementation of the plans for the socioeconomic development of enterprises and for making their rayons exemplary. The activities of the Kalininskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Kirovskiy and Pervomayskiy rayon party committees are noted for their creative approach to problems of communist upbringing and for asserting the norms of the socialist way of life.

The city has more than 9,600 primary party organizations. One out of three in industry, construction and transportation numbers more than 100 members and one out of six is headed by a party committee, 43 of which have rayon party committee status. As a rule, the activities of the primary party organizations are rich in content and interesting and varied in form, and have a decisive influence on all aspects of the life of labor collectives.

For example, the work of the party organization at the Automotive Plant imeni Likhachev is noted for its great purposefulness. The party committee persistently directs the efforts of the party organizations and of the entire collective toward

the implementation of state plans, improving production effectiveness and increasing the production of superior quality goods. To this effect it makes skillful use of party and workers' meetings, competition by skill, economic training of cadres and submission of reports by economic managers and party members. The council of party organization secretaries is of great assistance in the fullest possible utilization of the association's reserves.

The successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and of the high pre-congress pledges by the working people of Moscow was insured as a result of the organizational work done by the city's party members and their ability to rally and lead the masses. Standing on labor guard in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress, by 23 February more than 300,000 workers had completed their original plans for January and February, and many of them for the first quarter of 1981 as well. As a result, the city's industrial enterprises fulfilled their quarterly marketing plan 101.3 percent and their labor productivity plan 101.8 percent. All industrial enterprises fulfilled their plans for the volume of goods marketed. The assignment on the production of the majority of most important commodities was implemented.

In connection with the decisions of the congress the city party organization considers it its task to raise the level of organizational work even higher and to insure the steady improvement of the party's guidance of economic and cultural construction. A decisive conversion to intensive factors of economic growth, higher work effectiveness and quality and stable implementation of the five-year plan assignments by all enterprises and organizations are the main guidelines in such activities. It is important to reach a faster rate of increase of labor productivity compared with the increased volume of output and to create and master new types of commodities on a high technical standard and a high quality level.

The Moscow party organizations are trying to make labor not only more productive but more meaningful, more interesting and creative, and to resolve more rapidly problems such as the elimination of heavy physical labor, improvements in working and living conditions, progress in the area of distribution, effective utilization of public consumption funds and the more skillful and full implementation of the material and spiritual opportunities for the all-round development of the individual and the molding of the new man.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress that "energetic and competent party leadership is of decisive significance. Further progress will be achieved by the entire country if each party organization uses all available possibilities and establishes the necessary order in all its activities in its sector." The requirement of increasing the role of elective organs in the management of economic construction applies, above all, to the city party committee. It is this committee precisely which must encourage the intensification of organizational work by all party organs and party organizations, the systematic observance of democratic and Leninist norms of party life, collective management, strengthening the discipline of cadres and party members and enhancing their feeling of responsibility for the state of affairs in their organizations. The city party committee must constantly analyze and disseminate progressive work experience among the party organizations. It must teach the cadres the skill to single out the main features of their activities and to complete initiated projects. Naturally, these tasks face the rayon party committees as well.

Let us point out that as yet not everything is being done properly. Sometimes the economic processes of enterprises and the condition of the moral-psychological climate in the collectives are studied inadequately. Measures for the prevention and elimination of shortcomings are not taken promptly. Not all rayon party committees skillfully focus the efforts of party organizations and labor collectives on basic long-term problems and on the strict implementation of the decrees of superior organs and of their own resolutions.

Party management effectiveness greatly depends on the work style of rayon party committees. Essential long-term tasks may become buried in a mass of details if the rayon party committee does not rely on the party aktiv properly, gives little practical aid to the party organizations, holds an excessive number of conferences and wastes a great deal of time on the solution of secondary problems which, furthermore, should be resolved by the economic organs.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress call for further improvements in the party's guidance in implementation of formulated economic policy. One of the main tasks is to upgrade the role of the primary party organizations in the struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans, the strict observance of state and planning discipline, the organization of the production of new types of goods, the use of progressive technology based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the strengthening of ties between science and production.

In the previous five-year plan the Krasnyy Bogatyr Production Association in Moscow worked well. For example, production of moisture-proof shoes made of the latest materials reached 55 percent, accounting for 40 percent of the overall volume of output today, as a result of the use of more advanced technology. The personnel engaged in such processes account for less than 8 percent of all workers, and 35 percent of the association's output bears the Emblem of Quality. Every year 9-10 new shoe models are produced. One of the most important reasons for the success of the association is that all basic problems of its collective are always at the center of attention of the party organization. They are discussed at party committee sessions and party meetings and in shops and sectors. Here organizational-party and political-educational work have been combined. Effective control of execution is maintained. Today the association's collective is among the leaders in the socialist competition.

This five-year plan, guided by the tasks set by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress, the working people of many Moscow plants such as the Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev, Krasnyy Proletariy and imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Building Plants, the Plant for Automotive Tractor Electrical Equipment imeni 60-Letiya Oktyabrya, the Plant for Calculating-Analytical Machines, the Moskovskiy Elektrolampovyy Zarod Association, the Curtains and Lace Work Plant, Mostochlegmas, the shoe manufacturing plant, the Cotton Fabrics Factory imeni Frunze and others are particularly concentrating on the extensive utilization of the achievements of science and technology in order to conserve labor, material and energy resources. The party organizations and labor collectives of many Moscow enterprises supported this initiative, which was approved by the city party committee bureau and by a CC CPSU report.

The socialist obligations of these collectives are based on specific plans for organizational-technical measures, which are directed toward the finding and utilization of all production reserves, the accelerated practical utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the reduction of manual and underproductive labor and the development of progressive equipment and technology. For example, the Krasnyy Proletariy Machine Tool Building Plant plans to raise the level of labor mechanization to 70 percent, insure the extensive use of brigade labor organization methods and lower specific material, raw material and energy outlays. This will make it possible to overfulfill the plan for the volume of marketing by one million rubles this very year. The plant will be the first in the world to organize the production of general purpose and specialized programmed machine tools, controlled by minicomputers, on an assembly line basis with conveyor belts. This will release 6,000 machine tool workers and save 90 million rubles.

The increased scale of output and intensified specialization and concentration require further improvements in the activities of the party organizations of production and scientific-production associations, of which there are more than 170 in Moscow today. The activities of councils of secretaries and the holding of joint party aktiv and practical science conferences have developed into effective methods for the coordination of their work.

Particular attention must be paid to the small organizations, above all in the service industry. As was pointed out at the congress, these sectors must meet the daily needs and requirements of the population. As a result of the measures which were taken, the number of collectives with party members among their personnel in this area rose by 300 over the past year. However, many trade, public catering and service enterprises with no party members among their personnel remain in Moscow. The various departments of the Moscow City Party Committee and the party raykoms are taking additional measures to strengthen the party nuclei at enterprises in the service industry by improving the deployment of party members, assigning to work in this area party members transferred from other economic sectors and accepting as party members progressive and most conscientious workers.

Each new assignment formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress requires certain improvements in organizational party work. Naturally, such work cannot be conducted with the old methods. The essential feature of the 11th Five-Year Plan is the fact that higher growth rates of output in group B industrial sectors compared with the output of group A sectors are contemplated. This may require corresponding plan amendments. Presently, the Moscow construction organizations total about 5,500 cost-effectiveness brigades; more than 16,000 brigades in industry work on the basis of a single order. However, not all of them have party groups. The city party committee plenum has called for a profound study of the existing structure of the party organizations in a number of economic sectors in the city. The experience in the creation of integrated party organizations gained in the course of the construction of projects for the Moscow Olympic Games by some trade firms and by party groups at target projects will be applied more energetically.

As we know, a food-supply program is being drafted on the instruction of the 26th CPSU Congress. In this connection, the Moscow City Party Committee is doing some work with all party organizations, above all with those whose collectives have something to do with agricultural production.

Recently, the gorkom bureau discussed the item "On the Work of the Party and Economic Managers of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Machine Building imeni V. P. Goryachkin on Mobilizing the Collective for the Creation of Highly Productive Machine Systems for Agricultural Production and for Accelerating Their Practical Utilization in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress." The party committee and economic management of the institute were instructed to focus the attention of the collective on the development of highly productive, durable and reliable machines which would insure the further enhancement of labor productivity in agricultural production, the mechanization of all basic types of operations, and the improvement of the mechanizers' working conditions and labor safety.

The city and rayon party committees and the primary party organizations of Moscow are engaged in specific organizational-political work on the implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Additional Measures for Insuring the Harvesting of the Crop and the Procurement of Agricultural Commodities and Fodder in 1981 and the Successful Wintering of the Cattle in the 1981-82 Period." The farms in Moscow Oblast, union republics and other krays and oblasts in the country will be given the necessary assistance so that this year's crop may reach the graneries of the state without losses.

The shop party organizations and party groups play an important role in all party work. Over the past five years the number of shop party organizations in Moscow rose by 1,200 and that of party groups by 3,000. This has created conditions for strengthening the party's influence in production subunits. The party organizations have begun to support more actively everything new and progressive born of the energy and initiative of the working people.

In accordance with the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan" particular attention is being paid to the development of the competition in brigades, sectors and sections. The party organizations have been issued the specific assignment of creating in each labor collective an atmosphere of truly creative search, labor activeness and comradesly mutual aid, high responsibility for assignments and intolerance of shortcomings and violations of labor discipline. In organizing the competition under the slogan of "To Work Effectively and Qualitatively!" the party organizations must develop a thrifty attitude toward the people's good and achieve high results with lowest possible outlays. The efforts of the competitors will be focused on accelerating the growth of labor productivity, improving production quality, saving on raw materials, materials, fuel and electric power, insuring the better use of productive capital and strictly implementing the plans for the production and delivery of goods in accordance with stipulated deadlines and variety.

The skillful use of the right to control administrative activities becomes particularly important in the struggle for the implementation of the party's economic policy. More than 5,750 commissions on most important aspects of production activities have been set up at Moscow enterprises and organizations. They number about 28,000 party members with workers accounting for one-fourth of the total. The level of requirements facing such commissions is growing, particularly in connection with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The methods of party control over the implementation of plans and the development of production must be improved.

Greater reliance must be placed on progressive experience in this work. Specific measures aimed at improving the activities of all enterprises and establishments without exception must be drafted and implemented.

2

It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that the party relies extensively on the entire system of political organizations in Soviet society in conducting its organizational and political work among the masses. The adoption of the new USSR Constitution created favorable conditions for the further democratization of our life and for increasing the initiative of soviet and all public organizations.

The party gorkom and raykoms are always concerned with improving the activities of the soviets and with enhancing the responsibility of party members in the fulfillment of their obligations as deputies. They are a major power in the city. There are about 5,500 party members who are deputies in Moscow soviets. Ties between soviets and labor collectives have been strengthened substantially. Currently there are about 1,100 production deputy groups and posts set up by the soviets.

The most important thing now, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 1 April session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is for the soviets of people's deputies to join most actively in the work for the implementation of the congress' decisions. It is politically important to pay the greatest possible attention to all valuable suggestions formulated by the deputies at previous sessions, so that not one of them is forgotten and that every initiative of the people may yield maximum returns. The city and rayon soviets must see to it that work in the service industry is improved and the food procurement program is successfully implemented in the city. They must do everything possible to increase the production of consumer goods and to fulfill the plans for the construction of housing, schools, hospitals and kindergartens. The city party organization is doing everything possible to make the soviets strict and exigent masters and to make better use of their control and coordination rights. In Lenin's words, we are trying to achieve a "flexible combination of what is soviet and what is party," for this is "the source of the exceptional strength of our policy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 399).

As was pointed out at the congress, comprehensive people's control is a necessary component of Soviet democracy. Currently Moscow enterprises and organizations have more than 57,000 people's control groups and posts with 340,000 members. The party organizations closely see to it that better use is made of the people's controllers in the correction of shortcomings and identification of production reserves.

The importance of the trade unions as the most widespread organization of the working people rises under contemporary conditions. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that occasionally the trade unions lack sufficient initiative in the implementation of their extensive rights. They are not always insistent in matters related to the implementation of collective contracts or labor safety. They still react weakly to violations of labor legislation, bureaucracy and red tape. A discussion of the work of standing production conferences by the Moscow City Party Committee Bureau indicated that Moscow's trade union organs failed to exercise adequate influence on the development of the production and social activity of the working people and on their involvement in production management.

The trade union organizations have rather extensive and comprehensive assignments and rights. "The party," the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress emphasizes, "considers the trade unions its reliable support among the masses and a powerful means for the development of democracy and for involving the working people in the building of communism." This will require further improvements in the work of the trade union organizations in all directions, mainly in increasing the effectiveness of the socialist competition. In this area more specific, operative and better publicized work must be done. It is a question of raising the educational significance of labor competitiveness, developing the movement toward a communist attitude toward labor and intensifying the struggle for model enterprises and establishments.

The 26th CPSU Congress called for the further strengthening of the party's leadership of the Komsomol. In Moscow about 60 percent of secretaries of primary Komsomol organizations and one out of five Komsomol organizers or secretaries of Komsomol shop organizations are party members; all in all, nearly 44,000 party members have been directed into elective Komsomol work. The capital's Komsomol is making a substantial contribution to the development of Moscow's economy and culture and is sponsoring most important construction projects and service industries.

However, shortcomings remain in the solution of the main Komsomol task, the communist upbringing of the growing generation. It is the duty of every party member to strengthen the educational work of Komsomol organizations and to improve the labor, moral and ideological-political upbringing of the youth. In this assignment the city party organization is guided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction that "In our country experience confirmed in the course of decades proves the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. This entire wealth must be passed on to the youth. This is a reliable guarantee that the Soviet youth will always bear the banner of communism high!"

In increasing its influence in the soviets and the public organizations, and in enhancing their efforts, the city party organization is relying to an ever greater extent on the broad toiling strata, on the population. As was emphasized at the congress, the party's strength lies in its unity with the people. Its leading role in society is determined by the fact that the CPSU is steadily strengthening its ties with the people's masses and is sharing their interests and concerns. The city and rayon party committees are guiding the efforts of party, soviet, economic and public organizations in the city toward paying greater attention to the needs and requirements of the working people and the further improvement of their working, living and leisure-time conditions. They exercise strict daily control over the implementation of the congress's decisions on these matters.

3

V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the success of a project depends on the selection of the people and on control of execution. The 26th CPSU Congress reemphasized the need for further improvements in the quality structure and deployment of leading cadres. Thanks to the systematic implementation of the Leninist cadre policy the capital has a skilled and politically mature detachment of party and soviet workers and professionally trained economic managers.

The city and rayon party committees pay particular attention to strengthening the structure of party organization secretaries. Corresponding efforts were made in the course of the latest accountability and election campaign to improve the qualitative structure of elective party cadres. Presently a considerable share of them have party-political training while 64 percent are specialists in the national economy. About one-half of the primary party organizations are headed by women. The party organization secretaries are essentially competent, principle-minded and initiative-minded people who enjoy the trust of the party members and the respect of labor collectives.

We must admit, however, that 279 of the secretaries of primary party organizations who were replaced last year had been in their jobs for less than one year; 14 were released for being incompetent or for having compromised themselves.

The CPSU gorkom and raykoms are always tirelessly concentrating on strengthening the composition and enhancing the reputation of party organization secretaries and the party aktiv and on teaching them how to organize their work properly and helping them to master the art of party leadership.

The qualitative structure of managers of soviet, trade union and youth organizations and economic organs has improved in Moscow in recent years. Their organizational activities, great experience and competence insure to a decisive extent the successful implementation of national economic plans. Nevertheless, in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress, a stricter selection of cadres must be made. Party, soviet, trade union, economic and other organs must be strengthened above all by recruiting people with direct practical experience among the broad toiling masses, people with the necessary practical and ideological-theoretical training. The creation of a reliable cadre reserve and the comprehensive testing of the practical and personal qualities of people promoted to leading positions have been, and remain, important tasks.

The city party organization is contemplating the more effective utilization of the existing system for the training and upbringing of the party aktiv and of the councils and offices for organizational-party work. It intends to continue the sponsoring of conferences for secretaries of primary party organizations and of seminars for secretaries of shop party organizations, party group organizers and enterprise managers. The leading cadres must set permanent examples of high idea-mindedness, loyalty to the party and the homeland, and strict observance of the CPSU bylaws and of the laws of the state. They must set models of party-mindedness, efficiency, exigency toward themselves and others and high moral standards.

The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the party is paying greater attention to control over execution of decisions. The CC CPSU is setting the example in the organization of control. It supervises closely the strict observance of party directives and guides the party and soviet organs toward the enhancement of executive discipline. The city party organization is improving control ways and means. The party gorkom and raykoms and their party commissions have energized the struggle against violations of party and state discipline. They are exposing and uprooting cases of parochialism, irresponsibility and negligence. As a rule, party organ decrees are passed on the basis of a thorough study of the situation and a realistic consideration of existing possibilities.

Tasks are specifically formulated and the deadlines and individuals responsible for their implementation are named. The art of management, as congress delegates said, is found not in the aspiration to multiply and expand directives on each subject. The gorkom is doing everything possible to make each one of its decrees specific, containing practical recommendations and indicating how to organize the work better. It intends to continue to upgrade its exigency toward cadres and to take strictly to task those who fail to implement party decisions.

The skill to recruit the best people within the party is one of the prerequisites for the strengthening of party ranks and a most important structural component of all organizational-party work. In discussing the qualities of party members needed for the implementation of decisions in his speech at the closing of the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew particular attention to the high feeling of responsibility, firm conscious discipline, aspiration toward tireless creative searching, active support of the new and display of initiative always and in everything. These requirements are basic in upgrading the vanguard role of party members, their deployment and their upbringing. Such are the high criteria adopted by the city party organization in choosing new party reinforcements. Our annual average numerical growth is 2.2 percent. The instructions of CPSU Congresses on strengthening party ranks with the best representatives of the working class are being implemented consistently. Over the past five years more than 60,000 workers have been accepted into the party, accounting for 46.6 percent of the entire growth of the party organization.

While regulating the growth of their ranks, the party organizations are taking into consideration the ever-rising role which the intelligentsia is playing in the life of the city. Over the past five years the party ranks were joined by more than 55,000 of the best members of the intelligentsia, i.e., 25 percent more than in the preceding five-year period. Today approximately one out of four graduate specialists in Moscow is a party member. The role of women in social life is rising thanks to systematically implemented measures. Currently there are 317,000 women party members in the city. The number of young people joining the party has increased. Komsomol members account for more than one-half of the overall number of new CPSU members. All this contributes to the preservation of the continuity of traditions in the city party organization, the increased party influence among the various categories of working people and the successful implementation of their tasks.

Let us emphasize that the new CPSU reinforcements are distinguished by their high political maturity and increased professional and general educational standards. Today more than 80 percent of Muscovite party members are higher and secondary school graduates. The increased number of worker-party members at enterprises in sectors which determine the pace of scientific and technical progress represents a positive trend. Thus, over the past five years the number of party members rose by nearly 5 percent at Moscow machine tool manufacturing enterprises, 20 percent in the electronic industry and 12 percent in the radio industry. The work on recruiting workers in leading skills as party members has been improved.

The party gorkom is doing a great deal to continue to enhance the significance of candidate-party membership, to upgrade the responsibility of those recommending new members and to intensify the upbringing of young party members. The reinforcement of party ranks with the best among the best, with the most worthy representatives of the working people, is the final objective of the entire party selection work.

The combat capability of the party organizations depends largely on active work, on the assumption of a vanguard role by every party member in production and social life. Most party members are in the leadership in the socialist competition. They organize important patriotic initiatives and set the example in the observance of the moral principles of the population of a model communist city. Thousands of party members in Moscow were presented with state awards for selfless labor, based on the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The appeal to frontranking Moscow workers who were delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress to complete the first year plan by 7 November 1981 met with broad response among the labor collectives throughout the country.

However, not all party organizations are showing the necessary concern for the development of the labor and political activeness of party members and for upgrading the responsibility for the strict observance of the stipulations of CPSU bylaws. Many party organizations are underestimating the importance of individual upbringing methods. Naturally, the growth of the political and production activeness of a party member and the enhancement of his vanguard role among nonparty people remains, above all, a matter of conscience for the party member himself. "He who forgets his obligation to be ahead of everyone in formulating, sensitizing and resolving a general democratic problem of whatever nature" is not a party member. Lenin said this nearly 80 years ago (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 83). The accuracy and significance of it to every member of the Leninist party remain unquestionable to this day.

To upgrade exactingness toward party members and insure the further strengthening of party discipline remain the most important tasks of each party organization. "We must most emphatically stress that our attitude toward those who behave improperly and who violate the party bylaws and norms of party morality was, is and will remain irreconcilable. There must be no allowances made for anyone when it becomes a question of the honor and prestige of our party and the purity of its ranks!" All city party organizations are strictly guided by this instruction formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Conscious discipline is impossible without every party member's profound interpretation of party policy and familiarity with the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. The ideological tempering of party members is a mandatory prerequisite for raising the activeness in the implementation of the political course charted by the 26th CPSU Congress. The gorkom is doing everything possible to uproot entirely manifestations of formalism in the work of party education schools and seminars, in order for classes to be closely related to reality and for propaganda cadres to meet the strict requirements of our times. A positive experience has been acquired in this respect by the party organization of the Moscow marshaling yard depot and by many others whose party committees held discussions with the party members on the study and implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The task here is clear: to link these decisions with the life of every party member and working person. This project was extensively supported and was approved by the Moscow City Party Committee Plenum.

Our public production sector offers infinite opportunities for the display of high idea-mindedness by the party members. As Lenin said, to be ahead of everyone in discipline and energy is what the party members in the capital consider their vocation. With their dedicated and creative toil and attitude toward civic obligations

the frontranking worker-party members set examples of unity between word and action, which is mandatory for any party member. Having assumed strict obligations for the first year of the five-year plan the Muscovites who were congress delegates and more than 250,000 of their followers backed their plans with precise engineering-economic computations. In the case of V. Gridneva, a weaver at the Oktyabr' Worsted Production Association, and V. Pogibeleva, a spinning worker at the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Cotton Fabrics Combine in Moscow, such computations have made it possible to condense servicing of technological equipment. As a result of such computations the innovation efforts of Ye. Kop'yev, turner at the Machine Tools Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, and V. Sokolov, locomotive engineer at the Moscow marshaling yard depot, have become more effective. They clearly illustrate the way the high idea-mindedness of a party member is displayed in his actions.

It was noted at the plenum that some party organizations and ideological workers allow a certain one-sidedness in propagandizing the material benefits whose volume will increase in the 11th Five-Year Plan in the course of the study of the congress' materials. Little is being said about the responsibility of every working person for the creation of such goods and for the need to increase labor productivity at his job. Insufficient help is being given in the formulation of individual production plants for 1981 and for the entire five-year plan, and counter-planning is not being encouraged.

The Moscow City Party Committee Plenum called for making a decisive turn toward improvements in ideological work and seeing to it that the party education system would teach the people, in Lenin's expression, "to act as is indeed required by communism."

4

Improvements in organizational-party work are based on the observance of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of democratic centralism. Party meetings are of tremendous importance in the exercise of collective leadership of the life of party organizations and in developing the activeness of party members. Their role was manifested with particular clarity in the course of the pre-congress accountability and election campaign and in the course of the discussion of the draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990."

All in all, the city's primary party organizations held more than 100,000 meetings in 1980. Many of them were distinguished by the high activeness of the party members and their effectiveness. They contributed to the strengthening of the party's influence in various areas of economic and educational work.

Naturally, there still are organizations which violate the periods for the holding of meetings, as stipulated by the CPSU bylaws, where meetings are not attended by all party members regularly and whose activity remains low. We draw the necessary conclusions from all this. With a view to insuring the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress we must see to it that the meetings held by each party organization in the city take place on a high and creative level. The party members must express critical remarks on specific problems and raise questions which affect the party members. Such meetings must become real

courses in party education. Life demands the firm elimination of cases in which, instead of seeking the comradely advice of the party members at the meetings, some managers consider them a suitable opportunity for criticism from above and for issuing instructions. Party committee secretaries and CPSU gorkom and raykom personnel must not simply be present at meetings held by primary party units but help them in their preparation and holding and in organizing control over the execution of decisions.

In increasing the effectiveness of the meetings we must see to it that each one of them becomes an event in the life of the party organization, takes place in an atmosphere of free and businesslike exchange of views and high principle-mindedness and reciprocal exactingness, and that all valuable suggestions made by the party members are implemented.

Our party and its central committee are paying constant attention to the further development of criticism and self-criticism. They consider a critical attitude toward accomplishments one of the basic features of party life, as well as of party strength, conscious discipline and organization within party ranks.

Broad and frank criticism and an attentive attitude toward the remarks and suggestions of party members have become an inseparable feature of the work style of Moscow's party organizations. In the last accountability and election meetings the party members expressed more than 97,000 critical remarks and suggestions, or twice the number as on the eve of the 25th CPSU Congress.

It was V. I. Lenin's belief that direct and honest criticism and the free discussion of sensitive problems was the only means for identifying ills. The only possible treatment in this case is self-criticism, which makes it possible to reach to the root of phenomena and to determine jointly how to correct shortcomings. The stipulation of the 26th CPSU Congress on the need comprehensively to intensify the positive trend of the development of criticism and self-criticism and encourage in all party organizations a spirit of self-criticism and intolerance of shortcomings is the direct extension of Lenin's words. Each party organization has the duty to carry out Lenin's behests and congress instructions strictly.

It was emphasized at the congress that intraparty information is an inseparable element of CPSU activities. The city party organization has developed a specific system for informing the aktiv and the party members about the work of the party organs and about the results of decisions, suggestions and critical remarks. The city press, radio and television provide extensive coverage of the life of the party organizations.

Information received from below, from the party organizations and labor collectives, has become fuller and richer. Public opinion and the feelings and requirements of the working people are being studied. All CPSU raykoms and 260 party committees have established voluntary sectors and more than 2,000 party information people work in the primary party organizations.

The party gorkom and raykoms will continue to implement specific measures to raise the effectiveness of party information and increase publicity of the work of elective party organs as an important means of strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

The letters and suggestions of the working people are of tremendous importance in party work. They help the party committees to determine the circumstances better and to assess more objectively the activities of party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations. The Moscow City Party Committee received about 29,000 letters in 1980 alone. Characteristically, the number of letters discussing organizational-party work rose by nearly one-third. This confirms the interest shown by the Muscovites in improving the activities of party organizations and upgrading their fighting spirit.

The study of the letters received by the city party committee leads to two basic conclusions. On the one hand, the letters and statements by the citizens could and should be considered an important source of information from below. They frequently raise questions to the solution of which greater attention should be paid. In 1980 alone the city party committee bureau and the rayon city party committees considered about 400 problems raised in the letters sent by Muscovites. This contributed to the operative elimination of hidden shortcomings. On the other hand, some of the complaints are the result of serious omissions and indifference on the part of those who should resolve such problems locally.

The Moscow city and rayon party committees, primary party organizations, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and economic managers must be guided in their handling of letters and suggestions of the working people by the stipulations formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress. Every party worker and manager must consider the responsive and attentive attitude toward letters, requests and complaints formulated by citizens a duty to the people and the party.

Specific measures aimed at improving the ways and means of work with letters, the more efficient organization of the reception of citizens and the consolidation of acquired positive experience and the elimination of shortcomings which trigger complaints are being comprehensively formulated and implemented. Permanent party control has been assumed over the implementation of all the promises given on the basis of letters addressed to the 26th CPSU Congress.

Life indicates that the level at which all economic and educational problems are resolved is determined largely by the extent to which the organizational work for their implementation has been organized efficiently and purposefully.

The dominant feature in the entire organizational and political work of the Moscow City Party Organization is the extensive interpretation and study of the documents of the congress and the mobilization of the working people for the strict implementation of the congress' socioeconomic problems and of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The Moscow party members will dedicate all their efforts to setting an example of political maturity, conscientiousness and efficiency in the implementation of the tasks formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress. The city party organization is fully resolved to confirm through its practical actions that it was, is and will remain a combat detachment of the party and a reliable support of the Leninist Central Committee and the CC CPSU Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in the struggle for building a communist society.

## THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND CULTURAL TASKS

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[Article by P. Demichev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of culture]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress and its historical results are influencing all aspects of the life of Soviet society, the solution of the practical problems of the building of communism and the entire contemporary international situation ever more profoundly. This is convincing proof of the scientific and realistic nature and the sociopolitical accuracy and Marxist-Leninist principle-mindedness of the decisions made at the congress.

The 26th congress was an exciting demonstration of party unity and monolithic solidarity with the Leninist CPSU Central Committee. It formulated and ratified a scientific program for the country's socioeconomic and political development, provided a comprehensive study of the characteristics of our time and defined the path for the solution of topical problems in the life of socialist society.

The entire work of the congress was focused on the "Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in the Field of Domestic and Foreign Policy," submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary. The report convincingly proves the historical advantages of socialism as a social system. It brings up the characteristics of the current stage in the cooperation among fraternal socialist countries, comprehensively substantiates the need for completing the transition of the USSR national economy to intensive economic growth and analyzes the basic laws governing the development of social relations and spiritual life under mature socialist conditions.

The congress was a historical event in international life. The major constructive initiatives formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev offer a broad scope for the solution of the most topical problems of our time in the interest of strengthening peace and the security of nations, improving the international circumstances, developing efficient cooperation among countries and rebuffing those who have tried to turn the world back to the Cold War of late.

The accuracy and depth of the political analysis of the problems facing mankind, the efficient practical recommendations aimed at their solution, the constructive and specific approach and skill of the formulated problems and Marxist-Leninist principle-mindedness are all proofs that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report is an out-

standing document of creative Marxism-Leninism in which the Leninist party provides a clear answer to all basic contemporary problems.

## I

The party takes carefully into consideration in its policies the characteristics of the various stages in the building of a communist society. The conditions of developed socialism have objectively faced Soviet culture and art with new tasks. These tasks were theoretically substantiated in the documents of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's reports and addresses. The new theoretical conclusions have been reflected in the documents of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government which provide a practical solution to the basic problems of cultural construction, ranging from the development of library work, amateur art, folk artistic endeavors and work with creative youth to the all-round and profound substantiation of the means and prospects of shaping the new man as found in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

Today the solution of problems of cultural construction has become a project of the entire Soviet people. In the period of preparation for the congress and in the course of the discussions of the draft CC CPSU guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," working people and men of literature and the arts formulated many valuable ideas and suggestions and showed great interest in the correct solution of topical problems of socialist culture.

Increased social interest in culture is greatly determined by the energizing of literature and art and their turn toward contemporary problems and expanded and intensified ties with the building of communism and the life of the people.

The party's cultural construction line is presented in its concentrated aspect in the works of L. I. Brezhnev and in his report to the 26th CPSU Congress. In a few words, what are the main lines of the party's strategy in the area of cultural construction?

First, a course toward reaching permanent coordination between the socioeconomic development of the country and the development of the spiritual life of society and of the culture. Second, the assertion of a proper ideological direction and of a high artistic level of socialist art and the strengthening of its ties with the life of the people and the building of communism. Third, raising the social and ideological effectiveness of all realms of culture and increasing its influence on resolving problems of the communist upbringing of the working people, strengthening friendship among the peoples of the USSR and developing in every person an active life stance, progressive morality and ideological convictions. Fourth, increasing the influence of culture and art on the solution of key socioeconomic and scientific and technical problems, creating a favorable moral-political climate in labor collectives, and insuring a favorable influence on the processes of the elimination of major disparities between town and country and on the molding of a harmoniously developed individual.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a detailed description of the basic features of the development of Soviet art following the 25th CPSU Congress. "It is the job of

literary critics and art experts," he said, "to make professional judgments. We believe, however, that all readers, viewers and listeners feel that a new tidal wave is rising in Soviet art. Many talented works have been created in all republics in recent years. This applies to literature, the theater, motion pictures, music, painting and sculpture." This high rating inspires all workers in the field of Soviet culture and all men of literature and the arts to new accomplishments.

The development of Soviet art is based on the scientific Leninist principles of party-mindedness and nationality, which have been tested by life itself. The method of socialist realism defines the direction of Soviet art and its inseparable ties with the life of the people and the building of communism.

Under contemporary conditions, as was noted in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," particular attention should be paid "to the creation of new significant works of literature and art, which depict with talent the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people and problems of the development of socialist society." Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report emphasized the significance of works of art which contain lofty revolutionary motifs, recreate the characters of fiery revolutionaries, teach love for the homeland and firmness in trials, create the vivid characters of our contemporaries, actively involve themselves in resolving the problems facing our society, bring up the complex inner world of the individual and raise profound moral questions.

Soviet classical works of literature and art are distinguished by the fact that they are the image of a positive hero whose entire life asserts progressive communist principles and ideals and provides answers to the questions of today: how to live, what to fight for, and what is the meaning of the life of the builder of a new society. These questions acquire their own specifics, their characteristics at each new stage in the building of communism. The answer to them requires profound thinking which will convince the people and will help them to find their true path in life. Also important is the fact that in recent years a trend toward the ever deeper interpretation of the vital problems and positive ideals of the heroes of our time has become clearly defined in Soviet art.

This trend was manifested in its most concentrated and clearest manner in the exhibit "We Are Building Communism," which was dedicated to the 26th party congress. It clearly reflected the fruitful search for the typical features of the hero of our time, stemming from the thick of real life, from reality itself. The themes of the heroic exploit of the Soviet people, of labor, and of the building of communism, grandiose in terms of its historical meaning, dominated the exhibit. The character of the contemporary hero was shown as a complex image, as a trend based on the study of numerous paintings and sculptures. We saw the concise depiction of a person under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, engaged in the implementation of great plans. Let us hope that our artists are on the threshold of major artistic summations and that works will appear marking a new significant step forward in the development of all Soviet graphic arts. This hope is reinforced by the enriched ways and means of artistic expression and the amazing variety of topics. It was as if the exhibit opened for us a window to the very rich life of society and of the Soviet people, a window to their problems and emotions and thoughts of the future. It offered the visitors a view of

the Soviet homeland and its nature. It reflected in vivid images the conquest of space and introduced us to the complex reality of foreign countries. The exhibit reflected also the progress of our decorative-applied art and the successes of stage set designers.

Extensive and fruitful work was done by all the categories of artists in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress. The results were visible on the theater stages in the capital, the concert halls and the solemn concert which was performed in honor of the delegates at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

All this was backed by the adamant efforts and creative surges of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia and its active turn to the deeper reflection of the novelties of developed socialism. Naturally, this is a complex process containing both creative successes and some difficulties.

Let us consider, for example, our theater. In the CC CPSU accountability report to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in a vivid and graphic manner the great importance of the "production theme" in the theater, emphasizing its broad social significance, the topic of the exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and that of moral strivings. This provided a powerful incentive for the creation of new plays on labor. They included works such as "Arrival and Departure" by V. Chernykh, "The 13th Chairman" by A. Abdullin, "Feedback" by A. Gel'man and many others which, although with some reservations, could be considered creative successes for the playwrights and the theaters which staged them.

The Leninist topic was developed further in a number of plays. The topic of the exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War is found in the play "Not on a List" by B. Vasil'yev, "Echelon" by M. Roshchin, "The Shore," from the book by Yu. Bondarev, "Non-Weeping Willow" by M. Alekseyev and some others. The moral topic was treated in the new plays "Faryat'yev's Fantasy" by A. Sokolova and "Money for Maria" by V. Rasputin. The staging of "The Challenge" by G. Markov and E. Shim at the Malyy Theater was interesting and profoundly meaningful.

We must particularly mention the fact that many of our theaters and directors created shows based on L. I. Brezhnev's trilogy "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdenie" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. Thus, the USSR Malyy Theater properly staged the play "Virgin Land," which was rated highly by the delegates attending the 26th CPSU Congress.

The review of the best shows staged by the theater collectives of the country in honor of the congress became a noteworthy event in theatrical life. The review clearly proved the active attraction of the Soviet theater for contemporary topics, a deeper penetration into the spiritual world of the Soviet person and the increased skill of directors and actors.

In the past five years the country's theaters did a great deal of work mastering domestic and world classics further. Although there were some difficulties and errors, as a whole, this was a broad and fruitful process.

However, it is clear that plays and settings on contemporary topics, which could justifiably be described as significant milestones in the development of the Soviet

theater, are still rare in the most important areas of stage work. Why is it so? Obviously, there are several reasons. One of the principle among them, however, is the shortage of high idea-minded and artistic plays.

We come across phenomena such as the "recycling" of some works, i.e., the duplication, sometimes on a relatively low level, of the basic ideas and methods of one or another successful play. This was the case with a number of plays on industrial topics, as the critics noted. The themes of many plays remain petty, drawing attention to problems which are on the margin of the main directions of the circles of communism and the most urgent problems of international life.

Today greater significance is ascribed to the social duties of playwrights and theaters. They must interact more closely in their work on key topics. The creation of truly outstanding works requires total dedication, even on the part of a talented playwright, an interpretation of major problems and particular philosophical depth in the interpretation of phenomena in contemporary social life. Playwrights, directors and theater companies must be able to resolve such problems.

The years which followed the 25th congress were fruitful in the area of music. The process of interaction and reciprocal enrichment among national musical cultures intensified. Composers' schools in union republics were strengthened.

Significant operas were written, for example, "The Abduction of the Moon" by O. Taktakishvili, "The Dawns Here Are Quiet" by K. Molchanov, "Dead Souls" by R. Shchedrin, "Peter I" by A. Petrov, "Song of the Virgin Land" by Ye. Rakhmadiyev and many others which were deservedly praised by Soviet audiences. New successful ballets included "Mother's Field" by K. Moldobasanov, "Macbeth" by K. Molchanov and "Ballad of the Hussar" by T. Khrennikov. Over the past five years no less than 12 to 15 works by Soviet authors were staged by each of the 78 musical theaters in the country. New operatic theaters were opened in Dnepropetrovsk and Krasnoyarsk.

Major successes were achieved in the cantata-oratorio genre, symphonic music and songs.

A great deal is being done to popularize Soviet music. Currently we are trying to record more of the outstanding works by our composers and performers. The Melodia Firm is working on improving the quality of gramophone recordings. Radio and television have been called upon to play an important role in the dissemination of the best works of music and in promoting a demanding taste. They have considerably energized their work in this area in recent years. Direct contacts between composers, music experts and performers, on the one hand, and audiences, on the other, and the proper organization of philharmonic activities are playing an increased role in the molding of high-level musical standards. Unfortunately, despite the entire tremendous and fruitful work being done by the philharmonic orchestras, we are still experiencing serious shortcomings in the organization of performances. Occasionally, commercial considerations and the desire to fulfill one's financial plan the easy way push aside the main tasks, tasks of ideological-educational and artistic nature.

The increased popularity of music is closely related to the development of the system of musical-aesthetic upbringing of children and adolescents. Weeks

dedicated to music for children and adolescents, children's music and chorus ensembles, studios and music schools have become popular. The system of musical education is improving. The Children's Music Theater in Moscow, which was given a new beautiful building, is working actively and well. Similar theaters are being opened in union republics.

The various festivals and songfests are playing an increased role in the development of the musical culture of the people. In the Baltic republics such festivals have become traditional and are tremendously successful. Currently they are gaining increased popularity in other parts of the country. The Soviet music festival held in Uzbekistan last year was a major social event. More than 2,500 composers and performers participated in it.

Soviet music has emerged in the broad global arena. However, the task of popularizing and increasing the influence of progressive and democratic traditions in world music remains topical.

The International Music Festival, attended by representatives of the musical public of 42 countries, held in Moscow between 5 and 11 May, was a significant social event. The works of some 50 composers were performed at the festival. Its slogan, "Music Is for Humanism, Peace and Friendship Among Peoples," accurately reflects its main ideological content and the lofty mission of progressive art in the modern world.

In March the USSR Academy of Fine Arts raised and discussed at its session topical problems of the graphic arts and architecture in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The tasks formulated at the congress take into consideration the contemporary level of development of these areas of creative work and the new levels reached by the thousands-strong group of Soviet artists and of the entire Soviet culture after the 26th congress.

In accordance with the decisions of the congress, at its fifth session, ninth convocation, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the law "On the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments." This is the first all-union law on the preservation of our cultural heritage in the history of Soviet legislation. The main stipulations of the law were reflected in the new USSR Constitution. On the basis of the law a standardized method was introduced for the registration of monuments and allocations for their restoration were increased. The volume of museum exhibits is being systematically raised. In five years 29,827 graphic art works were purchased.

The period under consideration was noted by energized exhibition activities. The exhibits "Glory to Labor!" (1976), "Along Lenin's Way" (on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, 1977), "Soviet Portrait 1917-1977" (1977), "Sixty Heroic Years" (on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the armed forces of the USSR, 1978), the exhibit on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the exposition "Sports Are the Ambassador of Peace," timed for the opening of the Moscow Olympics, were important events in the country's ideological and cultural life. The third international exhibit "Satire in the Struggle for Peace," visited by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other CC CPSU Politburo members, enjoyed great success. The exhibit "We Are Building Communism," which

opened on the occasion of the 26th party congress, is a summation of such rich and varied activities.

Major successes were achieved in monumental art, in the implementation of Lenin's plan for propaganda through monuments. A number of new monuments of Lenin are noteworthy, created by N. V. Tomskiy, M. K. Anikushin, Z. I. Azgur, M. F. Baburin, P. I. Bondarenko, A. P. Kibal'nikov, L. Ye. Kerbel', V. B. Pinchuk, V. Ye. Tsigal' and other sculptors.

New works of sculpture commemorate the heroes of the civil and Great Patriotic Wars, labor heroes, outstanding political leaders, scientists and masters of culture. The inauguration of a bronze bust of L. I. Brezhnev in Dneprodzerzhinsk became a major people's celebration. Our sculptors participated in the creation of monuments in many foreign countries.

Monumental graphic art was developed further. The number of sites with stained glass, mosaics and murals increased. Occasionally, however, we see here a shortage of skilled cadres, because of which some works show low ideological-artistic standards. This calls for strengthened artistic control and for increasing the responsibility of monumental artists for their work.

Our best book illustrators and draftsmen achieved good results.

Extensive work was done to implement the CC CPSU decree "On Folk Art Industries."

The Fifth Congress of USSR Painters, held in November-December 1977, was a major event in artistic life. The congress directed the masters of the graphic arts to the creation of works of major social significance. It emphasized the need for the development of a comprehensive ideological-artistic concept for the synthesis of architecture with the classic arts and for the designing and building of monuments as the ideological-emotional centers of architectural ensembles. Problems of upgrading the role of the artist in industry were formulated.

The establishment of architectural and monumental art departments, in accordance with the main stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress, became a noteworthy event for the USSR Academy of Fine Arts. This is having a major positive influence on the solution of topical problems related to the synthesis between plastic arts and architecture.

The 26th congress faced graphic art and architecture with new responsible tasks. Today priorities are given to the development of an aesthetic environment for the Soviet person, which would mold his perception of the world, artistic taste and working and living standards. This is a major long-term complex problem. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly emphasized it in his report. "It is self-evident," he said, "how important it is for everything surrounding us to bear the marks of beauty and good taste. The Olympic projects and some residential districts in Moscow, restored pearls of the past and new architectural ensembles in Leningrad and new construction in Alma-Ata, Vil'nyus, Navoi and other cities are our pride. Nevertheless, as a whole urban construction must be more artistically expressive and varied. This is in order to avoid a repetition of the story of the character in a motion picture who, finding himself inadvertently in another city, was unable to see any differences between it and his native city."

In order to find the right solution to the contemporary problems of synthesizing art in the shaping of an aesthetic environment, we must create the most favorable conditions possible for joint creative work by masters of monumental sculpture, painters, masters of decorative-applied art, designers, architects and art experts. We must coordinate better the activities between architects and masters of the monumental and decorative arts, on the one hand, and representatives of state and public organizations, on the other.

Many difficulties are caused by the lack of an adequate production-technical base and inadequate equipment in workshops.

The best achievements of our urban construction work in Moscow and other cities must be studied more closely and disseminated. We must comprehensively encourage the creation of works of art based directly on orders placed by labor collectives and the sponsorship of collectives of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses by artists. Valuable experience has already been acquired in this area.

Our attention must be focused on raising the ideological and artistic levels of graphic art further. More than ever before efforts must be concentrated on quality, on the creation of major and outstanding works depicting the heroic struggle for communism waged by the Soviet people.

Problems of the effective and skillful dissemination of the best works of Soviet art are raised to a higher level. From this viewpoint we must approach most carefully the problems of acquisitions for the USSR State Paintings Gallery and its permanent exhibit. The gallery must become one of the basic centers for the propaganda of Soviet graphic art. The bourgeois art experts are interested in concealing the achievements of our art. This is the result not of mere ignorance of the true state of affairs but a deliberate stand. It is a fact that the West grabs everything which appears in the "backyard" of our art, any violation of the principles of socialist realism. Immediate exhibits are organized, actively advertising such works, to use the term loosely, and books and albums allegedly depicting the "face" of Soviet graphic art are published. The ideological target of this entire propaganda fuss is obvious and needs no particular comment.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the great responsibility of the artist to his people. Manifestations of lack of ideas, conceptual lack of discrimination and deviation from a clear class evaluation of some historical events and figures, said he, could harm the work of even talented people. The party has not and could not be indifferent to the ideological direction of our art. Works which defame our Soviet reality must be given a principled evaluation and must be actively and firmly rebuffed.

Naturally, no one denies the complexity of the artistic interpretation of the building of socialism and of its true difficulties and, occasionally, contradictions. In this case the artist has the right to express himself. However, occasionally we also come across a shallowness in the treatment of the dialectics of social life, inability to find true ways for psychologically influencing the audience, poor mastery of the material and scorn for artistic form.

In order that such shortcomings be eliminated, literary-artistic criticism must master the entire complex set of tools with which artistic phenomena are analyzed. The profound and comprehensive understanding of social processes and phenomena in spiritual life is the only prerequisite for truly convincing and fruitful criticism. The artist and the critic, assuming that both are consumed with the progress of socialist art, the assertion of the truth of life and the building of communism, act as allies struggling for a common cause. Here again truth is above everything, above personal ambitions, sympathies and antipathies.

## II

The forward movement of Soviet society legitimately faces culture with increasingly complex problems. The objective requirements of social life and the improvement of socialist democracy raise new requirements regarding the political standards of the masses and the conscientiousness of individuals. They demand the maximum development of the creative potential of the individual. The increased amount of leisure time calls for a solution to the problems of having rich and productive recreation and of the satisfaction of the increased spiritual requirements of the Soviet person. Culture is becoming increasingly important in the communist upbringing of the working people. That is the manner in which the 26th CPSU Congress formulated the problem.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" call for assisting in the development of socialist culture and art and for upgrading their role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the people. Clearly, the solution of this important problem will require, above all, for art itself to reach a higher ideological level.

The responsibility of the artist grows as ever broader popular masses become exposed to art. The contemporary conditions of developed socialism are a clear reflection of the dialectics of the spiritual life of society and of the conversion from quantity into new quality. Today the need for art is becoming literally universal.

Interest in the theater has increased considerably. Suffice it to say that in the past five years the number of theater visitors increased by more than three million. Music has entered every home. The population is showing a tremendously increased interest in museums, which are visited by about 157 million people annually. Art exhibits enjoy great popularity. Art is becoming increasingly an organic part of the life of the Soviet people. Through its specific means it influences the shaping of civic feelings and outlook. It has become a structural component of the Soviet way of life.

The process of direct contacts between art and the masses is assuming an ever-widening scale. Direct contacts between men of the arts and labor collectives, joint discussions of new works and systematic meetings between the masters of culture and the other categories of working people are becoming ever more efficient and specific. The alliance between art and labor is not merely a slogan but a real practice in our life. In the course of their direct relationship with audiences, theater, music and art workers find new topics and ideas and gain a deeper understanding of the concerns of the people and of the internal world of our contemporary, of the hero of our day.

We believe that it is not fortuitous at all that the period which followed the 25th CPSU Congress was characterized by the increased attention paid by the men of the arts to contemporary problems. The contemporary topic is expressed on the stage, in music and in the graphic arts.

Naturally, we realize that the problem of the contemporary topic is not so simple as it might seem at first glance. A superficial reflection of the phenomena of reality and the absence of profound artistic summations does not contribute to the true understanding of our time or trigger a warm response or interest on the part of the audience. At the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted the existence of a certain danger related to the appearance of artistically dull and poor works and the idealizing of characters locked within a circle of petty concerns. Art must not only raise problems and define phenomena but provide answers to problems which affect the people.

The role of Marxist-Leninist art expertise in defining the main trends in the development of socialist artistic culture has become substantially higher. The influence of theory on art practice depends largely on the fruitful scientific elaboration of its topical problems.

The specific nature of the 20th century, considered through the lens of the development of mankind's artistic culture, is that art and philosophy have begun to interact with each other more profoundly and organically. The natural process of intensification of the influence of the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the development of progressive art is taking place. Without denying or belittling in the least the importance of the talent of the artist and his creative intuition, we cannot fail to see that without deep methodological training talent may take a wrong, a false direction, which would adversely affect creativity. In this respect the trends of bourgeois cultural and artistic development of the end of the 19th and of the 20th centuries, the symptoms of their decline and the crisis whose ideological roots go deep, are quite indicative. It is no secret that many trends in modernistic art, for example, began with the publication of various manifestos, proclaiming certain methodological and philosophical propositions, accompanied by theoretical studies and references to discoveries in science, technical progress and recent philosophical ideas. Cubism, expressionism, futurism, abstractionism, surrealism, pop art, hyperrealism and others turn out to be the manifestations of a variety of idealistic and subjectivistic philosophical programs. They become a structural part of a most complex and acute ideological struggle. They become part of the fabric of the spiritual life of contemporary society, influence the shaping of man's attitude toward life and even occasionally proclaim their intention to transform the contemporary world. The myth of a sort of "neutrality" on the part of the artist, indifference to politics and pretended lack of party-mindedness hardly lead to the development of a feeling of trust in people familiar with the characteristic features of the development of present-day artistic culture.

In the past few years some progress was achieved in the elaboration of theoretical cultural and art problems. This is confirmed by the publication of basic multiple-volume studies such as "Istoriya Iskusstv Narodov SSSR" [History of the Art of the Peoples of the USSR] (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Theory and History of Graphic Art), "Muzika XX Veka" [Twentieth Century Music] (Art Studies Institute) and a work on a collection on monuments. Let us also note the intensification of

the critical analysis of basic trends in contemporary bourgeois art, which is manifested by a new edition of a collective work entitled "Modernizm. Analiz i Kritika Osnovnykh Napravleniy" [Modernism. Analysis and Critique of Basic Directions] (Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1980), which is quite convincing in terms of argumentation and is precise in its conclusions.

Naturally, the practical significance of such basic works cannot be realized on the basis of immediate results. However, we must consider their major conceptual significance and their impact on shaping the views of the artist and on his attitude toward the main ideological currents of our time.

Closer ties have been developed between the theory and practice of the building of communism. In this respect the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Art Science and the USSR Academy of Fine Arts Scientists have done positive work. Problems of culture are drawing the attention of an ever-wider circle of researchers. Scientists from the USSR Academy of Scientists and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences have begun to pay considerably greater attention to basic theoretical problems of culture and to practical problems of the artistic upbringing of children and adolescents. A commission has been set up for comprehensive study of artistic creativity under the scientific council on the history of world culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Higher educational institutions are actively engaged in work on cultural problems and the information system in the field of culture is being improved.

We must also strive to improve the effectiveness of scientific research and to concentrate the efforts of the scientists on the most significant problems of cultural construction and of the development of the arts. I believe that the critical remarks expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress concerning the social sciences apply to research in culture as well.

Today cultural construction cannot be managed without relying on the sociopolitical and ideological-theoretical party stipulations and serious scientific work. In order to plan long-term cultural developments accurately one must be familiar with the basic laws of cultural development and visualize the directions followed in the development of the spiritual needs of society. Studies in the field of culture must be combined ever more closely with social research, the study of the characteristics of the development of individual regions, the dynamics of leisure time, the psychology of artistic creativity and perception, the professional, national and age characteristics which shape the cultural needs of the individual and so on. Without this it would be difficult to conceive of any further improvement of practical activities.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" assign culture the responsible task of insuring the fuller satisfaction of the various spiritual requirements of the Soviet people, improving the activities of cultural-educational institutions and increasing the role of clubs, public libraries, museums and parks in the communist upbringing of the working people.

The successful solution of the problems set by the party in the fields of culture and the arts demands of us a qualitatively new approach. This is dictated also by

the increased spiritual demands of the Soviet people and the new possibilities at our disposal today. This includes our cadre resources, the existence of a big army of highly skilled specialists, the new technical facilities offered to us by the scientific and technical revolution and more effective forms of organization of the work, closely linked to the overall process of the further development of socialist social relations.

We have a solid base of material facilities. The country has 604 theaters, 138,000 clubs, more than 1,500 museums, including their branches, 132,000 public libraries, about 1,100 state culture and recreation parks and more than 150,000 motion picture theaters. This makes it possible to expose the broadest possible masses to culture and art actively.

Over the past five years material facilities for culture were developed further. All in all, the USSR Ministry of Culture completed 240 rayon culture homes and about 5,000 clubs. More than 6,000 public libraries, 144 museums and 36 theaters were opened and many new music collectives were organized.

However, far greater demands now face the quality of cultural services to the working people. The house of culture or club of a big industrial enterprise, the rayon house of culture in the village, the library and the museum must have modern equipment. Most importantly, the content of their work must be distinguished by profound depth and comprehensiveness and meet the higher social and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people.

The improved content of political and educational efforts, the energetic propaganda of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the more profound mastery of progressive art exert a positive influence on the processes of social life, the development of the production process and the standard of daily life.

The task set by the 26th CPSU Congress of upgrading the role of culture and art in shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the masses must be based on the main directions followed by all creative collectives and cultural-educational institutions in their work.

The successful solution of this problem requires long-term planning of the repertory of mass shows and amateur performances, the organization of topical exhibits and competitions, and the ability to involve creative collectives in work on major topics and to direct their efforts into the creation of works of high sociopolitical and spiritual significance, which would educate and encourage the people to implement the tasks set by the Leninist party.

Today the library system faces stricter requirements as well. The libraries could accomplish a great deal through their unique means. Skillful propaganda of the decisions of party congresses and of CC CPSU and Soviet government decrees, and the close coordination between sociopolitical works and the life of labor collectives, their achievements and their unresolved problems and assistance of the working people in the development of their creative initiatives must all become more effective means for the assertion of a communist outlook and morality. Our main objectives today are to be closer to the life of the people, practical experience and the current tasks of the building of communism and to make the party's

great ideas accessible and understandable to everyone and to turn them into the specific life creativity of the masses. It is important, on the basis of the best available experience and of scientific research, systematically and adamantly to enhance the ideological and political standards of all cultural and educational library work, turning it into a structural part of the comprehensive labor, ideological-political, moral and aesthetic upbringing of the new man.

The solution of the important task of insuring the ever fuller satisfaction of the various spiritual requirements of the Soviet people, set by the congress, calls for upgrading the quality of our work, understanding the demands of the time, perfecting the activities of clubs, museums and parks and improving the preservation and propaganda of historical and cultural monuments. In order to carry out such major assignments we must make maximal use of existing opportunities and material facilities regardless of departmental affiliation.

Some positive results were achieved in this direction in recent years. I am referring to the centralization of library work. This considerably improved the effectiveness of library services to the population and made books and spiritual resources more accessible. The development of cultural complexes and centralized club systems in the villages offers very promising possibilities. Relatively small farms do not have the possibility of attracting highly skilled cultural workers and of creating cultural facilities to meet higher spiritual requirements, particularly those of the youth. Experience has confirmed that combining the forces of specialists and facilities makes it possible to raise cultural services to a qualitatively new level, to create in the villages as well music schools, folk theaters, choirs, studios and various hobby circles and to upgrade the level of ideological and political work.

We must actively support the creation of cultural complexes wherever this is being seriously undertaken, in accordance with contemporary requirements. This yields not only spiritual but substantial social results. The work carried out in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Cultural Services to the Rural Population" is having a positive impact on the further development of rural culture. It helps to keep young people and skilled cadres in the countryside, without which the successful development of modern agricultural production and the implementation of the party's agrarian policy would be inconceivable. Particular attention will be paid to village cultural construction in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The role of cultural services to new construction projects and regions under active development has increased substantially under present circumstances. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized this particularly. Such all-union projects as the accelerated development of Siberia and the Far East and the North, and the upsurge of the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR are directly related to cultural construction, prospects for the development of the material base of culture, the further energizing of cultural work and the biggest new construction projects and the creation of real prerequisites for the accelerated development of professional art and folk artistic creativity in these areas.

Major projects such as the BAM require cadres, young people from the populated central areas. The people come to the project with enthusiasm, realizing that they

are dedicating themselves to a project of exceptional importance to the entire country. That is why the skillful organization of cultural services at new construction projects is not a purely cultural action but a social, an ideological-political one. It is a consummation of the attention which the country pays to the labor heroes and of the powerful moral support it gives them.

Good experience in providing cultural services to Siberia and the Far East was acquired in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Various forms of cultural sponsorship and an increased number of performances by the best theaters and music groups considerably enriched the cultural life of this promising area. Days of Soviet literature and music have already become a tradition in Tyumen'. Art festivals for the petroleum workers in the Ob' area and the builders of the BAM are sponsored regularly. "Main-line Fires" art festivals have become traditional in Buryatiya, Amurskaya and Chitinskaya oblasts and Khabarovskiy Kray. At such events brigades of masters of the graphic arts come to submit creative reports and to organize art exhibits. The biggest industrial and cultural centers of the eastern parts of the country have become places where the secretariats of the boards of creative associations hold their meetings. Never before have we reached such a scale and standard of cultural services in an entire area. This experience is worth the attention of practical and theoretical workers.

At the 26th congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that in the 11th Five-Year Plan the construction of the entire sociocultural complex will be carried out at an even higher pace in Siberia and the Far East. The need for strict control over the expenditure of funds allocated for social and cultural development for their specific purposes was emphasized.

The fruitful results of the international line followed by the party's Leninist cultural policy became particularly apparent under the direct influence of the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the material base of culture in the republics was strengthened considerably and the further development of graphic, music and theater arts was insured.

As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th congress, "The blossoming and reciprocal enrichment of national cultures and the shaping of the culture of the single Soviet people--the new social and international community--are taking place. In our country this process is developing as it should under socialism, on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntary participation."

The multinational Soviet socialist culture is the embodiment of internationalism in action, of CPSU Leninist policy and of the Soviet way of life. This precisely is the source of its tremendous propaganda strength. A colorful presentation was made of Soviet culture through mass shows, folk dances and typical music rhythms, along with its spiritual unity and depiction of the friendship among the peoples in the course of the cultural program presented at the Olympic Games. Today we have the full right to claim that the very fact of the existence of socialist art, its tremendously attractive ideological and artistic force and convincing examples of fruitful interaction among the fraternal cultures of the peoples of the USSR are a beacon which illuminates the road of true international cultural cooperation. The

entire historical experience in the development of Soviet art proves that it is precisely socialism that insures the blossoming of national cultures, their rapprochement, reciprocal enrichment and increased ideological unity. From the viewpoint of national structure and demographic trends, the characteristics in the development of union republics must be refracted in the area of culture entirely in accordance with the principles which govern party policy.

The implementation of the tasks set by the party in the area of culture and the arts is inseparably linked with further improvements in the work with creative youth. The CC CPSU decree on this matter defines the basic directions and means for the active involvement of young talent in building the culture of developed socialism. The appearance of experimental theater studios and backstages, competitions, exhibits, sponsorship and many others have predetermined the considerable energizing of the creative youth and the strengthening of its place in art. For example, today young people account for about 40 percent of the creative collectives of all theaters. The USSR Union of Painters and the USSR Academy of Fine Arts have sponsored a number of exhibits of the works of young painters and graduation works. Fees have been raised and associations have been set up of young painters, art experts and creative groups which visit the virgin lands and the new construction projects in the country. Art studies and discussions are paying closer attention to the works by young people. All this has substantially improved the moral atmosphere among young painters and their more active involvement in topics of major ideological-political and social significance. Many positive accomplishments have been scored in energizing the creative youth in the field of music.

Purposeful work with creative young people is not a short-term campaign but a permanent task. Far from all problems have been resolved and matters of finding positions for young people and providing them with the necessary working conditions are not fully resolved. Particular attention must be paid to the ideological-moral shaping of young people, for they bear the responsibility for the directions in which socialist art will be developing in the future.

It is extremely important for the system of training the creative youth to be in harmony with the development of our theoretical thinking and for the latest results in the field of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics to be applied in the educational-pedagogical process operatively. All the circumstances of today and the basic trends of the ideological struggle confirm that the final twenty years of our century will be marked by particularly tense ideological clashes and a particularly acute confrontation, including confrontation in the area of culture. We must raise ever higher the banner of progressive culture and train a creative intelligentsia which would be ideologically and methodologically tempered and armed with a deep understanding of the laws governing the development of the spiritual life of society. We must raise convinced promoters of the Marxist-Leninist outlook, patriots and true internationalists.

In asserting the ideas of reason, humanism, man's liberation from material and spiritual oppression, democracy, socialism and peace, Soviet art is helping to strengthen a healthy ideological atmosphere and is providing moral support to all progressive forces of our time which oppose imperialist reaction.

Today the entire cultural front faces major and responsible assignments. The collegium of the USSR Ministry of Culture considered and approved a plan of basic measures for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. A system of measures will be carried out aimed at enhancing the role of culture in the communist education of the working people further, improving cultural services to the population, planning cultural construction, training cadres and developing material facilities for culture.

The tasks of the culture and art organs and establishments, based on the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress, were discussed at a conference of the ministers of culture of union republics.

The main directions in the development of culture were defined and organically linked with the prospects for the socioeconomic development of the country and the requirements formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The ideas approved by the congress on problems of the country's socioeconomic and political development, party ideological work and foreign policy are directly related to cultural work, to the development of Soviet art and to international cultural cooperation.

In order to raise the entire area of culture and art to the level of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress it is necessary to see clearly the main tasks involved in cultural construction today and to find the proper ways and means for their implementation.

At present a creative approach to the work and the skill to improve work ways and means assume exceptional importance. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, they must be made consistent with changing tasks. Today many topical cultural problems call for rallying together the efforts of state organs, creative associations and interested organizations.

Requirements facing all sectors of this work include the firm elimination of formalism and of departmental and bureaucratic obstacles, the creation of a reliable cadre reserve and strengthening control over the execution of decisions.

The Soviet people welcomed the results of the 26th CPSU Congress with a feeling of tremendous uplift. Everywhere the discussion of the congress's documents at meetings and in labor collectives is developing into an exciting demonstration of the unbreakable unity between party and people. The Soviet people are assuming higher obligations and the socialist competition is developing ever more extensively. The greatness and clarity of the objectives formulated in the CC CPSU accountability report are triggering the creative thrust of the masses and feelings of optimism and confidence that the party plans will be mandatorily converted into specific actions.

The Soviet creative intelligentsia and cultural workers and artists unanimously approve the historical decisions of the 26th congress. Closely united around the Leninist party and its Central Committee, headed by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist and tireless fighter for peace and the security of the peoples, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, they will spare no efforts to implement them.

## BOWING DOWN TO THE EARTH AND THE SUN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 34-37

[Article by Yustinas Martsinkyavichyus, people's poet of Lithuania]

[Text] How beautiful the road from Vil'nyus to my native village is! However frequently I travel along it, I never have enough. Although I know by heart each of its turns, hills, forests, fields, meadows, valleys or lakes, I still marvel and cannot have enough of it, I still admire everything and mentally exclaim: How much has been granted to you, man, take all this into your heart, fill it to the brim so that it may flutter and cry and sing from happiness. The breathing, living, green earth echoes within yourself and you have no words to express this miracle, the triumphant tears which you feel in your throat, so that you may describe this man as he follows the path in the fields....

I know that there, beyond the birches, particular happiness awaits me, on that little hill away from the road, surrounded by trees; a strange warmth touches my heart whenever I see the small, neat and pleasant peasant house. It is like a drawing by a child, with its well which looks like a nest, and its old garden which runs down the hill and a small lake, pure like a teardrop. Were someone to ask me how I conceive of the unity between human life and nature, I would bring him here and would say, Look! Frequently, passing by, I have dreamed of spending a couple of weeks here.... I would take a room with a window looking on the lake, I would see in its mirror the constantly changing sky and, perhaps, think of the great happiness of living on earth with everything around me.

Today tremendous projects are under way in land reclamation and a new landscape is being designed. Traveling from Kaunas to Klaypeda one could not fail to note on the side of the wide modern highway a huge memorial stone the inscription on which says that two million hectares of farm land were drained off in Lithuania. Today this figure has become even bigger, for this memorial stone dedicated to the exploit of the republic's land reclamation workers was inaugurated in 1978. But how many more meadows and pastures have been developed since, how many water reservoirs and roads have been built and now many other projects have been carried out in the development of the fields! In our area reclamation workers are known as farm land doctors. It is they who cover the sterile sandy tops of hills, eroded by the winds, with a fertile soil stratum, put turf on slopes and move big and valuable trees from the arable land and plant them along the roads where they will not stand in the way of modern agricultural equipment. They beautify the land by creating new growth so that a person can rest, a bird can chirp and a beast find shelter.

For the past few years a big mobile mechanized column of Lithuanian reclamation workers has been at work in Smolenskaya Oblast. The experience gained in improving two million hectares of Lithuanian land is being successfully applied in the zone of the Russian Nonchernozem. I think that one must sing of the difficult toil of the reclamation workers with all its complexities and occasional errors all of which are due to the notorious "spur of the moment felling." I have as yet to read a novel about those physicians of the land or see a motion picture about them....

The Lithuanian landscape and the Lithuanian farmer may be going today through the most revolutionary period in their history. The farmstead--the old peasant nest, the cradle of the mentality, way of life, traditions and morality of the grain grower, is gradually disappearing in front of our very eyes. However, disappearing with it are the village isolation of the people, the narrowness of mores and the feeling of deep roots in the land. The prewar farmstead saw a great deal of bitterness and hopeless toil. It broke and twisted the human soul, developing in it the distorted instinct for profit: to move ahead, to establish oneself by all possible ways and means! Recently Yuozas Baltushis, the Lithuanian people's writer, published a book in which the old residents of his native area describe their former way of life. This is a difficult but truthful people's book. We are amazed at the way our fathers and grandfathers were able to endure so much, these shepherds and farm hands, these landless peasants of the prewar Lithuanian countryside. Their dreams, tears and songs were left behind under the thatched roof of a peasant hut....

The old hut would be surrounded by trees, patched and repatched, propped up, visited ever more infrequently by children and grandchildren from the city, but still alive, with smoke coming out of its chimney. One day there was nothing left, only a pile of rubbish. The mind understands that that is the way it had to be. However, one felt sad, as though a cloud covered one's soul, as though one could hear the old cradle song, as though the bucket would be clanging in the well and the cow would be mooing.... All of these sounds and features of our lives are disappearing, paling. An old man is walking on the spot of the old hut, among the rubbish, not knowing what to do with himself. He bends down, picks up a piece of brick, a chipped rake or a rusty scythe, which he holds and turns in his hands but, finding no use for them, he throws them back.

Spring came and the peasant hut I wrote about at the beginning was torn down. It was as if one of my childhood drawings was burned up. It was blossom time. Cherry and apple trees died under the bulldozer's blade, while the bees rushed to take from the fading blossoms all they could. That same bulldozer filled the well with the stones from the foundations of the hut. All it took was one hour, two at the most. I was thankful that the little lake was not covered. That could have happened also.

I stood on the spot of the former peasant garden, in the midst of piles of rubbish, as though looking at a grave. As long as there was life here I was always in a hurry, passing by, always short of time. Yet did I need all that much time to look, to say hello, to ask for a drink of water? I would listen to the pump as it extracted from the earth its pleasant freshness.

"Well," I thought, "I will not live here." The picture my imagination had created disappeared: running toward the lake from the hill with the blossoming garden, jumping in the boat, rowing away from the shore, lightly and noiselessly sailing on the smooth lake, bowing down to the earth and the sun.

What about the people? Not the people who cut off things on the spur of the moment but those who think, who feel. Those who understand that what is is not for them alone and is not for today alone.

No, not everything must be wrecked and cast away. The better we preserve our social, historical, national, living and other memories, the richer we shall be. I am afraid of the one-sided person who does not care where he lives for the sake of earning more, who is willing to roam from one end of the country to the other for the sake of more money, who does not dream of his native land, and whose bread does not contain his language, his songs or his tears.

Some may say that there are folklore museums in which valuable models of peasant architecture may be seen. The problem is, however, that some old village homes could still be useful just where they were built, that they could bring the townsmen closer to the land, to nature, to the ripe field of rye, to the song of the lark, to the toil of the farmer, to goodness and to beauty.

Unquestionably, one or two peasant farmsteads, typical of that area, illustrating folk architecture and way of life and the unity between man and nature, will be found on the land of any kolkhoz where reclamation workers come with their powerful equipment. Such houses would be somewhere on the side, by a forest, a lake or a river. They would not hinder the work of a tractor or a combine on the broad fields. With a little bit of work they could be fixed. A fallen fence could be raised and the shutters could be repainted. I can already see how on the weekend mushroom hunters or fishermen would rush here from the city, I can hear the happy crackling of the fire in the fireplace and I can smell the fish soup. In the winter, hunters or ice fishermen would make a path to the threshold of the old hut, while in the summer a few families from Vil'nyus would spend their leave for a modest fee. Or else, a painter with his sketch book would follow the path away from the garden to his own "hunting grounds," while one of his landscapes would be already hanging on the wall next to an ancient towel rack. The previous week's visitor, a sculptor, expressed his thanks for the peaceful welcome by putting up a wicket gate. Such a farmstead could become a sort of "people's home" whose doors would be open to anyone who can prove that he is a human being, who will not leave after him broken bottles or broken windows. A thick deskbook would be placed at the door of the hut and anyone stepping inside would write his name, address and place of work so that the person coming after him will know whom to thank for the fact that the room was swept clean, that the table was cleared, the dishes washed and properly placed in the old cupboard. He would be thankful for the dry wood left near the stove as well and, leaving the hut, would try to leave some good evidence of his stay....

Actually, these old peasant farmsteads, turned into "people's homes," would teach us humaneness and decent behavior without anyone else watching, where we could look at ourselves alone. This is something we greatly need! When we find in the open the traces of man, left by tourists or picnickers, when we walk in a forest destroyed by mushroom pickers and when we see the torn moss, and realize that no mushrooms will grow here for several years, we frequently fail to understand the origin of this instinct or custom to break, to wreck. Are the few chanterelles for which I will tear off the moss a matter of life or death to me? Alas, alas! Sometimes we plunge into nature as if it were a piece of ground captured in battle, where one is allowed to do whatever one wishes. Nature belongs to all and, therefore, to no one.

It is nobody's. I fear people who think this way. It would be good for such a person to feel his weakness and temporariness. He may become better, he may treat people like brothers and nature as his own home. Should the schools teach the subject of "environmental protection"? What is the use of teaching a child the structure of a tree or a flower in botany class if the child can remorselessly wreck a tree or trample a flower?

We must learn how to love. We must love even rocks, rocks which come out of nowhere, which are cursed by the farmers. For centuries people have identified rocks with sadness, trouble and pain. It is said of a bad person that he has a heart of stone. Our fathers and grandfathers cursed as they cleared their fields of such rocks but were never able to clear them entirely, leaving plenty of rocks for us. I too have frequently had the occasion to gather such rocks and set them on the side of the field, finding nothing interesting and beautiful in them.

Twenty years ago, Vatslovas Intas, a young physician, came to work in Mosedis, a small out-of-the-way place, a kolkhoz village at the very border of Lithuania. The people found him strange: he spent his free time walking the fields and looking over the rocks, some of them heavier than a person could carry. Then, he would borrow from the kolkhoz chairman a tractor or a truck and carry the rocks to the settlement and dump them near the outpatient clinic, the store or any other building. He would then glaze them in such a way as to make it look nice and somehow blend with the house, the tree or the bush. Let us point out that nature was generous with such rocks in Skuodasskiy Rayon. Many of them had come from Scandinavia, dragged by glaciers, having assumed all possible forms and shapes. The doctor was particularly eager to collect rocks which had already been used by people, such as millstones, grave markers or ritual cups or altars, subjects of legends, in which the superstitious eye would find the imprint of a devil's hand or hoof.... In a few years this eccentric "stone architect" created an amazing, a fantastic ensemble. Curious people came from all parts of Lithuania to Mosedis, and when rumor of this collection spread widely, from distant places, from all over our country. A lot of things were said and written about the Intas collection and scientists and various specialists became ever more frequent visitors. It was thus that through the efforts of one person, an eccentric doctor, that a unique rock museum with several thousand exhibits, the only one of its kind in the republic and, probably, in the entire country, developed. One is bound to be amazed and one is bound to offer silent thanks to the man who saw this beauty and showed it to us.

As to the horse museum, no one even knows who started it. It may have been an old scientist who had spent a lifetime in agriculture and who got the idea to travel across Lithuania in a horse cart, to look at the fields and to talk with people. Then, in an old farmstead in Anikshchyayskiy Rayon, gradually harnesses, horse gear, field and household chore utensils, an old smithy brought here with a tractor, and various wagons, light carriages, sleighs, wooden plows and even harrows began to pile up, anything related to horses, anything which is now no longer used and which only our fathers and grandfathers remember. Yet how many people come here for the annual celebration of the horse! How happily children and adults ride the horses on fields and forests, listen to and sing songs about this hard working friend of man, and look at the old rural "technology"!

A great many things could be wrecked and destroyed and no one would defend them. The country, the people will be happy to have one less annoyance, seeing no need for such rocks or for dragging a smithy into a museum, repairing the broken-down old hut or being concerned with its use. That is why when we see sometimes a settlement made of silicate bricks we think: oh, how useful here would be even one eccentric to show us the beauty which is right by our side, who would restore this beauty for us, filling, at the same time, our hearts with goodness and light. No, whatever you may say, I fear the one-day person who neither remembers his past nor thinks of the future.

Real and profound patriotism begins where one is, where one's parents and grandparents were. Where they worked, loved, suffered or celebrated. Here, in the yard of the old peasant home, I bowed down with a strange feeling of sorrow to the well filled with rocks, the pile of apple and cherry trees, and the torn foundations.... Perhaps this indeed hindered the work of modern agricultural equipment, perhaps it had no value whatever and perhaps the owners of the house had wrecked it themselves. Perhaps it was only I who found it somewhat unusual. Yet a man's life had been lived here, and I bowed down to it, I bowed down to the land and the sun.

Farther on, immediately beyond the sharp turn of the road, was the field: wide, wavy, cared for, covered with the green fresh color of winter crops. One year ago the land reclamation workers had done hard work here. The field would repay a hundredfold such love and effort. Next to the field, on another big area, spring sowing was under way. The first grain of the 11th Five-Year Plan was being prepared jointly by man and the land. Yes, jointly, in good and wise agreement, in a state of age-old union.

May it be generous, our peaceful, our fraternal Soviet grain!

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## ALWAYS A TOPICAL SUBJECT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 38-48

[Text] The national sentiments and national dignity of each individual are respected in our country. The CPSU has struggled and will always struggle resolutely against such manifestations alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism and against any nationalist quirks, whether, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are opposed to the trends aimed at the artificial erasure of national singularities. But to the same extent we deem impermissible their contrived exaggeration. It is the party's sacred duty to raise the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and a proud sense of belonging to the single great Soviet motherland.

L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Immediate Tasks in the Sphere of Domestic and Foreign Policy."

### I

Soviet patriotism rightly occupies a leading position among the spiritual values of the developed socialist society. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education," which the 26th party congress termed a long-term document, says, the crux of the work "was and remains the formation in Soviet people of a scientific world outlook, selfless devotion to the cause of the party and communist ideals, love for the socialist fatherland and proletarian internationalism."

Soviet patriotism is a powerful factor of the ideological-political and moral cohesion of our people and an inalienable feature thereof as a new historical--social and international--community; it is also a powerful driving force of social development on the paths of the refinement of mature socialism and communist building and a condition of Soviet people's active dislike of bourgeois ideology and a private-ownership mentality.

Soviet patriotism is a traditional theme in our ideological activity. Tracing its origins back to Lenin's post-October appeal "The socialist fatherland is in danger! Long live the socialist fatherland!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 358), it has been developed extensively and strikingly by social scientists

and commentators and portrayed convincingly and giftedly in artistic images, many of which have already become classics, particularly prior to the Great Patriotic War, during it and at the start of the postwar period. Many splendid embodiments of the patriotic theme appeared in the 1950s-1970s--it is possible to enumerate dozens and hundreds of works of art, historical studies and memoirs which have enriched the annals of our era, and among these are the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. Strong patriotic traditions and mass movements and the highest intensity of patriotic feelings at particularly emotional moments of all-Soviet, all-nation unity, particularly in connection with Communist Party congresses, elections to the soviets, nationwide discussion of problems of state significance, mass socialist competition and the celebration of Lenin days and the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victory in the Great Patriotic War have forever become a part of the people's life and the life of each aware citizen.

Nevertheless, questions of patriotic education not only do not cease to be topical but, on the contrary, are acquiring increasingly great significance. This is brought about by both the processes of our multisphere domestic development and also the intensification of international relations, whose dialectically contradictory nature by no means rules out, together with the organization of equal, mutually profitable peaceful cooperation with sober-minded partners from the capitalist countries, increasing endeavors by hostile propaganda if not to undermine them, at least, to weaken, soften and lull the Soviet people's patriotic spirit. "Our class adversaries are operating increasingly impudently and cunningly," Comrade M. A. Suslov said, opening the April All-Union Conference-Seminar of Ideological Workers. Excelling in slander and appealing to a variety of prejudices and survivals in people's minds and maliciously interpreting the shortcomings, gaps and difficulties in our life, the enemies are attempting to "erode" class consciousness and the belief in our ideals. And it would be wrong to ignore the impact of alien ideology on the minds of some people. We must be uncompromising in the struggle of ideas, actively expose anti-Sovietism and anticommunism and resolutely oppose all echoes of alien views."

Soviet patriotism is a fundamentally new spiritual reality in man's history brought about by socialist production relations and the soviet--collectivist and internationalist--way of life itself. It is not simply love for one's birthplace, for "one's own aspen trees" and for the land of one's forefathers--although this feeling also is not diminished in the least in Soviet man--but also boundless devotion to the socialist fatherland, a readiness to defend and develop the working people's socialist gains, love of the heroic history of the peoples of our country and pride in its unparalleled achievements.

Soviet patriotism is organically merged with proletarian, socialist internationalism. Devotion to the ideals of international class unity and the workers' fraternity in no way contradicts patriotism in its true, profound meaning but, on the contrary, presupposes it.

The situation in the capitalist world is at the opposite pole. Instigating nationalism and using it for its own egoistic purposes, big capital is by nature profoundly hostile toward truly national interests. As before, the present-day monopolies are concerned to suppress the national self-awareness of the peoples of the countries

which recently rid themselves of the yoke of colonial or semi-colonial dependency. Monopoly is also hostile toward the national distinctiveness of the people's masses of the developed capitalist states.

This is sometimes connected in the Western press with the objective need for the "global" internationalization of social life which is allegedly occurring identically both in the capitalist world and within the framework of the world socialist system. At the same time it is precisely world socialism's experience which graphically testifies that internationalization in itself by no means engenders the antagonistic forms of its realization characteristic of modern capitalism and does not lead to the leveling and erasure and suppression of the independence and "individuality" of peoples and states. It is proceeding normally under the conditions of the burgeoning of dozens of socialist nations and the strengthening of the sovereignty of the fraternal countries. "...If the question is approached impartially," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared at the 26th CPSU Congress, referring to the processes of socialist building, "it has to be acknowledged that no one is imposing on anyone any stereotypes and plans which ignore the particular features of this country or the other." The negative trend is being introduced in the internationalization process precisely by big monopoly capital, primarily the multinational corporations, which have grown gigantically, and is represented in the political sphere by the absurd theory of "American world leadership" and the brazen attempts to exercise it.

In the struggle against the communist and workers' movement and in the confrontation of the two systems capital unhesitatingly renounces national interests if they contradict its class interests to the slightest extent. The national betrayals of the haute bourgeoisie and its antipatriotism have long been well known.

"Turning to history, graphic examples of this are French reaction's suppression in a conspiracy with the German aggressors of the 1871 Paris Commune, the shameful capitulationist behavior of French ruling circles at the time of World War II and the policy of collaboration with the Hitlerites pursued by the Petain-Laval gang."

In the newspaper PROLETARSKOYE DELO of 1 August 1917 V. I. Lenin sarcastically expressed the "workers' gratitude" to Prince G. Ye. L'vov for the "valuable confessions" of this former head of the Provisional Government apropos the 3 July counter-revolutionary coup, which had brought the bourgeoisie temporary success. "The events of recent days within the country," L'vov had said, "strengthen my optimism particularly. Our 'breakthrough in depth' on the Lenin front is, I am convinced, incomparably more significant for Russia than the Germans' breakthrough on our southwest front." Noting the prince's sober-mindedness in the assessment of the situation in the country, Vladimir Il'ich writes: "The internal class struggle even in wartime is far more important than the struggle against the external enemy--what wild abuse have the representatives of the haute and petite bourgeoisie not mouthed at the Bolsheviks for recognition of this truth! What devotees of high-sounding phrases about 'unity,' 'revolutionary democracy' and so on and so forth have not rejected it!"

"But when it came to the serious, decisive moment, Prince L'vov immediately and wholly recognized this truth, having proclaimed openly that 'victory' over the class enemy within the country is more important than the situation at the front of the

struggle against the external enemy. An indisputable truth. A useful truth. The workers will be very grateful to Prince L'vov for its recognition, for its mention and for its dissemination. And as gratitude to the prince the workers will exert party efforts to ensure that the broadest masses of the working people and the exploited understand and assimilate this truth a little better. Nothing suits the working class in its struggle for its liberation as well as this truth" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 19).

Generally, an unfailing rule operates here: The haute bourgeoisie is nationalistic, "patriotic" even as long as no one threatens its rule. It instantly becomes treacherous and cosmopolitan as soon as the working class states with sufficient certainty its right to the leadership of society. The experience of many revolutions of the 20th century, both successful and unsuccessful, testifies to this.

In Russia, after the Great October, White Guard reaction bargained away the motherland wholesale and retail, urging on imperialist interventionists of any stripe, whether they were Kaiser soldiery, British, French and American occupiers or Japanese samurai. Soviet power in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia was suppressed at that time thanks to the local magnates' "invitation" to German troops. The 1919 Entente and international counterrevolution suppressed the Hungarian Soviet republic at the hands of the White Romanians. Such was frequently the case. A particular feature of the modern era--that of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale--is the fact that the bourgeoisie of this country or the other does not now, as a rule, count on retaining power merely with the help of national resources alone. It systematically resorts to support from outside. A special international machinery for the export of counterrevolution has essentially been created in the shape of the U. S. CIA and the North Atlantic bloc. Their diligence and "skill" have been well perceived by the peoples of Guatemala and Chile, Cuba and Ethiopia, Angola and Vietnam, Iran and Afghanistan, Nicaragua and El Salvador and many countries in which American imperialism has implanted and supported dictatorial regimes.

Under the conditions of the ongoing changes in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism and the collapse of the colonial system the ideologists of the monopolies are excelling in inventing increasingly new renovatory concepts. The theory of the "convergence" of the two systems was widespread just a few years ago, but the "cultural colonialism" concept is now attracting attention.

The point of it is to ensure that the ruling elite in countries which just recently were in colonial slavery be oriented toward the bourgeois West in its tastes and day-to-day requirements and that it perceive the bourgeois West as the "spiritual homeland" and that it be closer culturally than the traditional culture of its own peoples. Thus the goal being pursued is that of making the representatives of the machinery of state and the intelligentsia of the corresponding countries potential collaborationists predisposed toward the Western way of life in their requirements and habits. And anti-national, pro-imperialist treacherous elements hostile toward their own people are being formed from those who are ready from personal egoistic motives to act against this people's political and economic dependence. The criminal "brain" drain and outflow of educated personnel tempted by high salaries from the youngest states which need such personnel more than anything else continues also. A kind of bourgeois-consumerist cosmopolitanism and the flouting of everything which from time immemorial has been connected with the idea of a national fatherland is being cultivated.

The "cultural colonialism" concept is aimed primarily at consolidating the dependent situation of the developing states, but does not exclude a certain influence on the socialist countries.

In respect to the latter, bourgeois-consumerist cosmopolitanism acts as a direct tool of the class struggle. It is partially nurtured by the view which is widely held in the West that the "East" will not get by without "Western technology" and is partially based on the hope of spreading the mercantile-pragmatic morals of the "consumer society" to the socialist countries.

Of course, a considerable proportion of reactionary social utopianism is characteristic of the judgments of the bourgeois authors in both cases. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union reached the foremost boundaries of scientific-technical progress by no means because it availed itself of the technical innovations of the capitalist countries but chiefly thanks to its own resources and creative potential. Of course, we have not held and have no intention of holding aloof from the development of world science and technology here, adopting everything valuable which is capable of serving the cause of building communism.

At the same time it is perfectly natural that the use of foreign technical innovations cannot fail to have reasonable limits, the more so in that a strong scientific-experimental base has been created and a considerable detachment of highly skilled designers, engineers and workers is at work in the country. It would hardly be right to lessen their responsibility and the intensiveness of their labor in connection with the possibility of the purchase of Western technology. After all, blind faith in "overseas experience" and foreign technical innovations and solutions usually ends up in inattention to one's own national inventions and discoveries. And this is deplorable. And it is absolutely impermissible to wait until national ideas and developments have been approved in other countries and only then import the new technology created on the basis of these ideas. "It is necessary to investigate why we sometimes lose sight of our priorities and spend large sums on the purchase of equipment and technology abroad which we can produce perfectly well ourselves, and frequently of a higher quality, moreover" the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress says. This seemingly technical question is inseparable from scientific and management personnel's understanding of its patriotic duty to the socialist motherland.

Bourgeois propaganda is counterposing increasingly openly to Soviet patriotism the everyday comforts and the shopwindow blandishments of the West and the "blessings" of standardized "mass culture." Soviet citizens are shamelessly regaled with tales on the radio about a "land flowing with milk and honey" in which all who "opt for freedom" thrive. Striving to sterilize their patriotic self-awareness, the honeyed "voices" prattle on about the allurements of civically irresponsible living under the conditions of bourgeois democracy and the opportunities for the unimpeded satisfaction of all individualistic whims. "Arguments" of a religious and racial-chauvinist nature are circulated, and the notorious "call of the blood" is invoked in aid. And those who swallow this bait are subsequently forced to regret it profoundly.

"I am ready to cross all of Europe on foot to kiss the stone of the Moscow road," Isaak Kaplan, who had drunk his fill from the bitter cup of an Israeli immigrant, wrote. His wife, Mariya, unable to endure their fearful mistake, committed suicide

(see "Belaya Kniga: Svidetel'stva, Fakty, Dokumenty" [White Paper: Testimony, Facts, Documents], Moscow, Yuridicheskaya Literatura, 1979, p 36). "The majority of the people I have met deeply regret that they came here," K. Gurevich says in an open letter to acquaintances in the USSR. "Many of them with higher education are working as unskilled laborers, and it goes particularly hard with those over 50. Nonetheless, it was not this which prompted me to leave Israel--after all, I had a job in Jerusalem, an apartment and a car even. The social degeneration and obscurantism--this is what disgusted me most in Israel" (Ibid., p 63). According to Yuriy Pavlovskiy, who left for Israel in 1972, "emigration takes on a strange meaning for those intellectuals who head for the West in search of freedom of criticism. If the West even permits them to criticize anything, it is only the practices of the East" (Ibid., p 96). And, finally, the appeal of Iosif Burshteyn, a former resident of Minsk who had gone to Israel, to an acquaintance--the Minsk citizen Naum Ol'shanskiy, who had been contemplating the "promised land": "There is one single sacred place in this world, and it is the Soviet Union, where a person is free, where culture and education have reached unparalleled heights, where a man does not know what unemployment is, where a person never thinks about his old age and where social laws guarantee a tranquil human life. Naum," I. G. Burshteyn concluded, "appreciate all this at its worth" (Ibid., p 62).

The well-known Soviet singer L. G. Zykina received a difficult letter from England. Its authors, who did not give their surname, brothers Serafim and Semen, who had been driven out of Krasnodarskiy Kray to the West by the fascists during the war, succumbed, in their words, "to the great propaganda of the White Guards" and are now summing up the bitter result of their path in life. "...There is now only one thing left to us--to die as Russians," they lament. "We have not become British subjects. It is late for us to return to the motherland now. Who needs us there? We should have gone when the children were little and helped raise and educate them. But how do we appear to our wives and children now--homeless wanderers who have given our strength not to the building of our country but to the capitalist's pocket?... Please tell us, is there really no forgiveness for us?" (GOLOS RODINY No 10, 1980 [2206]).

And one further fate. "I will begin at the very beginning. Arrival in America," the schoolboy Sasha Gonta wrote the editorial office of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY. "First, during the whole journey I wept at night for my school. I said nothing to Mama since she also had endured a lot for us; first she wrote to grandma that there was no way she could go and did not want to wreck our lives, but grandma begged us to come very much, and that was how it all happened...."

"And then my 'ordeal' began. Everyone taunted me at will, including the teachers. And once, when I said that children do not behave that way in the Soviet Union, they beat me and replied that I could return to the Soviet Union. They did not and do not know that my greatest dream is to get home, to my own school."

It is impossible in this connection not to express the pressing wish that our social scientists and commentators study and illustrate more actively and comprehensively the advantages of the socialist social system and the socialist way of life, bringing their conclusions and developments as close as can be to the needs of daily mass-political work and propaganda. We have obviously not yet derived the entire potential ideological result from, for example, the fact that, as a counterweight to

bourgeois practices, manpower with us is not a commodity, that neither man himself nor his capabilities may be appropriated by someone else and that under socialism there is no place for the haves' exploitation of the havenots, the ill-provided existence of the working people, the uncertainty of tomorrow, the tragedy of having no future and so forth. And it is hardly correct in comparing socialism and capitalism to confine ourselves merely to general democratic criteria without making use of all the opportunities for persuading the masses of the former's superiority to the latter contained in scientific communism. All these are questions which require again and again interpretation both from the viewpoint of our further patriotic consolidation and from the viewpoint of our further offensive in the ideological struggle.

## II

The theme of socialist patriotism is inseparable from a solicitous attitude toward our spiritual heritage. "It is a great people which constantly perceives its vital link with its history and can take all the best from its historical traditions and make it the property of the present day," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, speaking in Kiev on 9 May. "This splendid quality is fully characteristic of the Soviet people." Last year, 1980, for example, was highly indicative in this respect.

The celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birth of the brilliant thinker and revolutionary, founder of Bolshevism and the Soviet state and immortal leader of the world proletariat, V. I. Lenin, imparted special impetus to the entire work of the party and the people in the period of preparations for the historic 26th CPSU Congress. The 160th anniversary of the birth of F. Engels, one of the founders of scientific communism--the revolutionary-transforming teaching of the working class to begin the practical realization of which it fell to the lot of the working people in our country--was consonant with this jubilee. The selfless struggle and heroic labor of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist party confirmed the historic truth of communist ideas and opened to mankind the shining prospects of liberation and progress.

It is always difficult for pioneers. We also had to endure all the ferocity and hatred of the old world, which was up in arms against the world's first worker-socialist state. We held out and were victorious! We were victorious both in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars. As always, the festivities in connection with the latest anniversary of the Soviet army's rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism assumed a nationwide character.

A big event in the country's cultural life was the millennium of the birth of the outstanding thinker and scholar--encyclopedist of the medieval East, Avicenna whose humanistic talent was revealed most clearly in the spheres of philosophy and medicine.

The centennial of another of our compatriots and a man of the modern era--the great Russian poet and citizen, Aleksandr Blok--whose difficult and largely contradictory work path was crowned by the emphatic switch to the camp of the struggling proletariat and unconditional acceptance of the sacred truth of October--was also commemorated extensively. Responding to the pseudopatriots who in World War I and the revolution which had just begun had slid into chauvinist positions, Blok proudly

declared: "Hating internationalism is not to know and not to feel national force." "And everlasting battle! Of rest we only dream..."--Blok thus expressed the spirit of our revolutionary times in the impressive patriotic cycle of poems "On the Field of Kulikov."

Incidentally, this cycle proved very topical in connection with the 600th anniversary of a remarkable turning point in the history of our motherland--the victory of the Russian Army under the command of Dmitriy Ivanovich, the great Muscovite prince, over the invaders of the Golden Horde. This event occupies a special place in our country's history. It would be limiting and one-sided to portray it only as the success of Russian arms or the defeat of a single state or other. It is a question of a landmark which signified a moral-political turning point in the 150-year-long national liberation struggle of the east and south Slav peoples, a strong revival of the consciousness of Russian national unity and the complete safety of European and world civilization against barbaric annihilation. The same "universality" which makes it international property is characteristic of this date, as of many others in our country's distant and recent past. It has rightly become a part of our sacred patriotic arsenal, as the inheritance of Avicenna and the creative quest and achievements of Blok are a part of it.

What to include in this arsenal and what not to include is a problem of tremendous social, cultural and moral significance. And relevant now, as before, is the question posed by Lenin at the start of the century: "What inheritance do we renounce?" which may also be formulated thus: "What inheritance do we not renounce?" The scientific Marxist-Leninist class-proletarian approach and Lenin's teaching on the two cultures in each national culture serve as a reliable guide in its solution.

Communists proceed from the fact that each nation and nationality and each country should have its own vast and exacting historical remembrance and rely constantly on the best that has been accumulated by previous generations. According to Ch. Aytmatov, "a man without remembrance of the past is confronted with the need to determine his place in the world anew, and a man deprived of the historical experience of his own people and other peoples finds himself outside of the historical perspective and capable of living only in the present day" (NOVYY MIR No 11, 1980, p 4). Lapses in historical remembrance and, even more, its atrophy represent a terrible catastrophe for any people. Owing to these, a nation, however powerful it may be, is spiritually defenseless in the face of outside influences, which are sometimes hostile, loses its character, does not prize its cultural distinctiveness and is ultimately doomed to disappear. It may be imagined how ruinous is such a phenomenon, which leads to a loss of patriotic immunity, under the conditions of direct aggression or the threat thereof on the part of imperialist states.

But what should this historical remembrance be like--that of a collector, omnivorously all-forgiving or evaluatively party-minded and critically exacting? Marxist-Leninists provide a clear answer to this also.

Both progressive, democratic ideas, which advance social development, and conservative, reactionary ideas and traditions evolve in the history of any people and any state. What of this inheritance to treasure, to preserve, to adopt--progressive democracy in the shape of the working class and its parties decides this question for itself perfectly straightforwardly and definitely. Obviously, history in itself--

as distinct, say, from certain historical works--is not in need of editing. But this does not mean that it may be the object of dispassionate, passive contemplation and, even less of the complacent admiration of all that has been accomplished in the past. A lack of historical discrimination, worse, attempts with all truths and untruths to drag into the present and beget again that which has long since been justly condemned and rejected by practice and the people's masses are nothing other than oscillation toward nationalism. They are alien to Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the class views of the proletariat and the fundamental interests of the working people's masses. This is what Engels had in mind when he termed the most characteristic distinguishing feature of genuine democracy the fact that "it must renounce any responsibility for the past which was full of poverty, tyranny, class oppression and superstition." (K. Marx, F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 386).

In the light of this statement it should be clear why the working class, on coming to power, does not assume responsibility for the oppressor and colonialist policy of tsarist autocracy and the exploiter classes of prerevolutionary Russia, although it pays tribute to the figures which objectively contributed to the strengthening of the might and independence of the Russian state and the alleviation of the situation of the working people and their enlightenment. Taking as a point of departure the well-known Marxist proposition concerning the decisive role of the people's masses in history, we do not have the right to repeat the mistakes of landowning-bourgeois historical science, which concentrated its main attention on the activity of the propertied upper crust and its outstanding representatives but are obliged to study most attentively the inception and evolution in Russian society of democratic currents whose sources were nurtured by unprecedentedly mass peasant movements which were multinational in composition. "It is essential," F. F. Kuznetsov wrote, "that we return a little more often in our thinking to the life of our great-great-grandfathers, feudal peasants, not forget our pedigree and our ancestors, imagine the historical path which our state has trodden and always remember the people's intercessors, the Russian revolutionaries, whose efforts largely determined our present day. On this, our capacity for deriving practical lessons from history, our future depends" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 22 October 1980).

The accusatory pathos of the call of the frantic Vissarion to a genius of Russian literature who was experiencing his creative self-immolation and who had taken up religiously tinged faithful-conservative positions is close to us today also, and we see no reason to revise and adjust anything in it. "...Russia," V. G. Belinskiy wrote N. V. Gogol' on 15 July 1947, "sees its salvation not in mysticism, not asceticism and not in pietism but in the successes of civilization, education and humaneness. It does not need sermons (it has heard enough of them!) or prayers (it has reiterated them enough!) but the awakening in the people of a feeling of human dignity, which has been lost for so many centuries in dirt and filth, and rules and laws in keeping not with the teaching of the church but with common sense and justice and their strictest possible execution.... The most vital current national issues in Russia now are the removal of feudal law, the abolition of corporal punishment and the strictest execution of such laws as there are." Mystical exaltation, Belinskiy perspicaciously went on to emphasize, is not in the Russian people's nature; "they have far too much common sense and lucidity and positiveness of mind for this, and here, perhaps, lies the immensity of their historical destiny in the future." Belinskiy's letter to Gogol' has remained forever in the history of Russian social thought as an impassioned manifesto of revolutionary democratism.

Whence it should be understood that genuine democracy's attitude toward its country's spiritual past is not an outright rejection of it (as was fairly often attributed to the Bolsheviks) but represents the critical assimilation of a spiritual and material national wealth, cutting off and rejecting only that which was directly intended for the exploitation and stupefaction of the working people's masses.

Incidentally, the worker-peasant state, which intervened decisively in social relationships, at the same time advocated the careful preservation of everything truly beautiful which had been accumulated over the ages thanks to the ruthless exploitation of the people of labor. Only ignorance could discern in this an "irreconcilable" contradiction, and only a bureaucrat given no rest by the laurels of Shchedrin's zealous chief could conceive of new cities in the place of totally demolished old ones. Protection of the historical-cultural environment is no less meaningful for the normal spiritual development of the younger generations than is the protection of the natural environment for their physical development. The party understands this problem and is taking all steps, including the renewal and tightening of the appropriate legislation, for its correct solution.

There is no doubt that many pages in the country's history still have to be read either again or for the first time. The persistent, centuries-long labor and long struggle for social justice of the Russian people and dozens of other peoples of our country represents a boundless field for the researcher and an inexhaustible fount of inspiring examples and patriotic intentions and positive and negative social experience.

The more strange in view of the very majesty of the task appear the occasional attempts to set sail for the high seas of historical research while deliberately leaving ashore the compasses of revolutionary-democratic thought and the compass of Marxist-Leninist methodology. A strange impression is also produced by the fact that certain authors are downright enchanted with the "doings" and writings of certain odious personalities whose names posterity thanklessly recalls--from Kurbskiy to Bulgarin, from Pobedonosets to Berdyayev--and this, in turn, actually casts a shadow on the representatives of the democratic camp who were unequivocally negative in their evaluation of such personalities. "...Manifestations of a lack of progressive ideas, world-outlook unscrupulousness and a departure from a clear-cut class evaluation of individual historical events and figures," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "are capable of damaging the work of gifted people even. Our critics, literary journals, creative unions and, primarily, their party organizations must be able to correct those who are sliding to one side or another, and, of course, speak out assertively and high-mindedly in instances where works appear discrediting our Soviet reality. We must be implacable here. The party has not been and cannot be indifferent to the ideological thrust of our art."

It is hardly worth reproducing here, for example, the sharply negative opinion of A. S. Pushkin and his circle and Russia's progressive people, which is well-known to every eighth grader, of the activity and views of "Vidok Figlyarin," who in the post-December period slandered the progressive Russian men of letters, persecuted them and readily performed the functions of a paid agent of the tsarist Okhranka. This opinion, which is thoroughly documented, moreover, has constantly been reproduced in democratic literature and shared by many generations of writers. Individual

purveyors of somewhat unusual trends appeared only comparatively recently. F. V. Bulgarin began to be remembered more frequently, and sympathetic works, including touching poems even, were dedicated to him. It was necessary to draw attention to this and intercede for the truth.

This was not, however, to everyone's liking. A certain "archaeographer-historian" (as he calls himself) sent a letter to KOMMUNIST disagreeing with the impartial remarks about Bulgarin and referred here to...statements about him by Bulgarin himself. Even Pushkin allegedly did not speak badly about him. Evidence? Surely. We read in a memoir source: Pushkin, "by the way, said that he did not understand why Bulgarin was so shunned and that, of course, one was somewhat ashamed to walk alongside and converse with him on a main street, but that he was prepared to chat with him on a side street." Here is a positive reference for you! There is hardly a person who does not detect in these words of Pushkin (in P. I. Bartenev's rendition of T. N. Granovskiy's story) caustic irony.

It is impossible and impermissible in our day to write about the social processes and phenomena of the past and the development of our country's social thought as if the spread of Marxism in Russia and its combination with the revolutionary workers' movement had not occurred; as if its volcanic activity at the turn of the 20th century had not given rise to Leninism--this pinnacle of Russian and world culture and inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action; and as if there had been no October Revolution, which founded the socialist system and created a fundamentally new system of sociopolitical evaluations.

It is just as impossible to think of defeating bourgeois-consumerist cosmopolitanism from nonclass, merely narrow national positions. For decades we have repeatedly heard assurances that people still exist who sincerely love Russian history and Russian culture, but who do not understand and do not accept our revolution. But are they patriots? Is their attachment, which excludes that accomplishment of the people's masses which alone uplifted our fatherland to the highest rung of social progress, making it the homeland of the earth's most impressive democracy and the highest forms of human civilization, not detrimental? Did not certain "lovers" of Russia's olden days earlier bake pies of double-dyed anti-Sovietism kneaded in the people's blood? Just as it is impossible to opt for citizenship merely out of a tourist's interest in this country or the other, so being a patriot merely from an antiquarian viewpoint without loving the living and active people themselves, without rejoicing in their successes and with experiencing their failures together with them is also inconceivable.

Allegiance to the genuine political power of the people founded by October and socialist--collectivist and internationalist--principles on the basis of which all social life is reorganized has long ceased to be the attribute of the political vanguard of the workers and peasants alone. It became part of the flesh and blood and the daily life structure of all of Soviet society in the course of 10 labor five-year plans and was tested for strength and tempered in the flames of the civil and Great Patriotic wars. From a national-cultural-historical category patriotism thereby became in our country a social category. It now reproduces not only the natural allegiance to the land of its forefathers but also the class watershed between the social systems connected with anticapitalist views, the emphatic turnabout toward the new, communist formation and with a devoted readiness loyally and truthfully to serve its people, who do not know and do not wish for themselves any other than a socialist fatherland.

It is not fortuitous that isolated and ignorant renegades pretending to the dubious role of preacher and adorning themselves in one case with an academic title and, in others, with the halo of "dissidence" cut from overseas foil enjoy no support among the population. Soviet people know how to quickly size up those fond of teaching them to live according to the prescriptions drawn either from the trunk of a great-grandmother-countess or the election speeches of Mr Carter. The fact that such personalities at the same time consult their Western patrons concerning how it is best for them to act in subverting our defense capability and internal cohesion conclusively tears away their nylon masks of "truth-tellers" and fighters for "human rights." There is not a people in this world in which such behavior would not arouse contempt, and this behavior has an accurate name--treason.

A truly great people does not feel the need for special measures to uphold its national dignity, but it needs to know its role in history, its place in the world and its position among antagonistic social forces. Both great-power conceit and demeaning servility in contacts with the citizens of other states are unbecoming its representatives. Aware workers formerly severely branded the social reformists who sell their right of class primogeniture for a mess of pottage. Now socialist primogeniture has become an attribute of the patriotic perception of the world and the civic self-awareness of the peoples of the world socialist community. It is impossible to be a Soviet patriot without an understanding of this. And it makes it incumbent upon each of us, displaying benevolence and friendliness toward all who are prepared to cooperate peacefully with us, to at the same time organize his conduct such that not a single word or gesture hurts his civic dignity.

It is difficult even to compare socialist primogeniture with the vaunted bijouterie of bourgeois democracy. It is up to each citizen of the USSR to ensure that Soviet man's national pride, about which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke, be filled with lofty and noble content and that the continuity of progressive, democratic and humanist and revolutionary, combat and labor traditions and moral and aesthetic values capable of continuing to effectively serve the people in their struggle for communism and peace be made the basis thereof. Lenin's internationalist principle: "The interest (not conceived of in a servile manner) of the national pride of the Great Russians concurs with the socialist interest of the Great Russian (and all other) proletarians" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 110) preserves its full force here. It also extends to the incipient classless society and all of its strata, whose property, as the 26th CPSU Congress observed, the revolutionary ideology and morality, collectivist mentality and interests and ideals of the working class become.

"Learning communism means educating oneself in the spirit of devoted Soviet patriotism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized. "It means endeavoring to the utmost to contribute to the strengthening of the might and prosperity of our great motherland. It means preserving as the apple of our eye the moral-political unity of our society, strengthening the friendship of the peoples of our country and being implacable toward all manifestations of nationalism. It means always being ready to give all one's forces and, if need be, one's life for the cause of the defense of one's socialist motherland, for the happiness of one's people and for the cause of communism."

Such is a vitally important area of the communist upbringing of the working people which merits the all-round attention and constant concern of all ideological workers, the entire party aktiv, each communist and Komsomol member and each conscious citizen of the first country of socialism.

## HARMONIZING THE WORLD OF HUMAN EMOTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 49-54

[Article by B. Pokrovskiy, Lenin Prize laureate and people's artist of the USSR]

[Text] Now, after the 26th party congress, the men of Soviet theater and music and all members of the creative intelligentsia face once again most important problems such as making artistic creativity more meaningful, saturating it with ideas and social significance and improving their skill. The CC CPSU accountability report mentioned the new tidal wave rising in Soviet art, marked by the appearance of many talented works of literature, the theater, motion pictures, music, painting and sculpture. The tremendous attraction which the Soviet people feel for art and their unusual interest in the success of our creative work demand from all of us a greater responsibility for the ideological and artistic content of our creative work.

Let us turn to the accountability report and consider the figures for the future growth of the country's economy and culture. We can feel most profoundly the powerful and full-blooded rhythm of the steadfast progress of the people on the road earmarked by Lenin, the rhythm of labor, joy and optimism. I see in this the great harmonic structure of our plans and the particular musical composition of our entire life.

Since early antiquity music has been the artistic summation of the rhythm of the production process, the inner beat of the "life of the human spirit." The dynamism always inherent in music takes up and extends the dynamics of labor, creativity and construction and brings out their lofty moral and aesthetic sound.

Music, theater and their synthesis--the musical theater--may be entertaining like any other kind of art, but can also be an effective factor of ideological, aesthetic and moral upbringing. Radio, television and records intensify the impact of music and of the musical theater on the spiritual world of man. We consider as exceptionally important Lenin's thought that truly great art is that which brings together the feelings, thoughts and will of the masses, which elevates them, awakens the artist in them and develops them.

As one of the most important genres in music, opera has never been separate from the most important problems of its time. Frequently throughout history it has joined in the struggle for progressive ideas. Let us recall Verdi. His operas,

which summoned the people to perform feats, played a considerable role in the movement for the reunification of Italy. During the struggle against tsarism, Russian students demonstrated in Moscow, Petersburg and Kiev singing the Song of the Freeman from Pskovityanki by N. Rimskiy-Korsakov. The fate of mankind is the fate of the nations. This aesthetic and social principle is the basis of the best classical operas in the world. Operatic art must serve our time and sing with inspiration of the great future. The world of thought and feelings of our contemporaries will thus become richer and more varied with every passing day. What art other than music or musical drama can express the increasingly complex emotional world of man and translate it into the language of images?

The powerful Russian opera classics developed naturally and organically into what we proudly describe as Soviet opera classics. The powerful talents of Soviet composers strengthened in the battles for a new ideology and progressive outlook in the epoch of socialism. This composing school is comprehensive in terms of nationality, stylistics, genre and professional characteristics. However, it is illuminated by the one main objective of the entire Soviet people. Its distinguishing characteristics are democracy and nationality. Eventually we note how one or another musical theme, rhythm or melody by T. Khrennikov or D. Kabalevskiy, N. Myaskovskiy or I. Dunayevskiy, R. Gliere or A. Khachaturyan turn into classics, become a firm part of life and part of the aesthetic treasury of the people and a wealth of permanent value.

Two names universally recognized--Sergey Prokof'yev and Dmitriy Shostakovich--stand out in global history of operatic art. They represent Soviet operatic classics whose power resides in a feeling for the new and the strongest possible ties with the great traditions of the Russian operatic school.

In the 1980/81 season the Bol'shoi Theater came to the 26th party congress with two classical operas by our contemporaries: "Katerina Izmailylova" by D. Shostakovich and "War and Peace" by S. Prokof'yev. These operas became part of the creative life of one of the leading advanced artistic bodies of the country, naturally, as a result of the legitimate development of the aesthetic principles and needs of our society. These works were followed by a flood of talented creations by contemporary Soviet composers who, under the new circumstances, sum up the principles established by past masters. There is a number of young composers who are composing first-rate operas worthy of high praise and which passionately demand the attention of musical theaters.

Soviet operas are always performed on the stage of the Bol'shoi Theater and other leading theater groups in the country. I have noted that turning to a Soviet repertoire is becoming for the actor and director a base for a new vision, a new interpretation of the classics, for Soviet themes and Soviet music develop a feeling of reliability, of the truth of life and of high patriotism. All this is of extraordinary help in working on masterpieces by Glinka and Musorgskiy, for example. At the same time, however, we must frankly state that not everything is as it should be in the staging of contemporary works by musical theaters, for the new dramatic works of music demand modern aesthetics and new means for the expression of operatic ideas.

Where do the essence and power of the opera lie? In the fact that the art of music, the most emotional of all arts, the art with the property of tremendous summation,

has been combined with the most specific, the clearest and, therefore, the most "real" art of the theater. This union is not a simple combination but an organic artistic blending in the course of which each one of the arts separately is transformed. Thus, music, which was accused by I. Kant himself of being "fleeting" and of failing to provide immediate food for thought, assumes a specific, an active nature, while drama, with its literary foundation which bears a social charge and which acts on social awareness directly, acquires an ineffable and incomparable emotional power.

We recall with deep admiration and gratitude the works of the Russian classics and the efforts of progressive theater workers of the past who fought for truly realistic and democratic trends in opera. The appearance of the genius of F. Shalyapin is no accident; the fact that K. Stanislavskiy and V. Nemirovich-Danchenko did operatic work in the first years of the revolution was natural. It was thanks to them that opera survived and that it now, standing on the firm tracks of socialist realism, is freeing itself from the old disease of pomposity. Its future is linked in our country with the steady growth of socialist culture, the unparalleled expansion of spiritual requirements of our people and the need for specific characters with a profound emotional content.

Art-entertainment organically grows into art-knowledge. The simple uninvolved listening to the music and voices in the opera is a thing of the past. The contemporary audience expects of the opera penetration into the essence of contemporary life, whatever the theme of the work may be. Therefore, we must try to stage classical works like modern ones and, at the same time, base our interpretations on high classical criteria. It is regrettable when the theater fails to find in the classics the type of facets which make the great works of the past sound contemporary. Naturally, it is not the purpose of the opera to supply people with specific behavioral prescriptions, for the opera is a conventional art. Its artistic power lies elsewhere. Thanks to the music, events in a musical drama acquire a personal, an emotional nature and, at the same time, assume universal meaning. The modest stories of P. Chaykovskiy's "Tat'yana Larina" and S. Prokof'yev's "Semen Kotko" concentrate within themselves a philosophy of life and even a special outlook. In order to identify this philosophy in its entire depth and truthfulness, we must penetrate into the being of the work. The director must be able to understand today's truth in art, deprived of any slavish standardized thinking. The creators of an operatic spectacle must be oriented toward the life of today's audiences. The word "director" means, in the full and most direct meaning of the term, a creator of the spectacle and, if one wishes, its ideologue, i.e., a person who represents the ideological structure of the work.

A tremendous distance separates the understanding of this concept from its specific implementation. However, it must be covered by all practical workers in our operatic theater. In this connection the development of the political and moral aspect of the artist demands uninterrupted attention and a search for means of expression which would protect such necessary work from schematism and formalism in art. It is self-evident that such a view of the art of the stage must become the basis for the training of actors, directors and conductors. Alas, such is not the case, for virtually no work is being done on problems of opera aesthetics.

Time brings us ever newer ideas and teaches us to look at the classics in a novel way and to see in them something which might have been inaccessible to use only yesterday. It is along this road that the artist makes discoveries. However, such discoveries must not be the aim but the consequence of the contemporary method of work with an artistic source. Frequently, this natural and joyful process is replaced with inventiveness and false interpretations. One can discover only something which exists (either forgotten or previously unknown). It is possible "to invent" absolutely anything. The real creative catastrophe begins at the point where, having skipped the study of prime sources and discarded all the traditions of the history of culture and with an aesthetically weak outlook and the lack of our own perception of the world around one, we plunge into the pursuit of a misunderstood originality and groundless "tricks." This is quite dangerous in terms of art in general and operatic art in particular, for it repels and sickens the audience and promotes bad taste.

The audience is a chief appraiser and tuning-fork of operas. It represents the "lens" within which the visual and musical characters blend into a single artistic impression. Under ideal circumstances the viewer is not an observer but an actively perceiving subject, a coparticipant in the performance. The experience of a number of musical theaters and studios shows the increased attraction of the public in recent years for shows which are consistent with its desire not only to be entertained but to be able directly and actively to perceive and to provide an emotional assessment of what is taking place on the stage. What is important is that this applies both to classical and modern operas. When I see the inordinate enthusiasm of the audience which invariably accompanies the performances of the Moscow Chamber Music Theater, I see in it the visible features of the vital process of democratization of operatic art.

The story of Aniskin, the village militiaman, came to us from literature and, initially, was warmly welcomed by readers. It was made into a motion picture and a play based on this story by V. Lipatov. Then, when it might have seemed that this plot had already been exhausted, A. Zhurbin, a young composer, wrote an opera based on it. The public warmly welcomed it, for the opera has its own very specific means for bringing out the inner beauty of man, in this case of a guardian of law and order, not in the formal but in the poetic and moral sense. It becomes clear that the modest profession of village militiaman has its poetry, its moral and aesthetic world. The opera, which interprets the entire wealth of the inner world of man, can show it convincingly to the viewers and listeners.

Let us also recall the experience of our noted composer A. Kholminov. Taking as his subject a story by V. Shukshin, he composed a gay and clever comedy which combines light lyrical humor, biting satire, love for daily life and ability to laugh at oneself. Music gave the specific events of the story the charm and the good, slightly ironic intonation which both elevated and sharpened the topic.

The opera gives an artistic spirituality to reality as it develops in the theater. The musical-dramatic character is the emotional spokesman for the life of the people, spirit and depth of outlook. This is a human synthesis of music with drama. The militiaman, the soldier, the factory girl and our contemporaries who hurry about their business, everyone, absolutely everyone acquires a soul in the

opera, a soul whose best description comes through music only, as it blends with a specific stage character.

The hypocritical admiration of the abstract beauty of the opera is withering away. Interest in new works staged by musical theaters, combining melodiousness with profound realistic drama, has been growing, particularly now in recent years. It is precisely this interest shown by the public and the principle-mindedness of demands and expectations which are the main incentive which calls upon the theater workers to become the worthy channels of the priceless treasury of Soviet art.

The world of music is the concentrated expression of the emotions of the age. Music has become universal and is one of the prime spiritual needs. I was told by the outstanding Tatar composer N. Zhiganov that his mother secretly sang to herself and her small son, for in prerevolutionary times she was unable to show her love for music due to the prevailing social system in the family.

The modern world is filled with music. This faces us, the men of arts and culture, with stricter civic and aesthetic requirements. The task formulated in the CC CPSU accountability report is deeply humanistic as well as practical: "True nationality and true party-mindedness of art means to live with the interests of the people, to share happiness and sadness with them, to assert the truth of life and our humanistic ideals, and to be an active participant in the building of communism."

The development of comprehensive and many-genred art has always been the subject of great attention in our country. Art, however, and music in particular, is comprehensive and the complexity of its perception and evaluation must be taken into consideration. We know perfectly well that the vulgar understanding of "inventiveness" is not in the least a synonym of nationality and democracy. Musorgskiy's art is both democratic and popular. However, it is not "inventive" in the primitive meaning of the term and did not gain its recognition quickly. Today no one is frightened by a certain "confusion," as some art experts defined it in their time, in the music of Prokof'yev or Shostakovich, for our generation can hear in the works of these great musicians melodies of tenderness, love for homeland and sacred hatred of its enemies....That is the reason why we must make even greater efforts to broaden the propaganda of aesthetic knowledge and to bring true art closer to life. It is wrong to assume that in the Soviet society there is an art for the elect, for a small number of "music lovers," and so-called "consumer goods" music. Snobbery, whatever its aspect, is the enemy of socialist art and the division of people into those who understand "complex" music and those who love "simpler" music is unquestionably harmful. The natural variety of tastes and attraction to beauty is a different matter. Provided that they are highly aesthetic, artistically literate and substantiated, all of them have the right to exist.

However, regardless of the entire natural dissimilarity of tastes and preferences, common criteria govern idea-mindedness and art, applicable to all works of music without exception. In particular, they imply a strictly planned proportionality and balance in the dissemination and propaganda of music. We must not crowd entire either geographic or temporal "regions" with entertainment programs, leaving merely small islands of pure, complex classical music and operatic art, for in

addition to everything else, it is precisely this that creates the myth of the "incomprehensibility" of classical music. All we have to remember is that it is not a matter simply of the number of hours of music broadcasting but of the quality of the broadcasts themselves which require extensively planned promotion of classical music, including operas.

The occasionally unbridled attention paid to the "stars" of shows is equally amazing. Such musical "fame" saturates and oversaturates the entire "free" air time with its generally shallow songs which are beneath aesthetic criteria. The extensive information provided about the creative feelings and personal emotions related to such music is hardly worth the interest shown in it by youth publications. Obviously, if we were to think and ask ourselves, do we need this in order to enhance the musical and general aesthetic standards of society, the answer would be clearly in the negative.

As they look at the outlines of the next five-year period, and as they read and reread the CC CPSU accountability report, the workers in the arts think of the need for ever-increasing propaganda of aesthetic knowledge and of the achievements of art and culture in our country. We consider this one of the most important tasks in contemporary cultural construction.

Do I consider operatic art as unquestionably closest to and totally loved by all? Such dreams, in my view, would be utopian. Opera, even in the most distant future, will hardly be able to compare in terms of popularity with motion pictures, for example. Despite all of this, however, we must clearly bear in mind that as a variety of artistic creativity, the opera is still far from having revealed its entire potential. Today the Soviet composers and workers in the musical theater face the vital task of expanding the creative horizons of artistic research in the spiritual world of our contemporary and its feelings, emotions and thoughts which cannot be suitably depicted by the other arts. A specific yet very important consequence of this is that grandiose opera houses (gigantomania in designing opera houses has remained a modern "disease") give poor support for the active dialog between performers and audiences. Occasionally, monumental mass "actions" may be considered striking and may even be admired. However, their specifically artistic, musical and dramatic function does not become fully universal. An "intimate" discussion demands an intimate surrounding in an opera as well. I would like to see over the next five years the further increase in the number and the artistic standard of "small" opera groups. This trend does not conflict in the least with the development of our acknowledged "giants" headed by the Bol'shoy Theater. On the contrary, the entire network of small opera studios and theaters will surround the traditionally developed opera groups, to disseminate music and take it closer to the masses.

Every day, with every performance, concert or meeting with an audience, our artists feel their tremendous responsibility for the work to which they have dedicated their lives. On each separate occasion they acquire confirmation of the great purpose of Soviet theatrical and musical art and the artistic power of socialist realism and its propagandist and educational mission.

Opera, ballet, the performing arts and the dramatic theater are a tremendous field of activity, for they offer many-faceted and varied ways, means and possibilities of artistic reflection of reality. Whatever area of activity the men of Soviet art may have chosen for the dedication of their forces, their objective is one: to be useful to the Soviet people, to meet their expectations, to promote in the people loyalty to the ideals of the building of communism and to assert humanity in man.

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## AVIATORS IN THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS

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[Article by Aviation Marshal G. Skorikov, chief of air force General Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force]

[Text] Four decades separate us from the dreadful days of June 1941, when fascist Germany hurled itself on the Soviet Union with a strike of unparalleled force. The aggression of Hitler's Reich and of its satellites was of a particularly reactionary, imperialist and aggressive nature. Its purpose was the destruction of the Soviet social and governmental system and the enslavement of the peoples of our homeland. The hope was to eliminate the USSR, the bulwark of peace, democracy and socialism. However, the aggressors and their secret and overt inspirers made a fatal error. Unleashing a war against the land of the soviets, the fascist leaders doomed themselves to inevitable failure.

The victory won at the cost of tremendous sacrifices and unparalleled deprivations and at the cost of an incredible focus of all efforts proved the viability and invincibility of the Soviet state. "Our victory," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in his book 'Malaya Zemlya,' "is the high point of the history of mankind. It proved the greatness of our socialist homeland and the omnipotence of communist ideas. It provided amazing examples of selflessness and heroism...."

The Soviet people were the creators of the great victory and their soul was the Leninist party. The branches and arms of the armed forces played a tremendous role in the winning of the historical victory over German fascism. The scale of the battles may be judged, for example, by the combat operations of the air force. Closely interacting with the land forces and the navy, and by itself, from the first to the last day of the war, our air force struck at the enemy on land, at sea and in the air. It affected the course and outcome of the armed struggle substantially through its actions.

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In the course of laying the foundations for socialism, in the prewar five-year plans, intensive economic preparations were being made under the guidance of the communist party for rebuffing any possible imperialist aggression. One of its main factors was the creation of the powerful military-economic potential which would raise the country's defense capability to the level of contemporary requirements and the stability of the economy in wartime.

Bearing in mind the conditions of World War II, which was under way, and the rising threat of aggression against our state, the party and the government took energetic measures to insure the further strengthening of the defense capability of the army and navy. An extensive program for their reorganization and rearming on a new technical basis were formulated. Accordingly, the striking power and maneuverability of the army and navy were raised and big mechanized, tank and aviation operative units were created. Great importance was ascribed to the development of the aerospace industry and the reconstruction of operating and the construction of new aircraft and aviation motors manufacturing plants. The successful implementation of the party's program for the country's industrialization made the creation of a material and technical base for the subsequent development of aviation possible. Twice in the course of the first two five-year plans our air force was re-equipped with new models of aircraft, many of which were superior not only to their domestic predecessors (in terms of velocity and flight altitude, by a factor of 1.5-2, and distance and bomb load, by a factor of 3), but also the best foreign models of that time. The theory of the use of substantial air power began to be developed long before the mass use of the air force was considered. Soviet martial art relied on the experience of World War I and the Civil War and on that of air force development abroad. Within an incredibly short time our country became a major air power.

Raised by the communist party, the Soviet fliers, engineers and technicians always considered the defense of the freedom and independence of the homeland and the protection of the peaceful toil of the builders of a new society their supreme duty. The air force is proud of the fact that the first heroes of the Soviet Union were fliers A. Lyapidevskiy, S. Levanevskiy, V. Molokov, N. Kamanin, M. Slepnev, M. Vovop'yanov and I. Doronin who took part in the rescue of the Chelyuskin expedition. Subsequently, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was awarded to M. Gromov, V. Chkalov, G. Baydukov and A. Belyakov, who amazed the world with their long-distance flight. The list of heroes included the women pilots P. Osipenko, M. Raskova and V. Grizodubova.

Even before the Great Patriotic War, the imperialist countries repeatedly tried to test the firmness and inviolability of Soviet borders. Each time, however, the Red Army responded with a crushing blow. The striking power of Soviet aviation, the high moral-combat qualities of our fliers and their skill in equipment mastery were convincingly proved during the armed conflict along the Chinese-Far Eastern Railroad, and the conflicts in the areas of Lake Khasan and the Khalkhin-Gol River, provoked by the Japanese imperialists. The winged forces of the land of the soviets, who were carrying out their international duty, courageously fought for the freedom of the Chinese and the Spanish peoples.

During that time the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government carried out a number of measures with a view to the further strengthening of the air force: the strength of the air force was increased, new aviation units and formations were organized, the air force was rearmed with new aircraft models, airfields were expanded and built and so on. The main line of development of the organizational forms of the air force was determined by the need to insure its closer interaction with ground and naval forces as well as among the various units and large units of the various air force arms.

The operative skill of the Soviet air force developed successfully. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of wars and armed forces, it properly resolved the problems of the struggle for control of the air and defined the role, place and assignments of the air force in ground force operations. Soviet military science resolved the basic problems of the use of the air force and developed in detail methods for the preparation for and conduct of independent air operations in accordance with the overall plan of a possible war and of the actions of ground and naval forces. The operative use of the air force was based on the theory of in-depth operations. Our very first aviation regulations and instructions included as a principal requirement the mass use of the air force. The combat assignments and principles of the use of the various arms of the air force were determined in accordance with their overall tactics.

On the party's Central Committee assignment, more advanced models of Yak-1, LaGG-3 and MiG-3 fighter planes, Pe-2 and Pe-8 bombers and Il-2 ground support aircraft were developed. Most models were superior to the comparable models manufactured by fascist Germany. For example, at a 5,000 meter altitude the Yak-1 fighter plane could develop a speed of 575 km per hour, whereas the speed of the German Me-109 fighter plane did not exceed 545. The Pe-2 bomber developed a maximum velocity of 540 km per hour. It carried five machine guns and up to 1,000 kg of bombs, while the ground support Il-2 airplane was unequalled in the world in terms of combat qualities. As a result of such measures, by the spring of 1941, compared with the beginning of 1939, the number of airplanes in the Soviet air force had more than doubled, while the number of aviation regiments had been increased by more than 80 percent. The strengthening of the bombing and ground support air force arms increased the air force's striking power. By the summer of 1941 bombers and ground support front line aviation aircraft of the active army accounted for 41.2 percent of the entire air force.

While guiding the technical retooling of the air force, the communist party paid great attention to the training and education of aviation cadres. A broad network of aviation schools was organized to train fliers, navigators, engineers, technicians, staff commanders and other specialists; aviation academies trained command, ground support and engineering cadres with higher education. Thanks to the tremendous efforts of the party and the people, a powerful air force was created in the prewar years, which was able to resolve major combat assignments either together with ground and naval forces or independently.

However, the time which history had given us was too short, and many measures related to the organization and technical equipment of the troops and the aviation with new combat equipment could not be completed before the war broke out. In 1940 production amounted to 64 Yak-1 fighter planes, 20 MiG-3 fighter planes and two Pe-2 dive bombers. In the first half of 1941 the output amounted to 1,946 Yak-1, MiG-3 and LaGG-3 fighter planes, 458 Pe-2 bombers and 249 Il-2 ground support aircraft. All in all, the air force acquired about 2,740 new airplanes.

The treacherous attack which Hitlerite Germany mounted against our country interrupted the peaceful work of the Soviet people. In the course of the most bloody and lengthy of all the wars waged in the history of the socialist homeland, our people came out as the winners. They not only defended their freedom and independence but rescued from doom European and world civilization.

In preparing for the attack on the Soviet Union, the fascist command concentrated on our western borders a tremendous force of troops and combat materiel, including about 5,000 airplanes. The blitzkrieg doctrine assigned a decisive role in the war to aviation, along with tank and mechanized forces. Using the surprise factor, the enemy mounted mass raids on our airfields with a view to dealing a crushing strike at the Soviet air force which was still on the ground and thus removing it from combat operations. The Soviet air force suffered severe losses but continued to offer a heroic resistance to the enemy.

The surprise factor, which gave the enemy major advantages at the initiation of the war, was particularly damaging to our aviation. As early as 22 June the air force of the four western military districts lost 1,136 airplanes, including 800 on 66 airfields which were attacked by surprise. The main reasons for the major losses suffered by the Soviet air force were the unexpected enemy strikes at airfields, made worse by the low state of combat readiness of the air force in these districts (about 60 percent) and poor vigilance. The limited number of airfields and the reduced number of bases of aviation units and formations, the poor antiaircraft defense of the airfields and the fact that their aircraft remained unprotected, the existence of an overwhelming number of obsolete airplanes (more than 80 percent), the fact that the flight personnel had not mastered fully the handling of the new model aircraft and the lack of experience in organizing the resistance to massed enemy air strikes also exerted a determining influence on the situation. For almost two years the aggressor controlled the air space along the most important strategic directions of the Soviet-German front. However, even under such circumstances, the Soviet air force retained its ability for active combat operations. This is eloquently proven by the losses suffered by Hitler's aviation which in less than one month of war, from 22 June to 19 July 1941, lost 1,284 airplanes.

The extremely difficult circumstances which developed at the beginning of the war along the most important directions of the Soviet-German front forced the Soviet command to use the bulk of the air force as ground support. The air force engaged in reconnaissance, provided air cover to the defense forces, repelled enemy air force strikes in the rear, actively participated in supporting our counterstrikes and bombed motorized and tank fascist formations. The air force carried out all of these assignments despite the fierce counteraction of the Hitlerite aviation. In the zones of combat operation of the ground forces--over the battlefields and in the immediately operative rear--fierce air battles were fought almost continually. The Soviet air force, which was systematically increasing its efforts, dealt steady blows at the fascist aviation in the air and on the ground, gradually depriving the enemy of the temporary advantages gained by the sudden attack. The Soviet aviators, who showed high combat skill, daring and unparalleled heroism, spared neither their forces nor their lives for the sake of victory.

In assessing the results of the battle for Moscow, Stalingrad, the Caucasus, the Kuban' and Kursk, we can say that in the Great Patriotic War a gigantic struggle developed on the Soviet-German front for strategic command of the air, conducted under the overall command of the Supreme Command Headquarters, in the interest of the successful implementation of strategic operations and of winning the war. It involved the forces and facilities of all the branches of the Soviet armed forces. The struggle was intense.

Stubborn fighting on the ground and in the air proved that despite the temporary strategic air control of the enemy, in the main directions of the Soviet-German front and the most important sectors, the Soviet air force gained operative control. Such was the case in the defensive battles for Moscow and, subsequently, the counteroffensive and the offensive in that direction. Such was also the case with the counteroffensive at Stalingrad and in the battles for the Caucasus and the Kuban'.

In the summer of 1943, as a result of air fights and the battles at the Kursk Arc, which were unparalleled in scope, intensity and fierceness, the enemy's active operations in the air totally lost their operative and, subsequently, strategic initiative. Since then and until the total defeat of fascist Germany, the Soviet aviation reliably retained its strategic air superiority.

In World War II the fascist air force lost more than 100,000 airplanes, as many as 77,000 of which were destroyed on the Soviet-German front, including 57,000 in the air and on the ground, by the air force, the navy and the fighter aircraft of the country's antiaircraft defense. In Western Europe the enemy lost about 8,000 airplanes; he lost about 9,000 in the Mediterranean theater and more than 7,500 in the Balkans.

Therefore, it was precisely on the Soviet-German front that the main forces of fascist aviation were pulverized, and it was precisely the Soviet air force which was the principal instrument for the solution of this most important and most complex problem of the armed struggle.

The results of this struggle are drawing the attention of historians throughout the world to this day. They all ask the same question: how was it possible, under the most difficult circumstances created by the unexpected and treacherous attack launched by Hitlerite Germany, under conditions governed by the quantitative and qualitative superiority of the aggressor on the ground and in the air, and under conditions of a hasty reorganization and rearming, that Soviet aviation was able to take the initiative in the air away from the enemy and deal a crushing defeat to the famous fascist Luftwaffe?

Remembering the severe experience of the initial period of the war, the communist party, the Supreme Command and the command of the air force did everything necessary to insure our strategic superiority in the air. The advantages of the Soviet economy made it possible to increase the production of aviation equipment with every passing year and to outstrip the enemy in the quantity and quality of combat aircraft. Within the shortest possible time the aerospace industry was able to reorganize its work on a military footing. As early as the end of 1941, after the evacuation was completed, the rate of production of new types of combat aircraft began to grow rapidly. Plants producing electrical engineering equipment, machines and machine tools were transferred to the People's Commissariat of Aviation Industry. Compared with 1941, the 1942 production of ground support airplanes rose by a factor of 5.7. All in all, during the war more than 54,000 fighter planes, more than 35,000 ground support planes and about 16,000 front line and long range bombers were produced. Twenty-five types of new and updated airplanes (10 fighters, 8 bombers, 2 ground support and 5 cargo and training) and 23 different models of aircraft engines were produced serially. Soviet aviation became totally rearmed. All this made it possible to eliminate the Hitlerites' technical superiority in the

field of aviation and to make the organizational structure of air force units consistent with the requirements of fighting a strong enemy.

Another most important factor which led to the success of the Soviet air force was the flexible system adopted for the training of aviation cadres adapted to wartime conditions. In the first 18 months of the war, the air force schools trained about 90,000 fliers and technical personnel.

Between the autumn of 1942 and the end of 1944, 30 aviation corps were formed and armed exclusively with new models of fighter, ground support and bomber aircraft. This meant that powerful aviation reserves were created, as a result of which the air force was able to maneuver on an extensive basis and quickly set up major aviation groups operating along the most important directions of the Soviet-German front.

The Soviet command acquired the possibility of adopting more decisive methods for aerial warfare, such as the mounting of major aerial operations involving several air force armies of the various fronts and long-range aviation units. In the course of these operations the Soviet air force deprived the enemy of the possibility of maneuvering with its own air forces, concentrating them along the directions of the main strikes dealt by our ground and air forces and engaging in counterstrikes along a wide front. Air superiority provided our ground and naval forces favorable conditions for mounting large-scale strategic offensive operations by groups of fronts, while the air force was able to concentrate more decisively its own forces and deal continuing crushing blows at the enemy forces from the air. All this, put together, improved the strategic stability of the front.

The successful combat operations of the great Soviet fliers were an important component of the overall plan of the measures taken by the party and the government to insure the enemy's defeat. During the war the air force conducted 3,124,000 sorties and dropped on enemy targets as many as 30,450,000 bombs of different calibers.

Like all army and navy soldiers, in their struggle against the enemies of the homeland Soviet aviators displayed high moral-political and combat qualities and set unsurpassable examples of courage, heroism, infinite bravery and military valor and wrote outstanding pages in the heroic chronicles of the Great Patriotic War. The winged sons of the Soviet people daringly fought superior enemy forces and, whenever they ran out of ammunition, rammed the enemy. In the first day of the war, ramming--the weapon of those with courage--was used by I. Ivanov, P. Ryabtsev, L. Butelin, N. Ignat'yev, A. Danilov and A. Moklyak. All in all, in the war on more than 500 occasions our fliers rammed the enemy in the air. Seventeen of them rammed the enemy twice; A. Khlobystov three times; and B. Kovzan four times. Ye. Zelenko, a woman flier and member of the Leninist Komsomol, was one of those who rammed an enemy aircraft.

Without sparing their own lives, the fighters in the air boldly rammed ground targets. The first to accomplish such an immortal exploit were the crews commanded by A. Avdeyev, N. Gastello and G. Khrapay. On more than 350 occasions the noble fighters aimed their burning or damaged airplanes at concentrations of enemy personnel or equipment.

When our skies over the vast areas of the Fatherland, from the ice of the Arctic to the mountains of the Caucasus, became a combat arena, the enemy realized what it meant to be a Soviet flier. Soviet fliers took to the skies the persistence and will of our people and the Leninist party for victory. The people blessed them for their exploits while hatred of the enemy tripled their strength. The people will never forget the live example of love for the Fatherland and loyalty to military duty of the courageous heroic fliers A. Mares'yev, L. Belousov, Z. Sorokin, I. Malikov and S. Kuz'min who were able to find sufficient strength within themselves to take off again although heavily wounded. More than 200,000 aviators were awarded orders and medals for excellent performance of combat assignments, heroism and courage; 2,420 were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union (the overwhelming majority of them were in the 20 to 30 year age group); 65 people were awarded the same title twice, while A. I. Pokryshkin and I. N. Kozhedub, three times. For high combat skill displayed in carrying out assignments on the defeat of the fascist aggressors, more than 60 percent of aviation units and formations were awarded orders; 288 aviation formations, units and subunits of the front line and long range air force were given the title of guard unit, and 708 were awarded other titles of honor.

Our great communist party was the true leader, organizer and military commander of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. It focused on the single target--victory--all of its organizational genius, the entire force of the powerful comity of the peoples of the USSR and all of the people's energy, endurance, firmness and powerful will acquired in the course of decades. The best sons of the party were assigned to the most dangerous and important sectors of the struggle. The aviators deemed it a high honor to go into battle as party members. The sons and daughters of the Leninist Komsomol were in the front ranks of the defenders of the homeland. Purposeful party-political work played a most important role in mobilizing the aviators for the defeat of the enemy. Air force political organs and party organizations, together with commanders, comprehensively developed in the troops feelings of patriotism and proletarian internationalism and the responsibility for the fate of the homeland. They strengthened the personnel's socialist ideals, educated them in a feeling of sacred hatred for Hitlerism, exposed the savage nature of fascist ideology and called upon them to commit exploits for the Fatherland. The political workers took the word of the party among the masses and the personal examples they set inspired the masses to heroic and selfless struggle.

Wing to wing with the Soviet aviators in the battles against the Hitlerite aggressors were the French patriots--the fliers from the Normandy Nieman regiment, volunteer fliers from Poland and Czechoslovakia and, after the liberation of Romania and Bulgaria, aviators from these countries. The land of the soviets highly valued the combat merits of the aviators of countries friendly to us, many of whom were awarded orders and medals.

After the defeat of fascist Germany, guided by the interests of our people and of all progressive mankind and loyal to its obligations as an ally, the Soviet government announced the entry of the USSR into the war against militaristic Japan. In 23 days the Soviet armed forces routed the most powerful army of the aggressor--the Kwantung army. Our great air force played an important role in the defeat of the military machine of Japanese imperialism.

The war confirmed the accuracy of many Soviet military concepts and contributed many basically new features to military theory and practice. In the course of the defensive operations the role and scale of the use of the air force proved to be considerably greater than our prewar regulations had stipulated. In particular, we were forced to develop practically from scratch solutions to problems of aviation countertraining for defeating or weakening enemy strikes.

Air force offensive--a new and more progressive form of operative use of air force formations and units in the interest of the fronts--was born. In the second and third periods of the war the problem of the operative use of aviation in supporting tank armies and corps operating as mobile groups and used for increasing original successes was resolved for the first time.

As a whole, the operational art of the air force was enriched with the experience of the organization and implementation of operative interaction between the air force and ground forces under different circumstances.

The Soviet aviators learned how to defeat enemy aviation concentrations within a relatively short time. This made it possible, in the course of a few days, to change the ratio of forces in our favor. It was precisely this which contributed to the gaining of air superiority in the battles for Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk. In the course of these and of the Berlin operation several thousand airplanes took part simultaneously from both sides.

The methods for striking at enemy airfields were improved as well. Whereas in the initial period of the war they were carried out with small groups, starting with the second period, groups of as many as 100 airplanes or more were assigned to such operations, including the forces necessary for the suppression of enemy anti-aircraft defenses.

The problem of the combat use of the air force in surrounding enemy troops was resolved for the first time. Methods were developed for combat operations in the opening of internal and external fronts, the repelling of counterstrikes and the destruction of surrounded enemy concentrations. The successful implementation of a blockade from the air of concentrations of forces surrounded at Stalingrad, Korsun'-Shevchenkivskiy, Bobruysk, Vitebsk, Minsk, Brody, Iasi, Konigsberg, Breslau and Berlin was an entirely new development. Direction from the air in the operative areas was improved steadily and the tactics of subunits, units and large units of all aviation arms were perfected.

Concentrated strikes by big formations, as big as corps, began to be used in bombing. The most efficient means of combat were applied in ground support aviation--called sorties, strikes at predetermined targets, and use of new battle procedures such as flying in a closed circle over the target and new means of attack involving slanted diving and hedge-hopping flights. Fighter aircraft converted from closed combat order to separate flights in terms of altitude and range (A. I. Pokryshkin's famous "shelf") and the pair of aircraft was adopted as the basic higher flight unit. Group aerial combat became the main tactic of fighter aircraft. The system which was developed for calling fighter aircraft made possible the successful solution of the problem of intercepting enemy aircraft.

The victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism brought about radical and irreversible changes in the ratio of forces in the world arena. Imperialism lost the historical initiative and was deprived of the possibility of controlling the destiny of nations with impunity. It was forced to take into consideration the steadily rising power of the socialist countries, their active foreign policy and the international cohesion of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

After defending its socialist Fatherland in heavy battles against imperialism, the Soviet people returned to peaceful constructive labor. The appearance of our homeland changed within a historically short time. A developed socialist society was built in the Soviet Union and our economic power is growing. A new historical, social and international community--the Soviet people--was established. Our state, which appeared to be a state of proletarian dictatorship, became a state of the whole people.

The world socialist system was founded. The comity of fraternal socialist countries joined forces in CEMA and, as a response to the creation of the aggressive NATO bloc, was forced to create its own political defense alliance--the Warsaw Pact--whose efforts are directed toward the preservation of the peace and the defense of socialist gains. The Soviet people, who are brimming with powerful constructive force and creative energy, are looking at the future with confidence. Closely united around their tried vanguard--Lenin's party--they are confidently progressing toward their cherished goal, communism.

Hitler and his clique were dumped on the garbage heap of history. The imperialist camp remained. Its military-industrial complex has reached tremendous dimensions and is now urging on the forces of reaction and aggression toward constant military conflict and the restoration of the atmosphere of mistrust and toward balancing on the brink of war in international relations. The imperialists are ignoring the peace program formulated by our party. Proposals concerning the adoption of new measures of trust in Europe and the Far East, the limitation of strategic armaments and their reduction, the proclamation of a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the holding of a special United Nations Security Council session to formulate measures for the improvement of the international situation, expressed in the CC CPSU accountability reports to the 26th party congress, are equally being ignored by the leading imperialist powers. The policy of American imperialism clearly reveals attempts to shift the burden of a possible nuclear adventure to the shoulders of its NATO allies. However, the peace program of the 1980s meets with the warm response of hundreds of millions of working people the world over and with the unanimous approval and support of all progressive mankind.

The communist party and the Soviet government pay constant attention to strengthening the country's defense capability. They are concerned with supplying our great armed forces with everything they need for carrying out their assignments. The party considers defense measures a special and very important aspect of the efforts aimed at strengthening the peace.

"The strong blend of a high degree of available technical facilities, military skill and unbreakable moral spirit is the combat potential of the Soviet armed forces," the 26th CPSU Congress noted. This potential of the army, air force and navy is the basis of the combat power which, in turn, is the indicator of the unity of material and spiritual forces which constitute the military power of the state.

Thanks to the tireless concern of the communist party and the Soviet government for strengthening the defense capability of the country, the air force has reached a new qualitative level. It is equipped with modern facilities and weapons. In a way the air force embodies the power of the Fatherland and the high standard reached by Soviet science and technology. The extensive use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the continuing quality changes and improvements in aviation technology and the increased effectiveness of the ways and means for its combat use are characteristic of the current stage in the development of the air force.

The country's scientific and technical potential, whose main directions of development in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s were defined in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, is a necessary prerequisite for supplying the air force and the armed forces as a whole with equipment on the level of contemporary requirements. Soviet science insures the creation of powerful modern weapons in answer to the intrigues of the warmongers and attempts to achieve military-technical superiority over the Soviet Union.

In the course of implementing the decisions of the 26th party congress commanders, staffs, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations pay primary attention to raising the level of training of air force personnel and to developing in all troops high moral-political and combat qualities. The Central Committee's direct instruction on strengthening the educational role of the armed forces, formulated in the decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" is a long-term project. Its systematic implementation is having a positive impact on the results of all combat training, unity within military collectives, effectiveness in the implementation of training-combat assignments and the improvement of military skills of the entire air force personnel.

Today victory in the air is determined not only by the combat characteristics of the equipment used by the confronting sides. Each combat sortie and aerial battle is, above all, a test of the firmness of the moral spirit and combat qualities of air force fliers. That is why the steady enhancement of the level of flying skill is the base of the combat training of the flight personnel. The combination of the art of flying an airplane or helicopter, tactical skill and high moral-political and psychological qualities is the result of intensive military training.

While showing the necessary attention to the specialists in the ground services of the air force, we pay particular attention to the training of the flight personnel who are engaged in an exceptionally complex and stressful work, and whose profession is quite different from any other and involves constant risk. The flier is a person with the highest possible moral firmness, loyalty and courage. In war he meets the enemy in open combat and the fire of all possible weapons is directed at him. The winning qualities in combat are, above all, ability, flight skill,

endurance, daring and talent. Flying will always remain the job of dedicated people, loyal to their duty to their last breath.

Always, in war and in peace, the flight personnel must display exceptional self-control and total dedication of forces, knowledge, experience and readiness to commit an exploit based on daring, precise estimates and high professional skills. Today as well, after the war, dozens of people who are practicing this legendary profession have been awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Today the air force has everything necessary for highly effective tactical training under conditions as close to modern combat and operations as possible. The successful implementation of combat and political training assignments, the maintenance of a state of high combat readiness of aviation units and the skillful solution of combat problems by them are greatly determined by the broad military outlook and comprehensive military-theoretical and technical training of officer cadres. As Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense has pointed out, "All the branches of the armed forces are developing harmoniously. They are supplied with the most modern weapons. However powerful their armament may be, the Soviet soldier remains the decisive force of the army and navy, a soldier who is ideologically convinced, politically mature and master of the weapons and military equipment entrusted to him."

The training of ideologically tempered, firm and skillful fighters in the air who can defeat a strong and clever enemy is the main task of the political, educational and organizational work of commanders, staffs, political organs and party and Kom-somol organizations. The Leninist party demands of us that we concentrate all means for ideological upbringing on strengthening communist convictions, feelings of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, pride in the land of the soviets, ideological firmness, ability to counter any form of bourgeois influence and readiness to defend the gains of socialism.

The units are armed with supersonic missile-carrying aircraft and heavy long-range bombers which can strike at enemy targets outside the range of the antiaircraft defenses and carry out extensive assignments in providing cover and support to ground and naval forces. Combat helicopters, which provide support to ground forces in offensive and defensive operations, are steadily gaining in importance. The use of big freight-carrying aircraft by the military transport aviation units makes it possible to transport all-army units and large units over great distances.

As a whole, the air force possesses the type of high mobility and maneuverability which makes it possible to change from one direction to another, penetrate deep within enemy territory and strike at enemy targets, employ various means for striking at the enemy and engaging in radioelectronic warfare in all weather conditions and at all times of the day or the year, and inflict sudden strikes from the air. The air force is a powerful branch of the USSR armed forces, capable of exerting a major influence on the course and outcome of ground and sea operations.

Soviet aviation was the cradle of cosmonautics. The reason for which many USSR cosmonauts are aviators is precisely because flying proved to be similar to the profession of the cosmonauts. The method for the training and preparation of the flight personnel is the basis for cosmonaut training.

Modern cosmonautics is a new trend of scientific and technical progress, a new victory of the human mind and a starting point for the future gigantic accomplishments of mankind. Last April our country celebrated the 20th anniversary of the first flight of man into space. Following the legendary exploit of Yuriy Gagarin, about 60 envoys of our Fatherland and of the members of the socialist comity have worked in outer space.

Today the efficient and creative atmosphere of the 26th CPSU Congress is influencing the moods and military work of air force personnel. The congress' decisions set new and important assignments for the army, air force and navy in strengthening the country's defense capability. Their successful implementation requires great efforts. The involvement of the entire air force personnel in the study of the congress' documents and the implementation of its decisions and the participation of every party member in their dissemination are today the main features in the activity of political organs and party organizations.

Like all army and navy personnel, the entire air force personnel unanimously support Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words expressed at the solemn inauguration of the memorial complex in the city-hero of Kiev: "...we shall find a quick and effective answer to any challenge hurled by militant imperialism, for our first and most sacred duty is to insure the security of our country and that of its allies and to secure a reliable peace for the Soviet people."

The concern of the party, the government and the entire people, and the high rating given the military toil of the Soviet troops by the Leninist party congress inspire the aviators to new successes in their service and combat training. Shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers--the forces of the Warsaw Pact members--they will continue to fulfill their patriotic and international duty honorably and, if necessary, to defend the historical gains of socialism and peace against any encroachment.

5003  
CSO: 1802/15

## NEW DOCUMENTS OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 66-81

[Text] In the Great Patriotic War, under the leadership of the communist party, the Soviet people defended the honor, freedom and independence of their socialist homeland, made a decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and its allies, and won a universal-historical victory over the hated enemy, thus saving mankind from fascist slavery.

After expelling the fascist occupation forces from the USSR, our valorous armed forces conducted a noble liberation mission and fulfilled their international duty honorably. The Soviet people entered the territory of other countries, including Germany, not as conquerors but as liberators. Long before the defeat of the fascist aggressors J. Stalin had stated that "...Hitlers come and go while the German people and state remain."

The Soviet government and Supreme Command Headquarters clearly defined the line of behavior of Soviet troops on German territory. Their task was to defeat the Hitlerite army and to help the German people to reject the yoke of the fascist dictatorship and start a new life in peace and friendship with other nations. The directives demanded of the troops not to identify the German people with the gang of fascist criminals who had unleashed World War II.

In his address at the ceremony in Berlin marking the 20th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We are proud of the fact that the Soviet army brought the German people peace and freedom from Hitlerite tyranny. You well know, comrades, that the Soviet people have never identified Hitler's clique and German imperialism with the German people. Even in the most difficult periods of the war, the peoples of the Soviet Union did not forget that Hitler and Hitlerites were not the only ones on German soil. We never forgot that the German people gave the world the founders of the theory of scientific socialism and courageous proletarian revolutionaries."

The documents published below pertain to the concluding stage of the struggle against the fascist aggressors--the Berlin operation, which was the most grandiose and biggest operation in the history of World War II--and the initial, complex and difficult period of organization of the life of the German people under postwar conditions.

The documents are filed at the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense. They were prepared for printing by Maj Gen N. I. Lutsev, the archives' chief. All with the exception of document No 14 are being published for the first time.

Document No 1

From the General Headquarters Directive on the Preparations for and Implementation of the Berlin Offensive Operation

To the Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front

2 April 1945

Supreme Headquarters order:

1. Prepare and conduct an offensive operation with the target of capturing the city of Berlin, the capital of Germany, reaching the Elbe River no later than between the 12th and 15th day from the beginning of the operation.

2. The main strike will be dealt from the bridgehead on the Oder River, west of Kustrin, with forces of the combined-arms armies and the two tank armies.

Five to six artillery divisions will be concentrated on the sector of the breach, creating a fire density of no less than 250 76-mm or bigger guns per km of the breach front.

3. Two auxiliary strikes with the forces of two armies each will be dealt to support the main front concentration from the north and the south.

The first strike will originate in the area northwest of Berwalde in the general direction of Eberswalde and Ferbelin; the second strike will originate from the bridgehead on the Oder River, north and south of Frankfurt in the general direction of Furstenwalde, Potsdam and Brandenburg, bypassing Berlin from the south.

4. The tank armies will follow the direction of the main strike after a breach has been made in the defense lines in order to exploit the success in bypassing Berlin from the north and the northeast.

5. The second-echelon army will be used to exploit the success achieved in the main direction....

Supreme Headquarters

J. Stalin

Antonov

Copy, Tsamo [Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense], Archive 233, List 2356, File 459, sheets 69-70

Document No 2

From the Directive of Supreme Headquarters on Preparations for and Implementation of the Berlin Offensive Operation<sup>1</sup>

To the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front

3 April 1945, 2100 hours

Supreme Headquarters order:

1. To prepare and carry out an offensive operation with the purpose of defeating the enemy concentration in the Cottbus area and south of Berlin. The Beelitz and Wittenberg and along the Elbe River to the Dresden line must be reached no later than on the 10th to the 12th day from the beginning of the operation. Subsequently, after the capture of Berlin, an offensive on Leipzig must be considered.

2. The main strike by the forces of five all-arms armies and two tank armies will be dealt from the Triedel area in the general direction of Spremberg and Belzig.

In the breakthrough section six artillery divisions are to be concentrated creating a density of no less than 250 guns 76 mm or bigger per km of breakthrough front.

3. A secondary strike will be launched from the culvert area in the general direction of Bautzen and Dresden.

4. The second-echelon tank armies and all-arms armies will follow in the breakthrough to exploit the success achieved in the direction of the main strike.

Firm defensive operations must be mounted on the left flank of the front, paying particular attention to the (Breslawl) direction.

The Fifth Guards army will be replaced and used for the offensive in the main direction....

Supreme Headquarters

J. Stalin

Antonov

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 3, List 11,556, File 18, sheets 91-92

Document No 3

From the Directive of Supreme Headquarters on the Preparations for and Implementation of the Berlin Offensive Operation<sup>2</sup>

To the Commander of the Forces of the Second Belorussian Front

6 April 1945

Supreme Headquarters Order:

1. Prepare for and mount an offensive operation with the objective of crossing the Oder River, defeating the enemy's Stettin group of forces and by no later than the 12th to the 15th day from the beginning of the operation reach the Anklam, Demmin, Malchin, Waren, Pritzwalk and Wittenberge line.
2. The main strike with the forces of three all-arms armies and two tank and one mechanized corps will originate in the area north of Schwedt in the general direction of Strelitz. Three artillery divisions must be concentrated on the breakthrough sector, creating a density of no less than 150 guns 76 mm or bigger per km of breakthrough front.
3. If the conditions are favorable the success is to be exploited by the forces of the First Belorussian Front for defeating the enemy defense lines along the Oder line, using some of the forces of the right flank of the First Belorussian Front.
4. The second-echelon all-arms army and the tank and mechanized corps will be introduced after the breakthrough of enemy defense lines to exploit the success in the main direction.
5. Part of the front forces must firmly secure the Baltic coast from the estuary of the Vistula to Berg-Diwenow and the Berg-Diwenow-Altdamm sector....

Supreme Headquarters

J. Stalin

Antonov

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 237, List 2,394, File 1,309, sheets 1-2

Document No 4

From the Operative Directive of the Command of the First Belorussian Front on the Preparation for and Implementation of the Berlin Offensive Operation<sup>3</sup>

Personally to:

Commander Fifth Shock Army

Commander Eighth Guards Army

Commander First Guards Tank Army

Commander Second Guards Tank Army

Copy to Chief of General Staff, Artillery Command

12 April 1945, 0300 hours

....7. The preparations for the offensive operation, regrouping and deployment of the troops at the starting point for the offensive must be concealed from the enemy, using all possible camouflage measures and mandatorily striving to achieve surprise.

8. The chief of staff, chief of the operational department of the army staff and the commander of army artillery may be acquainted with the present directive.

The other executors will be given assignments within the extent of their obligations.

No written orders are to be issued to regimental commanders; the assignments must be given orally for three-day periods.

No general directives are to be issued to the rear services. Oral orders are to be issued only.

9. It must be explained to the entire army personnel that our task is firm long-term defense.

Junior officers and Red Army men are to be informed of the offensive two hours before the attack.

10. The offensive will begin in accordance with my personal instructions....

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, commander of the forces of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Colonel General Malinin, chief of staff of the First Belorussian Front

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 233, List 2,356, File 459, sheets 74-79

Document No 5

From the Battle Report of the Command of the First Belorussian Front on the Combat Operations of the Front's Troops and the Seizure of Berlin

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief

3 May 1945

1. On the right flank of the front the enemy continued to retreat in a westerly direction, opposing weak resistance to the advance of our forces.

The surrounded garrison of the city of Berlin, headed by the city's commandant, Artillery General Weidling, and staff ended their resistance and surrendered to our forces. Individual groups of the encircled garrison, which are trying to break through in a westerly direction, are being destroyed by our forces in the area of Spandau and west of it.

2. After overcoming the resistance of the surrounded enemy, the front forces captured Berlin, the capital of Germany, and in the course of the day took prisoner troops defending the city and destroyed individual groups which tried to break out of Berlin in a westerly direction. Preliminary estimates for 2 May 1945 show over 64,000 soldiers and officers captured from the troops of the surrounded Berlin enemy garrison. ...The registration of prisoners in Berlin is continuing.

On the right flank of the front the troops continued their rapid advance and, after surmounting weak enemy resistance, advanced in a single day as much as 50 km. In the Wilsnack area (12 km southwest of Wittenberge) advance elements established contact with American troops.

...According to preliminary data, on 2 May 1945 90,050 soldiers and officers were captured along all the sectors of the front, including seven generals, more than 600 officers and 10,700 wounded enemy soldiers and officers in hospitals....

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, commander of the forces of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Colonel General Malinin, chief of staff of the First Belorussian Front

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 233, List 2,356, File 575, sheets 28-36

Document No 6

From the Report on the Organization of the Berlin City Bank

Comrade Stalin, Moscow

14 May 1945

In order to meet the needs of the Berlin population and insure the payment of salaries, the development of trade and the work of Berlin's industrial enterprises and administrative establishments, we decided to open a Berlin City Bank on 15 May and 20 city bank branches, one per district, by 20 May.

Following is a draft decree on the organization of the Berlin City Bank and the provisional monetary circulation in Berlin....

Mikoyan,  
Zhukov,  
Khrulev,  
Telegin

Document No 7

From the Report by the Member of the Military Council of the Fifth Shock Army on the Political Moods of the Berlin Population in Connection with the Measures Implemented by the Soviet Command<sup>4</sup>

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Zhukov, Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front

15 May 1945

In connection with the end of the war and the series of measures carried out by the Soviet command on restoring life in Berlin, particularly in terms of supplying the population with food,<sup>5</sup> the political-moral status of the city's population has improved sharply. In conversation many Berliners emphasized that this year happy events have begun only of late and, paradoxical though this might seem, they are related to the entry of the Red Army into Berlin.... Living conditions as well have begun to improve with the coming of the Red Army: electric light has appeared; the problems of water and housing have eased and, above all, the food problem is being resolved adequately.

In the course of a conversation Trumberg, an electrician, said: "The nightmarish weeks are behind us. The Nazis frightened us with the statement that the Russians will send all Germans to cold Siberia in eternal slavery. We see now that this was a shameless lie. The measures taken by the Soviet command indicate that the Russians do not intend to insult or destroy us. Once again I can see a future."

G. Banacke, the first mayor of the Lichtenberg district, stated: "Allow me to express to you quite frankly my thoughts and feelings. I am telling you frankly, I never thought that the Russian government and command would undertake such a serious step for insuring food supplies. I reemphasize that I, my colleagues and the population around me mistrusted the policy of the Soviet government and of its command prior to the arrival of the Red Army. Now everyone has sighed with relief. Everyone is hoping for a normal life and good work. I have discussed this problem with many white and blue-collar workers and intellectuals. All of them expressed their amazement at such high rations, particularly in the case of bread.<sup>6</sup> We all realize that we cannot have the right to expect the type of nutrition established by the Russian command. That is why we expected that the arrival of the Red Army meant for us death from hunger and exile to Siberia.

"This is truly generous.... I must also tell you that I had the opportunity to meet personally with Marshal Zhukov, member of the cabinet, and Colonel General Berzarin. I was amazed by their simplicity and warmth. Anyone who has dealt with Zhukov and Berzarin has gained a very favorable impression. I am amazed that such prestigious people can talk with the population and the personnel of the municipality with such simplicity and warmth. My conclusion was that the Russians will be able to organize normal life in Berlin, for they have taken up the solution of all problems energetically. The Russians are concerned mainly with insuring work for everyone and with allowing the population to live a normal life...."

Scheffer, a physician, has made the following statement: "I can say something about the group to which I am returning--that of my fellow physicians. Following the publication of the new rations all physicians were excited and were simply exalted. We did not expect such generosity toward the German people who deserve punishment for the harm they have caused the Russians. Goebbels and his friends insisted that the entire German intelligentsia would be sent to Siberia and assigned hard and exhausting physical work in the Ural mines and that the entire German nation would be doomed to hunger and extinction. Sad to say, Goebbels is no longer alive. He should have been taken along the streets of Berlin and shown that the people are not only not being exiled to Siberia but are even being given high food rations. Today the Russian command is rebuilding everything destroyed by order of Hitler and Goebbels. This is the best possible argument against the Nazis.

"The Russian command has implemented a very important measure related to insuring food supply to the population. Were this to continue, everyone would be happy and would work with greater energy for the common good. I would like to emphasize one more thing: I was amazed also by the energetic measures taken for the rebuilding of hospitals, walk-in clinics, pharmacies and, in general, sanitation matters in Berlin.<sup>7</sup> The physicians are grateful to the Russian command. True, only the first steps have been taken in this area but even they indicate the direction of the policy. This pleases and inspires us."

....Elizabeth Stein, a housewife, stated that "I have three children. I have no husband. I believed that all of us would have to die of hunger. The Nazis said that the Bolsheviki would shoot all the families any one of whose members took part in the war against Russia. I had decided to cut the veins of my children and commit suicide. However, I was sorry for the children and I hid in a basement where we spent several days, hungry. Unexpectedly, four Red Army men came. They did not touch us and even gave a piece of bread and some cookies to little Werner. Now we see that the entire Soviet command is concerned with preventing the population from dying of hunger. Furthermore, all kinds of rations are being issued and concern is being shown for the restoration of housing. I have talked with all the residents of our house. All of them are quite pleased with the attitude of the Russian command toward us. We were so happy that we played the gramophone and spent the entire evening dancing. The only hope expressed was that food supplies will continue to be issued. If this is the case, the only thing to do is to go to work and to rebuild."

Statement by Stimmen, the chief mayor of the Lichtenberg district: "I am an old social democrat. I have seen a great deal in my life. I have taken part in political life and understand a little bit about politics. I was not only amazed but even shocked by such an attitude toward us on the part of the Russian command, for more than anyone else we deserve not generosity but punishment. However, a miracle has happened. The Bolsheviki proved to be different from the way Goebbels had painted them. Actually, the Bolsheviki have exceeded all of our images and understandings. They proved to be humane and energetic. They do not emphasize their superiority over the German people. The Russians are concerned mainly with organizing the city's normal life and insuring food supplies for the population. You know, I was touched by this measure taken by the Russian command. On two occasions I broke down in tears in front of my children. As you can see, I am crying now as well,

from happiness, from a richness of feelings. You see, we lived in a state of exceptional stress for a long time. The war chased us into basements and doomed us to tremendous sufferings and privations.

"...Even in war the Russians used humane methods. I am concerned with one thing only: today some high-placed Nazis are trying to crawl into important positions and, here and there, they succeed. The head post office on Friedrichsfelde is a case in point. We hate them for having inflicted such a situation on Germany."

Lieutenant General Bokov, member of Military Council of the Fifth Shock Army

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 254, List 66,624, File 1, sheets 187-192

Document No 8

On Allowing Private Free Trade in Berlin

Order of the Military Commandant of the City of Berlin

16 May 1945

In order to revive economic activities and increase the flow of goods to the market for supplying the population of Berlin with food and durable goods, in addition to rationed goods at fixed prices allocated by the city self-administration<sup>8</sup> to the population I order:

1. To allow in Berlin private free trade in all goods, unhindered.
2. The city self-administration and the district mayors shall allow the peasants in the surrounding areas and the private merchants to trade in Berlin in food and consumer goods, assign the necessary areas for such activities and provide the necessary health supervision.
3. I warn that food products and other goods issued to merchants by the city's self-administration to be sold against rationing points must be sold to the population only in accordance with the stipulated rations and at fixed prices, in accordance with the issued rationing points.

Stores and booths not engaged in selling rationed goods to the population may engage in free trade.

Colonel General Berzarin, Commandant of Berlin

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 233, List 2,380, File 31a, sheet 318

Document No 9

On the Organization of Commerce in Berlin

From the Decree of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

16 May 1945

In accordance with the 8 May 1945 State Defense Committee decree, the Military Council decrees:

1. The following will be opened in the Soviet zone of Berlin as of 1 June 1945:
  - a. One Osobtorg [special trade] food store at No 46 Berliner Allee;
  - b. One first class Osobtorg restaurant at No 8 Samariter Strasse;
  - c. One first class Osobtorg restaurant at No 211 Berliner Allee

Trade in said commercial restaurants and store will not be rationed. Prices will be somewhat lower than on the private market.

By 20 May 1945 Lieutenant Colonel Kolkhlov, deputy chief of the USSR People's Commissariat of Trade Main Special Trade Administration, and Comrade Shushko, manager of the Berlin Osobtorg office, shall submit for consideration by the front military council the list of detailed prices charged by commercial restaurants and stores.

2. In order to insure trade in the commercial store and the restaurants:

- a. Lieutenant General Antipenko, chief of front rear services, shall transfer from the front's resources to the Berlin Osobtorg office the following supplies for three months:

	Total	Including	
		to 25 May 1945	in June
Meat, pork, mutton and poultry meat	175 t	75 t	100 t
Fats	75 t	50 t	25 t
Groats	50 t	30 t	20 t
Sugar	75 t	40 t	35 t
Salt	30 t	15 t	15 t
Alcohols and alcoholic beverages	75,000 decaliters	35,000 decaliters	40,000 decaliters

The varietal breakdown will be coordinated with Comrade Shushko, manager of the Berlin Osobtorg office.

b. The Berlin Osobtorg office is allowed to purchase milk and dairy products, vegetables, greens and other farm products in the rural areas adjacent to Berlin. The necessary purchasing machinery must be organized for this purpose. By 15 June an auxiliary dairy-meat and poultry farm must be organized in the vicinity of Berlin, using the farms abandoned by Germans.

...Until the restaurants have organized their own auxiliary farm, in June 1945 the Berlin Osobtorg office shall supply them with the necessary amounts of milk, dairy products, vegetables and greens needed for their work.

3. By 16 May 1945 Colonel General Berzarin, Commandant of Berlin, will:

a. Assign the following premises to the Berlin Osobtorg office:

For the store: No 46 Berliner Allee;

For the restaurants: No 3 Samariter Strasse and No 211 Berliner Allee;

For the warehouse: the third floor of the refrigerated premise on Stralaver Allee;

b. Allocate 15 apartments (35-40 rooms), office premises totaling 200-250 square meters, garage for 15 motor vehicles and one gasoline pump to the Berlin Osobtorg office;

c. Allow the Berlin Osobtorg office to take from abandoned stores, restaurants, castles and clubs the necessary inventory, equipment and materials for the Osobtorg office;

e. Allow the Berlin Osobtorg office 20 tons of wrapping paper, 10 tons of writing paper, 5 tons of oil paper, 3 tons of cellophane and 2 tons of foil.

4. Major General Furs, chief of engineers of the Fifth Shock Army, will repair and equip the store and restaurants of the Berlin Osobtorg office by 25 May 1945 in accordance with the instructions of the manager of the Berlin Osobtorg office.

By 17 May 1945 Colonel Vayzman, chief of the motor vehicles administration of the front, will supply the Berlin Osobtorg office with vehicles as follows: trucks, 10; passenger cars, 2; motorcycles, 1; bicycles, 10.

Fifteen drivers shall be assigned for one month to drive the motor vehicles.

6. By 16 May 1945 Colonel Lozhkin, chief of the front's OSG [Fuel Supply Department] will allocate to the Berlin Osobtorg office from the stock of the USSR People's Commissariat of Trade a one-time 15-ton delivery of fuels and lubricants for the motor vehicles; subsequently, he will allocate the Osobtorg office ten tons of fuel monthly.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Zhukov, commander of the forces of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of the front's military council

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 236, List 2380, File 31a, sheets 319-322

Document No 10

From the Report of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front on Measures Taken by the Command to Restore Normal Life in the Occupied Territory

To the State Defense Committee

To the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

19 May 1945

....The front's military council has carried out the following measures subsequent to the signing of the act of the full and unconditional surrender of Germany, with a view to organizing normal living and working conditions in Berlin:

1. On 11 May 1945 the front's military council issued a decree establishing norms and sources of food supplies to the Berlin population.

In accordance with the decree a broad network of food stores was organized and rations, based on the new norms, began to be issued as of 15 May.

2. The 12 May decree stipulates the adoption of specific measures to insure the normal work of Berlin's communal economy.

In the course of the implementation of these measures conferences were held at the city and district commandant offices with the engineering and technical personnel of the city, men of science and the arts, owners and personnel of trade enterprises and workers employed in the city's communal economy.

Specific planned measures for the restoration of the urban communal economy were earmarked during and after said conferences.

Engineers and technicians among the military personnel were assigned to supervise the implementation of the measures stipulated in the decree in all sectors of the Berlin urban economy.

Currently the first section of the subway (15 km long) is already in operation. Several districts have been supplied with electric power and water.

Twenty-five movie theaters offering Soviet motion pictures to as many as 25,000 people every day are operating in nine city districts.

Preparations are being made for the opening of a drama and a chamber theater in the Charlottenburg area, a radio broadcasting concert hall on Mazurin Allee and others.

Daily radio transmissions began from the Konigswusterhausen radio station on 14 May 1945.

Dozens of thousands of slogans and "Information Bulletins" of the front's political administration have been pasted on city walls.

The newspaper "Daily Review" for the German population began publication on 15 May 1945 in 80,000 copies. The newspaper is enjoying exceptional success.

The Berlin population is actively participating in the restoration of the urban economy....

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 233, List 2,380, File 35, sheets 115-139

Document No 11

From the Decree of the State Defense Committee on Supplying the Population of Chemnitz with Food<sup>9</sup>

To Zhukov, Commander of the First Belorussian Front

To the Military Council of the First Ukrainian Front

8 June 1945

The State Defense Committee decrees:

1. Orders Comrade Zhukov, commander in chief of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, to introduce the following food supply norms for the population of Chemnitz, allocated per person per day, as of 15 June 1945: bread, 200-400 g, averaging 280 g; groats, 15-30 g, averaging 20 g; meat, 15-30 g, averaging 20 g; fats, 7-25 g, averaging 12 g; sugar, 10-25 g, averaging 16 g; coffee substitute, 100 g per person per month; salt, 400 g per person per month.

Comrade Zhukov, commander in chief of Soviet occupation forces in Germany, shall establish differentiated food supply norms for the population of Chemnitz within the range of the stipulated average norms.

2. In order to organize food reserves in Chemnitz for a two-month period, on the basis of the norms stipulated in Item 1 of the present decree and of the size of the population, estimated at 200,000 people, the Military Council of the First Ukrainian Front (Comrades Konev and Kraynyukov) will bring in and place at the disposal of the self-administration of Chemnitz by 15 May 1945 from the front's resources the following food supplies: grain for flour and groats (tons), 3,000; meat products, 240; fat, 153; sugar, 192; coffee, 40; and salt, 160.

3. Comrade Zhukov will assign on a temporary basis the minimum required number of vehicles and fuel for use by the Chemnitz self-administration for the transportation of food products to stores and warehouses....

J. Stalin, chairman, State Defense Council

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 254, List 42,679, File 1, sheets 14-15

Document No 12

Report of the Command of the Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany on the Implementation of the 8 June 1945 State Defense Committee Decree

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin J. V., Moscow, The Kremlin

17 June 1945

Allow me to report that the 8 May 1945 State Defense Committee decree on food supplies to the Chemnitz population has been carried out.

The Chemnitz population, numbering 200,000, has been regularly receiving bread, groats, meat, fats, sugar, coffee and salt as of 15 June 1945.

The following categories of rationing cards were issued: First, for workers engaged in heavy labor, 43,000; second, other workers, 33,000; third, white-collar workers, 20,000; fourth, children, 37,000. Fifth, dependents and other consumers, 67,000.

By 15 June 1945 daily ration supplies were as follows: Flour and food grain, 53; groats and groat grain, 54; canned meat, 21; fats, 10; sugar, 12.5; coffee, 60; salt, 60.

In the next delivery Chemnitz will receive rations for 20.6 days as follows: Food grain, 15; groat grain, 10; meat products, 40; sugar, 50. By 20 June 1945 the city will have a two-month supply. No fats will be procured as they are unavailable to the first Ukrainian front.

The flour and groat grain is processed locally. The city's needs are met in full. Bread is baked in two bakeries whose output meets requirements in full.

The following have been in operation as of 15 June 1945: 400 food stores and 300 bread stalls, or a total of 700 trade units.

Lines in front of stores were observed only on 15 June. There were no lines the following day as the population realized the validity of rationing cards.

Fifty trucks were assigned to haul food supplies to the stores. More than 100 were found locally. The number of such trucks is sufficient for normal food deliveries. Forty-five tons of gasoline were allocated.

The mood of the population is exceptionally good. Even before the sale of products began crowds of workers gathered to read the posted announcements. Brief meetings were held organized by antifascists. Thanks to the command of the Red Army and the Russian people for their help were heard everywhere.

G. Zhukov

Telegin

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 254, List 42,678, File 6, sheet 70, front and back

Document No 13

From the Decree of the Military Council of the Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany on the Supply of Berlin with Coal

Berlin, 16 June 1945

In accordance with the State Defense Committee decree of 12 June 1945 on the daily shipment from Silesia of 2,000 tons of coal, from 15 June 1945 to 1 August 1945, to be put at the disposal of the military commandant of Berlin to insure the uninterrupted work of the Berlin railroad junction and of the industrial and communal enterprises of the city, the military council decrees:

1. Major General of Technical Troops Chernyakov, commander of the VOSO [Military Communications Service] will organize 18 coal shuttles, assign the necessary locomotive engines for them and supervise their prompt loaded and unloaded runs as follows: the first four shuttles by 17 June 1945; all others no later than 21 June 1945.

2. The military commandant of Berlin:

a. will assign his representative to Silesia at the coal-loading area, to make sure that the coal is received and shipped out;

b. will assign to each coal shuttle an officer in charge with two soldiers armed with automatic weapons, who will be issued the proper documents and necessary provisions;

c. will see to it that the locomotive and train brigades of the coal shuttles have been allocated food at work, based on norm No 3. Food products for the first trip will be allocated for no less than 10 days; the best brigades will receive food bonuses for the successful delivery of the trains to Berlin;

d. will formulate a strict plan for the delivery of the arriving coal to enterprises operating on an around-the-clock basis and submit it to the commander of the VOSO for execution;

e. will organize the prompt unloading of the coal trains allowing no more than four hours of idling when loaded;

f. Five hundred tons from each 2,000 tons of coal received daily will be allocated for the needs of the locomotives of the Berlin railroad junction.

3. Lieutenant Colonel Nikolayev, chief of military communications of the Fifth Shock Army, assigned to the Berlin railroad office, will assure the distribution of the coal allocated for the locomotives among the fuel depots of the Berlin railroad junction.

4. Lieutenant Colonel Golyanskiy, commander of the 12th Operational Railroad Regiment, will be in charge of receiving the allocated food supplies and their distribution among train and locomotive engine brigades....

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, commander in chief of the group of Soviet occupation forces in Germany

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of the military council

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 233, List 2,380, File 32, sheets 127-128

Document No 14

Order of the Military Council of the Eighth Guards Army on Organizing the Protection of Sites Related to the Life and Activities of Johann Wolfgang Goethe<sup>10</sup>

To the Chief of Staff of the 11th Tank Division

14 July 1945

Army military council order:

Around-the-clock guards will be posted at the following sites:

- a. The Goethe Archives on 1 Jenerstrasse;
- b. Goethe's home in the park;
- c. The Goethe house-museum on Frauenplatz Street (Weimar).

Guards Major General Belyavskiy, chief of staff of the Eighth Guards Army

Original, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 3,412, List 1, File 236, sheet 274

Document No 15

Order of the Military Council of the Eighth Guards Army on Organizing the Protection of Martin Luther's cell in the Augustine Monastery in Erfurt

To the Commander of the Eighth Fighter-Antitank Artillery Brigade

14 July 1945

Army military council order:

Round-the-clock guard will be posted at the Augustine Monastery, by the cell of Martin Luther in Erfurt, in accordance with the instructions of the bearer of the present document, Senior Lieutenant Marutov.

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive 345, List 5,487, File 366, sheet 494

Document No 16

From the Order of the Command of the Soviet Military Administration--Commander in Chief of the Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany on the Introduction of Standard Food Supply Norms for the Urban Population in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany

Berlin, 13 October 1945

In order to bring order in food supplies, eliminate existing disparities in population supply norms and insure priority supplies to workers in the most important industrial sectors, I order:

1. Unified population food supply norms will be introduced as of 1 November 1945 in all provinces and federal lands, as per Appendices 1 and 2.
2. The current food supply norms of the population in the Soviet zone of occupation of Berlin and in Dresden will be retained. An additional ration of 30 g of jam per person per day will be issued.
3. The food norms of the Dresden population will be applied to the population of Leipzig.
4. Workers' norms will be extended to the following: schoolteachers, physicians, secondary medical personnel of hospitals and other stationary medical institutions; professors and doctors of sciences and noted workers in the arts and literature.
5. Patients in stationary medical institutions will be fed in accordance with the norms established in the city for workers. The patients will be mandatorily required to surrender their food cards.
6. Additional food allocations to pregnant women, as certified by medical establishments, starting with the sixth month of pregnancy and until childbirth, and for the four following months will be as follows: groats, 300 g; sugar, 300 g; fats, 100 g monthly and milk 0.25 liters daily.
7. Workers and engineering and technical personnel employed in the following economic sectors will be issued supplies according to norms for workers engaged in particularly difficult and important work: coal mines and open coal pits, plants producing liquid fuel, the chemical industry, the restoration and operation of railroad

and communications facilities and artificial fibers plants, according to a list of types of production and skills ratified by the economic administration of the Soviet military administration....

8. The German administration of trade and supplies,<sup>11</sup> Dr Buschmann and the presidents of the provincial and federal land administrations will:

a. apply as of 1 November standardized food supply norms as approved with the present orders;

b. as of November 1945 introduce in all cities the issuing of food cards for the calendar month based on standardized norms.

To this effect, in October 1945 the population will be issued food cards for... through 31 October;

c. insure strict control over the precise application of the stipulated norms and forbid any changes.

9. The German administration of trade and supplies of Dr Buschmann shall submit to the trade and supply department of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany for approval no later than 20 October 1945 norms for standardized food cards for the Soviet zone of occupation of Germany and draft instructions on the procedure for the printing, issuing and registration of food cards and for accounting for goods sold on the basis of such cards.

10. The heads of the Soviet military administration of the provinces and federal lands and Comrade Kucherenko, chief of the trade and supply section of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, will supervise the implementation of the present order.

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, commander in chief of the Soviet military administration and commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany

Lt Gen F. Bokov, member of the Military Council, Soviet Military Administration in Germany

Lt Gen M. Dratvin, deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany

Appendix No 1

13 October 1945

Norms for the Supply of the Population of the Soviet Occupation Zone with Basic Food Staples for the Following Big Cities: Chemnitz, Plauen, Zwickau, Halle, Magdeburg, Dessau, Weimar, Erfurt, Potsdam, Frankfurt-am-Oder, Schwerin and Rostock

(in grams per person per day)

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Supplied Population Groups	Bread	Groats	Potatoes	Sugar	Jam	Meat	Fat
Workers engaged in extremely heavy work	450	40	500	25	30	50	30
Workers engaged in heavy work	450	40	400	25	30	50	30
Other workers	400	30	350	20	30	40	15
Employees	300	20	350	20	30	25	10
Children under 15 and all secondary school students	250	15	350	25	30	20	20
Remaining population	250	15	350	15	30	15*	7*

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\*Applicable only to the disabled, the aged and women with children under eight years of age.

Kucherenko, chief, Trade and Supply Department, Soviet Military Administration

Appendix No 2

13 October 1945

Norms for the Supply of the Population of the Soviet Zone of Occupation with Basic Food Staples for the Remaining Population Not Engaged in Farming

(in grams per person per day)

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Supplied Population Groups	Bread	Groats	Potatoes	Sugar	Jam	Meat	Fat
Workers engaged in extremely heavy work	450	40	500	25	30	40	20
Workers engaged in heavy work	400	40	400	25	30	40	20
Other workers	350	20	300	20	30	25	10
Employees	250	15	300	20	30	20	10
Children under 15 and all secondary school students	200	10	300	25	30	15	10
Remaining population	200	10	300	15	30	-	-

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Kucherenko, chief, Trade and Supply Department, Soviet Military Administration

Copy, Tsamo SSSR, Archive of the Military Commandant of Fetschau, List 231,949, File 1, sheets 41-44

## Footnotes

1. In accordance with the instructions of the Supreme Command, on the night of 18 April 1945 the commander of the First Ukrainian Front assigned to the Third and Fourth Guards Tank Armies the task of reaching the Spree River, crossing it and developing the offensive directly toward Berlin from the south. Continuing the offensive, on 22 April the Third Guards Tank Army broke through the external defenses of the Berlin district and, toward the end of the day, engaged in battle in the southern suburb of the German capital. By the end of 22 April the Fourth Guards Tank Army also broke through the outside defense lines, reached the Zarmund-Belitz line and assumed advantageous positions for connecting with the forces of the First Belorussian Front and thus jointly completed the surrounding of the entire Berlin enemy group of forces.
2. The offensive of the forces of the Second Belorussian Front began on 20 April with the crossing of the West Oder River. The following several days the forces of the front fought to broaden their bridgeheads. By the end of 25 April they broke through the main defense line. As a result of the operations of the forces of the Second Belorussian Front, the Third German Tank Army was blocked. This deprived the Hitlerite command of the opportunity to use its forces in the Berlin battle.
3. This excerpt defines measures taken by the command of the First Belorussian Front to insure supplies in the forthcoming offensive.
4. Separate excerpts from the documents were published in the 19 May 1945 PRAVDA issue.
5. In accordance with the 8 May 1945 State Defense Committee decree, the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front issued its 11 May 1945 decree on measures for supplying the Berlin population with food.
6. In themselves, these supply norms were low. Nevertheless, they exceeded the starvation rations which were issued under Hitler and his clique.
7. The 2 May 1945 order of the Berlin garrison commander on insuring the normal operations of medical, scientific research and treatment institutions and sanitary-epidemiological safety in the city was the beginning of the efforts to maintain proper sanitary conditions in Berlin.
8. The Berlin city self-administration was created on 11-13 May 1945 at meetings of representatives of the various social groups in the city; on 14 May its leaders were approved by the Soviet command. It participated in insuring population food supplies, the allocation of food allocated by the Soviet command, the restoration of the communal economy and the creation of conditions for normal life in the city.
9. The present name of Chemnitz is Karl-Marx-Stadt. The 8 June 1945 State Defense Committee decree was passed because of the extreme need for food for the hungry population.

10. The document was published in the journal SOVETSKIYE ARKHIVY, No 2, 1975.

11. The German Trade and Procurement Administration was one of the German central administrations on the territory of the Soviet occupation zone, established by the order of the commander in chief of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, dated 27 July 1945.

#### Abbreviations

VOSO: Military Communications Administration

OSG: Fuel Supply Department

SVA-SVAG: Soviet Military Administration in Germany

TA: Tank Army

5003

CSO: 1802/15

## UNITY IS GUARANTEED FOR VICTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 82-91

[Article by A. Dzasokhov]

[Text] In the course of their peaceful foreign political activities, which are imbued with the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the inviolable principles of support of peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, the CPSU and the Soviet state continue to pay tireless attention to problems directly related to the fate of countries covering a tremendous area on earth known as the national liberation movement zone. These problems were extensively dealt with at the 26th CPSU Congress, which provided a profound and creative analysis of the contemporary stage of this movement, its essential trends and laws and the basic problems encountered by the young sovereign countries.

On the basis of such an analysis, the CPSU defined with extreme clarity the tasks of its foreign policy, aimed at the all-round decisive support of the national liberation movement and the further strengthening of the combat alliance between victorious socialism and the forces which developed within that movement and are part of it. From the rostrum of the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words were heard throughout the world: "The CPSU will continue systematically to pursue a course of developing the cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movements." These words express the will of all Soviet people and contain the firm and principled position taken by the Soviet Union, the loyal friend and ally of the forces of national and social liberation.

Millions of people in Asia and Africa, united in democratic, patriotic and progressive organizations within the individual countries and on a regional and international scale, are taking part in the courageous struggle for the bright ideals of freedom, independence and a better future. They include the Organization of Solidarity of Asian and African Peoples, one of whose detachments--the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Countries--celebrated its 25th anniversary last May.

### I

The world of the liberated Asian and African countries is many-faceted, diverse and conflicting. Each separate country has its specific problems, concerns,

aspirations and tasks. Political, social and economic conditions and cultural traditions vary. Despite this entire variety and dissimilarity, these countries have common factors which unite them on a common platform in the struggle for economic and social progress and a better future. They include, above all, anti-imperialism and the firm resolve to put an end to the vestiges of colonialism and the shameful practices of racism and apartheid. It also includes the passionate desire to be the masters of their own home and the aspiration for freedom, independence and peace.

In the course of the national liberation movement, which has given history outstanding examples of heroism and self-sacrifice, the people's masses of the former colonies and semi-colonies learned through their own experience that imperialism is an international power and that the common enemy must be opposed by joint decisive struggle, unity and the efforts of all the fighters for national and social liberation. Awareness of this unavoidable truth and the implementation of the idea of united collective actions play a truly historical role in the destinies of the liberated countries. They give the peoples a weapon of tremendous power which has helped them greatly in bringing down the colonial bastions of imperialism.

Events of the past frequently acquire particular meaning and significance in the light of the present. We must give their due to the farsightedness, courage and political wisdom of Asian and African leaders who were at the origins of the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity, such as J. Nehru, G. A. Nasser, Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkruma and others. They daringly hurled at imperialism and its principle theory of "divide and rule" the slogan of unity and cohesion of the struggling peoples. These were years of storms and pressure in the national liberation movement, a period of mobilization of forces for the decisive storming of colonialism, a time of active emergence in the world arena of the young national states which were brimming with the resolve to strengthen their national independence and participate actively in resolving basic problems of international development.

It was the Delhi 1955 conference, at which the International Committee for Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia was created, that marked the beginning of the organizational process of the unification of the main sociopolitical forces supporting national independence. Two years later, the objective need to broaden the base and scale of the liberation movement was manifested in the formation of a broad and most representative permanent nongovernmental organization which spread over two continents, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa (OSPAA).

The solidarity movement, which was organized on the basis of the progressive social forces of two continents, has now become a major sociopolitical factor which supports the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle. It rallies within its ranks 84 national democratic parties, national liberation movements and solidarity organizations in individual countries. "The creation of the OSPAA was an important landmark in the awakening of the national self-awareness of the Afro-Asian peoples. It provided an impetus for the further development of their anticolonial national liberation movement. The birth of the organization under the banner of the "principles of Bandung" opened broad opportunities for increasing the unity of the struggle waged by the Afro-Asian peoples and for the intensification of their cohesion," said 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the central committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme National Council and prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The historical conditions under which the revolutionary process is taking place in Asian and African countries predetermined the great importance of the solidarity movement which combines the activities of a variety of anti-imperialist detachments and represents a broad coalition of political forces and currents. The OSPAA developed along with the consolidation of the joint efforts of the young Asian and African countries which supported the principles of nonalignment. The coincidence of the approach taken by these two movements (on the governmental and the sociopolitical levels) to problems of world politics and the national liberation struggle, and their common problems determined their close interaction. The participation of the progressive public in the solidarity movement objectively contributed to the growth of anti-imperialist trends and, in many cases, to the adoption of a progressive foreign political course by the young countries.

The overwhelming majority of governments of Afro-Asian countries actively support in one or another way the OSPAA, by lending their assistance to various organizational-political actions, and sponsoring forums, meetings, conferences, symposiums and seminars for the democratic public involved in the solidarity movement. The sole exception are the ruling circles of individual countries which have an openly pro-Western orientation or act on the direct orders of imperialist centers.

The experience and political practice of the struggle waged by the Afro-Asian peoples brought about major positive changes in the structure and social base of the solidarity movement. Opportunities for OSPAA activities rose sharply and the framework of the organization expanded considerably as a result of the regrouping of class and social forces in a number of national liberation movements and, respectively, in the solidarity movement. Today the OSPAA rallies revolutionary democratic parties, liberation movements and national organizations in countries which have reached different stages of political and social development and have frequently different ideological views yet are united by the common interests of the struggle for national independence and social progress.

The OSPAA has developed as a fundamental political course for individual leaders and detachments engaged in the national liberation struggle. Parties and organizations participating in the solidarity movement become more active in the course of reciprocal contacts and exchange of views and experience; the political maturity of the leaders, who frequently enter politics with rather vague ideas as to the means for the solution of the problems facing them and the main ways for the development of their countries, increases. "For more than two decades the OSPAA has been playing a truly outstanding role in supporting the just struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and racism and for peace, freedom and national and social progress," noted Sam Nuyoma, president of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). "The OSPAA has made a great contribution to strengthening the unity among the detachments of the national liberation movement and all global revolutionary forces."

The problem of uniting the progressive forces on a national and international scale is of vital importance both to themselves and to the further development of the young countries. Attempts to remove from sociopolitical life individual patriotic organizations narrow the political base of the ruling regimes, which plays into the hands of imperialism and the local reaction. To an equal extent the problem of strengthening the unity among the various sociopolitical forces on the international level assumes tremendous importance, for the OSPAA rallies the

actions of parties, movements, and organizations which profess different views and political convictions, both in the course of practical activities and in the formulation of the political and practical-strategic principles of the national liberation movement. Therefore, a close, an organic relationship exists between the "domestic" and "international" aspects of OSPAA activities. These are two inseparable sides of a single process, dictated by the need for a joint rebuff of domestic and foreign reactionary attempts.

Many Asian and African countries have already gained substantial experience in the struggle for the unity of democratic and patriotic forces. The national solidarity committees in India, Sri Lanka, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and many others rally broad sociopolitical circles of national democrats, socialists, patriotic clergy and trade union leaders. "The entire nation can be mobilized for a struggle for freedom and social progress," the OSPAA programmatic documents state, "only by strengthening the unity among progressive and democratic forces within each country and waging an irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of reactionary nationalism and corrupt elements."

The positive role which the reciprocal influence among the various detachments of the solidarity movement plays is an important factor in combining the interests of the national movements in the individual countries with the joint interests of Afro-Asian solidarity and the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole. V. I. Lenin's thought that "...We must think not of our own nation only but put the interests of all, their general freedom and equality above it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, pp 44-45) is being acknowledged ever more broadly by the fighters for freedom and independence, mobilizing them for the decisive battle with imperialism. It is indicative that the topic of international solidarity was in virtually all the speeches made by the participants of the international scientific conference on "The Joint Struggle of the Workers and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress," which was held in Berlin in October 1980. In addition to the communist parties, it was attended by 39 revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation movements.

Under the influence of global socialism, the international workers' movement and the specific conditions of the liberation struggle, internationalist trends are growing steadily stronger to the detriment of isolationist and narrow-nationalistic views. The participants in the movement have had to surmount many obstacles along this way and defeat repeated attempts by the imperialists and the Beijing leaders allied to them to split the movement and to direct the activities of the OSPAA along a pro-imperialist channel, turning the organization into an instrument of their hegemonistic aspirations.

At the beginning of the 1960s the Maoist leadership mounted an open attack on the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa. While the Chinese representatives in many international democratic organizations such as the World Peace Council, World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Youth and World Federation of Democratic Women were hoping for a division, they hoped for more within the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity. The purpose of Beijing in manipulating the thesis of imaginary "exclusivity of Afro-Asian peoples" is to make the OSPAA its blind tool.

However, the subversive activities of the Chinese leadership failed in the face of the firm rebuff of the absolute majority of the members of the solidarity movement. Starting in 1967 the Chinese solidarity committee, some of whose leaders were subjected to repressive measures during the "cultural revolution," has actually stopped its international activities.

We must emphasize that the organizational, political and ideological struggle against Maoism within the framework of Afro-Asian solidarity helped the movement to lay a more effective ideological foundation and contributed to the strengthening of anti-imperialist positions. However, countering Beijing's hegemonistic aspirations and pseudorevolutionary concepts, which objectively support the interests of imperialism, remains an important OSPAA task.

With its active efforts in the international arena the OSPAA opens to the fighters for national liberation broad prospects for joining efforts with other democratic and revolutionary detachments. It arms them with a clearer and deeper understanding of the tasks of the struggle and with the knowledge of the tremendous significance of the cohesion and solidarity. It promotes feelings of internationalism and high historical responsibility for the fate of their own and other nations.

## II

The tasks facing the OSPAA became substantially more complex at the beginning of the 1980s, when the threat of war rose once again thanks to imperialism and when world reaction mounted a broad offensive in the hope of regaining its lost positions, including those in Asia and Africa. U.S. imperialism is the main neocolonialist power and natural enemy of the liberation movement. Unquestionably, the sharp turn taken by the new American administration away from detente and peaceful coexistence is closely related to plans for colonial revenge, which imperialism will try to take from the national liberation movement, particularly after the tangible defeats of the 70s, when colonial empires were actually brought down and progressive regimes were established in a number of young countries.

International practice in the postwar period convincingly proved the ideological similarity between the imperialist policy of colonial oppression of the peoples and militarization and aggression. It confirmed that they are identical phenomena. International tension benefits the forces which plan the preservation and restoration of the colonial and new colonial order: the weakening of the national liberation movement and the subversion of its combat alliance with world socialism. It is no accident that characteristic features of contemporary imperialist strategy toward young countries include aggressiveness, reliance on naked force, aspirations to create new hotbeds of military danger and the triggering of troubles, hostilities and conflicts between countries and peoples. Under the cover of the "Carter doctrine" the United States intends to interfere in the internal affairs of Near and Middle Eastern countries and to lay its hands on the oil-rich Persian Gulf area.

By heating up the threat of a danger of war and organizing subversive activities, the imperialist politicians are trying to involve the liberated Asian and African countries in the arms race and force the young and economically weak countries to expend on defense considerable funds which are so greatly needed for combatting economic and cultural backwardness, and against hunger and poverty. Militarization

leads to political deformations such as the former regime of the shah in Iran and the Zionist rulers of Israel.

Therefore, the objective reality of the circumstances today heavily underscores the indivisible, the organic link between the struggle for the strengthening of political independence and the achievement of economic autonomy, on the one hand, and peace, on the other. Peace is the loyal ally of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa and it is the understanding of the importance of this fact that has turned the overwhelming majority among them into supporters of a peaceful course. Through their own experience they have frequently realized that national and social progress depends largely on the impact of international circumstances. The energizing of the aggressive imperialist circles and the intensification of their neocolonialist intrigues make the unification and cohesion of all peace-loving forces interested in preserving and also insuring the peace and security of the peoples and in strengthening detente even more adamant and urgent. "Peace is a decisive prerequisite for progress in all realms of human activity," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said. "We are convinced that if the communists, the revolutionaries and all healthy and sensible forces become fully aware of their responsibility and act within a single front, the plans of the enemies of peace will be decisively defeated."

The most important task of the solidarity movement is the unification of all anti-imperialist forces of the two continents and their mobilization in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace. Their unity, cohesion and mutual aid have become effective weapons which proved their might and effectiveness in critical moments of the development of the international situation, particularly during the triple aggression against Egypt in 1956, the June 1967 Israeli aggression, the American aggression in Lebanon (1958) and the liberation action of the people of Bangladesh (1971).

The movement of solidarity of the peoples of the world with the heroic struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against the American aggressors assumed an inordinately broad scope. Millions of people of all continents raised their voices in protest at that time, proclaiming their sympathies and firmly taking the side of the Vietnamese patriots. The chronicles of the great accomplishment of the OSPAA have many pages on the great moral and material support of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and of all peoples fighting for and defending their legitimate rights and interests.

Together with the other prestigious international public organizations, the OSPAA is giving broad moral and political assistance to the people of Afghanistan, against whom imperialism has unleashed a true undeclared war. Toward the end of last year Afghanistan was visited by an OSPAA goodwill mission. It included representatives of progressive public organizations of Asian and African countries. They studied the achievements of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, met with the leadership of the National Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan and with members of the Afghan government. The representations made by the members of the mission to the Pakistani administration and the conference of Islamic countries and the support of Afghanistan's peaceful constructive suggestions helped to expose in the eyes of the Afro-Asian public the plans of imperialism and the local reaction. A decision to hold the next session of the OSPAA Presidium in Kabul in the autumn of 1981 was passed at the 30th session of the OSPAA council. Unquestionably, this

important forum of the progressive Afro-Asian public will be a considerable contribution to supporting the just struggle of the Afghan people.

At their meetings the members of the movement of solidarity have repeatedly pointed out that the struggle for peace is closely related to the struggle for the elimination of hotbeds of tension, particularly in the Middle East where, due to the Zionist rulers of Israel and their Washington protectors, an explosive situation has prevailed for many years. Actions in favor of a political settlement of the Middle Eastern problem are combined with firm support of the just cause of the Arabs and firm demands for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories and for guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to have their own state.

An alarming situation has developed currently in Lebanon, much of whose territory, particularly in the south, has become an area of continuous sallies by the Israeli military and their local agents. The sympathy of the fighters within the solidarity movement is entirely on the side of the progressive forces which oppose the conspiracy between imperialists and Zionists aimed at the division of this country.

The thunderclouds of war have thickened over the Persian Gulf area where imperialism has created a new dangerous hotbed of tension. As it increases its military power and expands the scale of its intervention and arms a number of countries in the area, the United States is also sowing the seeds of new discord and upheavals. This resulted in the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, the tragic senselessness of which is becoming ever more obvious. The problem of security in this area was specially considered at the international conference of solidarity with the peoples of the countries in the Persian Gulf area, held in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. The implementation of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's suggestions regarding the neutralization and demilitarization of the Persian Gulf could provide a tremendous impetus in resolving this problem in the interest of peace and in accordance with the legitimate rights of the peoples of the area. In the opinion of the members of the solidarity movement, the implementation of the Soviet plan would contribute to normalizing the circumstances in this area and throughout the Near and Middle East and would provide favorable opportunities for settling arguments and conflicts through peaceful political means.

The problem of the elimination of remaining colonial regimes, the destruction of the final bulwarks of colonialism and the uprooting of all forms and manifestations of racism and apartheid is of profound basic importance to the OSPAA. Virtually no OSPAA conference is held in which this problem has not been on the agenda in one or another form. We believe that the day is coming when the just cause of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia will triumph.

Problems of socioeconomic development play an increasingly important role in the life of the liberated countries. Support of the struggle against the economic diktat of imperialism and neocolonialism and for the establishment of a new international economic order plays an important role in OSPAA activities. As early as 1963, a declaration issued by the OSPAA conference, held in Tanzania, pointed out that confrontation with imperialism and colonialism is not limited to the realm of politics alone. Political independence marks the beginning of a new, no less difficult battle, the battle for economic autonomy. The international economic seminar which

took place in Algiers in 1965, on OSPAA initiative, laid the foundations for an organizational platform in this area and drew attention to the need for a broad exchange of experience on problems of the reorganization of society on a democratic basis, the struggle for the elimination of imperialist domination of the economy and the breakdown of the economic structure created by colonialism.

With the help of specific examples, the scientific conferences attended by representatives of many Asian and African countries, which were held in Baku (1967) and Alma-Ata (1969), showed the way in which democratic socioeconomic changes enable formerly backward peoples to achieve substantial results in their industrial development within short historical periods. The OSPAA pays great attention to exposing the predatory practices of multinational corporations and to insuring the liberated countries an equal position in the global economy and the establishment of their firm sovereignty over their own natural resources.

### III

The peoples of the liberated countries meet with the understanding and support of the Soviet Union in their struggle for the bright ideals of freedom, independence and peace. It is precisely the Great October Revolution which after dealing a decisive blow at imperialism and its centers--the mother countries and the colonial and semicolonial periphery--provoked the beginning of the crisis of the entire colonial system. Later, under the new historical conditions, when the opportunities of imperialism became drastically reduced and restricted, not only geographically but in the economic and foreign political areas as well, as a result of the very existence of the land of the soviets, its successes in the building of a new life, its foreign political activities and the achievements of the other members of the socialist comity, the forces of the national liberation movement were able to win an outstanding victory over colonialism, the strong and treacherous enemy, and to put an end to the global imperialist colonial system.

The role of the Soviet Union as a loyal friend and ally of the liberated countries is manifested in a variety of economic areas and economic development. It is manifested also in the decisive rebuff of neocolonialist imperialist machinations, in efforts to eliminate hotbeds of tension, in the all-round support given nations struggling for the elimination of remaining colonial regimes, in providing comprehensive assistance in the strengthening of economic independence and in scientific and technical and cultural cooperation and in the aid given the liberated countries for the purpose of strengthening their defense capability, on their request.

The 1970s provided vivid examples of the international solidarity of support of the peoples of Asia and Africa by the Soviet Union, when the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea won outstanding victories, when revolutions were mounted in Afghanistan, Angola and Ethiopia, when the pro-imperialist regime of the shah in Iran was overthrown and when the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa crumbled.

The systematic implementation of the peace program of the 24th-25th CPSU Congresses left an ineradicable imprint on the struggle waged by the peoples for freedom and independence and on the entire development of international relations over the past decade.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress are of tremendous importance to the future of all mankind, including the peoples of Asia and Africa. They countered the machinations of the forces of militarism, aggression and national oppression with a specific program for strengthening peace and detente, including measures aimed at the elimination of hotbeds of tension and military conflicts. The congress reasserted the inflexible CPSU course of broadening cooperation with liberated countries and strengthening the alliance with them. It confirmed the consistent and principled line followed by the land of the soviets toward the national liberation movement.

In the light of all this it is not astounding that in its aspiration to bring the young independent countries down on their knees, to restore the colonial order in them and to perpetuate the plunder of their natural resources, imperialism is trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, on the one hand, and the liberated countries, on the other, in the hope of depriving them of their natural and powerful ally represented by real socialism. Some people in the West are hoping that, for the sake of normalizing relations with the developed capitalist countries, the Soviet Union will abandon its support of the liberation struggle of the peoples and violate its own principles and international duty. Such hopes, however, will not be fulfilled, for this would conflict with the revolutionary principles, conscience and convictions of the Soviet communists and of all Soviet people.

In the United States, the new Reagan administration is singing the same tune in a new key. Washington has mounted a noisy propaganda campaign whose aim is to insinuate to the people the monstrous idea that there is no distinction between the national liberation movement and "international terrorism," with a view to attempting, yet again, to discredit the forces of national liberation and to neutralize the support they are given by the progressive and democratic forces the world over and, above all, by the Soviet Union. It would be hard to imagine a greater outrage over the truth and the bright memory of the fighters for a better future. It can be easily seen that it is precisely those who, violating the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples, proclaim entire areas of the planet the sphere of their "vital interests," clang weapons, weave a web of antigovernmental conspiracies and military provocations and support the most sinister forces of racism and reaction, blasphemously equate terrorism with the noble and lofty mission of millions of patriots who bore and in many cases implemented the great dream of bringing freedom and happiness to their homeland in the course of a long, adamant and frequently bloody war.

However, one of the features of the present is that imperialism can no longer dictate the course of history. The liberated countries have in the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity a reliable friend and loyal ally on whose great power they can rely in the struggle for a full and definitive uprooting of colonialism and racism and for strengthening political and economic independence. "The close cooperation among the members of the socialist comity, the national liberation movement, and the young developing states," the general declaration of the 12th OSPAA council session emphasized, "is becoming a decisive factor in world progress. The unity of these forces was hammered out in the struggle for the elimination of the imperialist colonial system, the freedom and national independence of oppressed peoples and the reorganization of their economy and culture. It has withstood the test of time and proved that it reflects the vitally important interests of the broad popular masses."

The Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, which imbue CPSU activities, and the unshakable quality of support of the national liberation movement are organically related to the strengthening of friendship and fraternity among nations and their unity and solidarity in the common struggle for the bright ideals of mankind. The land of the soviets has carried the banner of international solidarity high from the very moment of its birth, when it extended a hand of friendship to the peoples of China, Mongolia, Turkey, Iran and others. The consistent and effective aid given by the Soviet Union to the people's struggle for liberation, wherever on earth it may have taken place, has become part of history forever.

Guided by the principles of international unification among working people organically inherent in our country's policies, the Soviet people welcomed the appearance of the anti-imperialist movement for Afro-Asian solidarity. In addressing the ceremonious meeting on the occasion of the presentation of the Order of Friendship Among the Peoples to the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, noted that the activities of the OSPAA offer specific proof of the effectiveness and vitality of the international unification of the public of the socialist countries and the peoples of Asia and Africa. The Soviet public actively joined the ranks of the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity from its very beginning.

The Soviet committee for solidarity includes representatives of various public circles and peoples of the USSR. They number workers, kolkhoz members, writers, scientists, composers, teachers, actors, painters, physicians, journalists, public, party and state leaders and USSR Supreme Soviet and supreme soviet of union and autonomous republic deputies. Thousands of activists are participating in the activities of the committee, dedicating their efforts, knowledge and energy to the noble cause of solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples against imperialism and colonial oppression.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries maintains extensive fraternal relations with national solidarity committees, revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation movements of more than 80 countries. It also maintains contacts with many international organizations, above all the United Nations special committees for Namibia and the Indian Ocean, UNESCO, the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, progressive organizations in Western Europe and the United States and many others.

The Soviet members of the movement for solidarity with Asian and African countries consider that their mission is to implement the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, contribute to the triumph of the ideals of friendship and fraternity among peoples and organize their extensive mutually profitable cooperation based on the systematic struggle for the great cause of unity among all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces. Relying on the rich internationalist traditions of the CPSU and of our entire people, they concentrate their actions on supporting the struggle waged by the international public for peace, preservation of detente, elimination of the vestiges of the shameful system of colonialism and of all manifestations of racism and racial discrimination, and the acceleration of economic and social development processes.

The important objective of the Soviet solidarity committee is to provide comprehensive assistance to actions aimed at the elimination of hotbeds of military danger, the creation of zones of peace and opposition to imperialist neocolonialist policy. By actively participating in the work of the OSPAA the committee tirelessly promotes the unification of all anti-imperialist forces on the two continents in the common struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress. It does everything possible to strengthen and consolidate the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and to encourage the participation of ever-broader Asian and African masses in it.

The popularization of the theory and practice of the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, whose historical accomplishments clearly proved the effectiveness of the socialist methods for the reorganization of all aspects of social life within a historically short time, is an essential part of the committee's activities. The Soviet experience proves that the ideas of scientific socialism offer the liberated peoples an accurate guide in reaching a proper solution of their problems.

The Soviet participants in the movement of solidarity face new extensive assignments in the light of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Unquestionably, through their fruitful activities they will continue to make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and insuring national independence and social progress and to strengthening the combat alliance between the national liberation movement and the forces of socialism and democracy throughout the world.

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## ANTICOMMUNISM IN SEARCH OF SOCIAL RESERVES

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[Article by G. Khromush'n]

[Text] World capitalism entered the 1980s in a nervous condition. Ever stronger waves of economic upheavals and social and political conflicts are rolling over the capitalist countries. For the third time in the past ten years capitalism is in a state of economic decline. The consequences of the gravest 1974-1975 economic crisis have not only not been eliminated but are manifesting themselves with increasing clarity.

The economic decline which started in the United States is gradually spreading throughout the capitalist world. In Western Europe, the United States and Japan the average annual rates of growth of industrial output declined in the 1970s, compared with the previous decade, by a factor of two or three. Inflation is assuming catastrophic dimensions. One of the reasons for the drastic perturbation of the socio-economic situation of capitalism is found in raging militarism and the unrestrained arms race, urged on by false claims about the "Soviet military threat." Economic depression is accompanied by the growing ideological-political crisis, rising social tension and loss on the part of the broadest possible masses of faith in the ability of the state-monopoly leadership to resolve the vital problems of contemporary bourgeois society.

The advantages of socialism, which accounts for 40 percent of the global industrial output, are becoming increasingly apparent against the background of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. Socialism has firmly assumed the initiative in international political relations. The Soviet Union has achieved military parity with the United States. The broad popular masses are realizing ever more profoundly the need for the adoption of an anticapitalist development alternative.

Under such circumstances the antipeople's nature of the interests of the monopolies and the governments is becoming increasingly apparent, as they contribute to production stagnation and the growth of unemployment, the failure of social programs won by the working people and the intensification of reactionary trends in domestic and foreign policy.

The 26th CPSU Congress noted the substantial aggravation of social contradictions in capitalist countries. "Under conditions of the capitalist society the use of the latest scientific and technical achievements in production is detrimental to the working people, laying off millions of people from factories and plants," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the congress. "In a single decade the army of unemployed in the developed capitalist countries has doubled. It numbered 19 million people in 1980.

"Efforts to lower the intensity of the class struggle through social reforms are equally unsuccessful. During the decade the number of strikers rose by more than one-third and, according to official data alone, reached one-fourth of a billion people."

"In attempts to find a solution to the general crisis which has become even more intense," said Gus Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary-general, at the 26th CPSU Congress, "U. S. state-monopoly capital is mounting a new offensive against the working class and the entire American people. The policy formulated by the United States foreshadows new dangers and problems."

Once again imperialist reaction is taking up the rusty weapon of anticommunism. The June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union" stressed that "Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism have been made into an instrument for urging on the arms race, an instrument of struggle not only against the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity and not only against the communists, but against all opponents of war and against the peace-loving forces; they have become a means for subverting detente."

1

Until recently, in an effort to put the scientific and technical revolution in its service, big capital was able temporarily to increase the scale of accumulations, economic growth and the volume of profits. These temporary factors were the justification for the formulation of a number of concepts of "scientific and technical renovation" and of the growth of the bourgeois society into something new. The rejection of the social revolution and its replacement with a scientific and technical revolution, which allegedly automatically resolves all social development problems, developed into the idea of "convergence," according to which capitalism and real socialism are not conflicting systems but varieties of a single industrial world, the sociopolitical differences between which could be gradually eliminated in the course of economic progress.

The extensive popularization of concepts based on the principle of technological determinism reached its peak in the mid-1970s. However, the socioeconomic realities of the period, the outbreak of capitalist contradictions and the strengthening of socialism have clearly exposed the groundlessness of the technocratic illusions of the big bourgeoisie. The euphoria of the recent past disappears and the idyllic hopes that science and technology by themselves will insure the solution of the entire set of socioeconomic problems of capitalism and will bring about the self-liquidation of socialism in the course of the "convergence" process have burst like a soap bubble.

From infinite faith in the omnipotence of economic growth, some bourgeois ideologues have switched to a rejection of all growth and to reactionary-utopian calls for the preservation of existing structures. Others have voiced pessimism regarding the alleged impossibility of maintaining the level of civilization reached, whether under capitalism or under socialism, citing the imaginary argument that development within the framework of either of the opposing systems is aimed at reaching economic effectiveness. However, attempts at such identification cannot withstand any criticism, mainly because the very concepts of the results of economic activities pursued by these systems are radically different: capitalism is entirely oriented toward the growth of profits, whereas socialism is focused on increasing the public wealth in order to insure the ever fuller satisfaction of the needs of society and of the individual. The bourgeois theoreticians ignore these qualitative differences and proclaim any socioeconomic system which aspires to economic effectiveness as conflicting with the nature of man. This formulation of the problem shows the inability of the ideologues of the big bourgeoisie to present capitalism as a "just" or "better" society or simply a society "more attractive than socialism."

The failure of the illusions concerning the self-renovation of capitalism was followed by a variety of pseudoscientific fabrications concerning the countries of real socialism as being "the absolute evil" and the "direct threat to the democratic order." The blackening of communism is used to justify the frenzied foreign political course and the aspiration to wreck detente and resume the cold war.

"The noticeable aggravation of the ideological struggle," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is a fact. To the West it is not reduced to a conflict of ideas. The West is using an entire system of means aimed at undermining and loosening the socialist world.

"The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically mounting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They cast aspersions on and distort everything taking place in those countries. Their main purpose is to make the people disgusted with socialism."

As an ideological phenomenon, the purpose of anticommunism is "theoretically" to express the interests of specific social groups. Actually, however, it turns out to be merely a pettily hostile pseudoideology which conceals the historical bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie and the absence of ideas in it which could inspire the broad strata more or less. Under the circumstances of the aggravated general crisis of capitalism its ideologues and politicians and their reformist-revisionist accomplices are now trying to shape the social foundations of anticommunism by recruiting the most ignorant and forgotten strata of the petit bourgeoisie mass, the lumpen proletariat, which are being strangled in the vice of competition and chaos.

The objective course of the class confrontation makes the middle classes in the contemporary capitalist society the allies of the proletariat in the struggle against monopoly rule and for peace and social progress. However, the middle classes are heterogeneous and contradictory. They include the petit bourgeoisie (the peasants, artisans and merchants), people in the liberal professions, the intelligentsia and some white-collar workers. The economic and political status of these social groups varies. Some of them are related to the bourgeois class as petty owners or managers; others have no property whatever. Some play a specific role in the political

structure of bourgeois society while the lumpen proletariat account for the lowest bourgeois strata, and so on. They are dispersed and have no common economic base or social relations. All this makes them receptive to mutually exclusive ideological positions. However, to an ever-growing extent objective circumstances are driving them into the ranks of the general democratic front and the alliance with the proletariat.

The petite bourgeoisie shares common roots with capitalism. It is experiencing particularly profound changes in its situation with the growth of the contradictions within the capitalist society. The history of the past 20 years proves that during the period of temporary improvements in the capitalist circumstances during the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, it was the petite bourgeoisie and, partially, the white-collar workers who were the recipients of bigger social benefits compared with the other groups of the middle classes. However, the crises and aggravations of all capitalist contradictions, starting with the mid-1970s, led to the fact that the most tangible losses were once again experienced by the dispersed and unorganized petit bourgeois mass. Frequently the hopelessness of its position in its uneven battle against big capital, uncertain living conditions and doubtful prospects lead it to dash here and there, to pessimism and despair. Criticism and the eagerness to destroy the existing order reveal less the desire to destroy capitalism as such than confusion in the face of the complex realities of life. It is precisely this that the reactionary ideologues are trying to use by channeling the fluctuations of this mass into the bed of frenzied anticommunism and, under certain circumstances, anti-democracy in general.

The lumpen proletariat, which is experiencing the jealousy of the poor toward the rich or, rather, to anyone with property, is particularly subjected to drastic fluctuations. This envy creates a predatory-nihilistic attitude toward anyone else's property and the eagerness to destroy anything higher than its own poor and primitive intellectual standard.

The basic struggle between the bourgeois ideologues and the communists takes place behind the mass of the petite bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat. The proletariat tries to develop in this mass an interest in scientific socialism and to indicate to it the road to real emancipation and solution of the gravest problems in the course of the revolutionary struggle. The supporters of the opposite camp are trying to draw this mass over to themselves, comprehensively promoting the features of its socioeconomic nature which fascism used in its time, in the hope of developing from it a social reserve in the course of an even further worsening of political reaction in the future.

2

Contemporary anticommunism ascribes to this mass, among other social groups, a place at the extreme right wing of the ideological-political struggle against real socialism and for the preservation of the capitalist system. This malicious intent is concealed by concepts in which the shock role is assigned to obsolete petty ownership ideals, to what V. I. Lenin defined with exhaustive clarity as reactionary economic romanticism.

The ideologues of the monopolies hope to adapt the old petit bourgeois dogmas to the circumstances of the final decades of the 20th century. Some "innovations" are being added such as, for example, neo-Sismondism, in the area of economics the demagogic slogan of abolishing the domination of big corporations, restoring free competition, simplifying and minimizing consumption, abandoning labor specialization and cooperation and returning to artisan activities. We also hear sermons on the senselessness of the scientific and technical revolution and on its pernicious effect on man. The progressive role of the social revolution in the development of society is denied. Mistrust of radical thoughts is promoted, the constancy of structures and traditions is emphasized and the possibility of making only changes which do not result in "catastrophe," i.e., in the abolition of capitalism, is supported.

In a word, the restorers of neo-Sismondism seem to be trying to draft their own economic, social and political program. A closer study, however, reveals that its methodological foundations have been borrowed largely from the works of J. Ellul, R. Aron and similar antiprogressives.

As early as 1968 R. Aron spoke of "disappointment in progress." Noting the contradictions within technological civilization, he stated that its development, regardless of the forms of ownership of productive capital, had destroyed the illusions of the 19th century: belief in possible equality, freedom and comprehensive development of the individual. In the second half of the 1970s, in an effort to substantiate the protest against industrialization, urged on by the scientific and technical revolution, E. Fromm proclaimed the fatality of any development regardless of the socioeconomic structure. Noting the faults of this process in its distorted capitalist form, he tried to present them as applicable to all of mankind, equal to the wrecking of the "City of Progress on Earth," which rested on three whales: material abundance, absolute freedom and unrestrained happiness. Modern society, in his view, reached a state of abundance because the people were inspired by the dream of this city. Now, however, the latter has turned into a tower of Babel which threatens to collapse and bury mankind under its pieces. The same idea runs through the works of J. Ellul, who claims that the mission of man is "the destruction of progress," and a movement away from and opposite to social development. He proclaimed modern technology the basic vice which allegedly leads the people into a dead end which can only become worse as a result of the social revolution.

These theses were taken up by the "new philosophers" such as A. Gluxmann, B. Levy and M. Clavel, who made the fabrication of the "sterility" and even "harm" of all social changes the linchpin of their concepts. The "new philosophers" turned out to be no more than the first swallows which proclaimed the next stage in the struggle waged by capitalism against the radicalizing of the masses. The malicious criticism of revolutionary social changes began to spread throughout the bourgeois world like a malicious epidemic. The ink on the pages of journals and newspapers which publicized these "overthrowers" of scientific communism was still fresh when the "new economists," the "new right," the "neoconservatives" and other defenders of imperialism and fervent enemies of real socialism came to their aid. Unable to offer any constructive alternative to a society practicing social justice, for such alternatives are simply not to be found in the world, they undertook to praise the reactionary course and political and economic obscurantism, and announced the waging of a fight "for the freedom to oppose social equality."

In this case the freedom slogan proved to lack even the bourgeois-liberal content which the 18th century Enlighteners--the ideologues of the bourgeoisie which was assuming power, had invested in it. Today, however, the reaction shies at nothing in an effort to rally under its banner against social equality, misrepresented as equalization, entirely heterogeneous strata and groups within bourgeois society, including neofascists.

Addressing the 26th CPSU Congress, Rene Urbani, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, stated: "The increasingly hopeless crisis of capitalism, the growth of socialist power and the progress of the forces of national and social liberation throughout the world have energized the most reactionary circles which would like to stop and turn back the wheel of history."

Since reactionary propaganda is fraught with inevitable failure, and as mankind has not forgotten the horrors of fascism, it drapes itself in pseudotheoretical garb, not shying at the use of any surrogate of contemporary scientific thinking.

The antiprogressives are adapting a large number of ideas in support of the right-wing course in domestic and foreign imperialist policy. In particular, the reaction has willingly taken up the demand of turning social development back to the allegedly underappreciated and forgotten values such as family, individual merit, simple physical labor and so on. The call for "back to the cave" is being thoroughly embellished with views on the imperishable traditions of human existence, unity between man and nature, and customs of human community life within the framework of patriarchal nuclei. Such "yearning for stagnation," and nostalgia for patriarchal customs, presented in the form of quasitheoretical considerations, lead to nothing other than regression.

The faults of capitalist accumulation, crises, increasing poverty of the masses as the wealth on the opposite pole increases and other ulcers afflicting bourgeois society were described by Sismondi as early as 1819. K. Marx and F. Engels noted in the "Communist Party Manifesto" that in his critique of the bourgeois system Sismondi applied the yardstick of the petit bourgeois and the small peasant and that he defended the cause of the workers from the petit bourgeois viewpoint. This clearly defined the class position of the Sismondists. A recurrence of this phenomenon in Russia in the 1890s was suitably assessed in Lenin's familiar work "On the Characterization of Economic Romanticism."

It was precisely Sismondi who originated petit bourgeois criticism of the contradictions of capitalist accumulation, subsequently taken up in the 19th century by Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Rodbertus, the socialist-Ricardians, the Russian Narodniks and, in the 20th century, by a number of bourgeois theoreticians. In formulating the social tasks of political economy, Sismondi formulated a purely petit bourgeois program: the breakdown of large-scale production into several small manufacturing systems, workers' co-ownership, equalizing regulation of consumption with the help of the state and asceticism.

A comparison of Sismondism with the concepts of the contemporary pseudotheoreticians, addressed to the petit bourgeois mass, indicates their amazing similarity. This is confirmed by the works of neo-Sismondists such as E. Schumacher ("small is beautiful"), H. Woodward ("capitalism can exist under conditions of economic stagnation as well"), and the revelations of Roger Garaudy and similar revisionists.

These works developed a thesis that attempts to resolve socioeconomic problems through rapid economic growth were an almost fatal error committed by mankind. The theoreticians of the industrial society were blamed for such attempts, adding the Marxists to their number on the "grounds" that both allegedly promote economic growth on the basis of the utilization of the scientific and technical revolution, while ignoring the matter of resources and consequences. The main "responsibility" for progress which, allegedly, ignored the interests of man is ascribed to those same Marxists under the false pretext that their theory of labor value proclaims anything not created through human labor worthless. Such vulgarizing clearly reveals the antihistoricism inherent in bourgeois ideology and the misunderstanding of the specific conditions which transform the labor product into a commodity value.

The desire to refute Marx and prove his "groundlessness" under contemporary conditions led the neo-Sismondists to reject the positive elements of Sismondi's theory. However, the milestones of reactionary utopianism noted by Sismondi have earned their extensive support. In attacking the contemporary scientific and technical revolution as the prime cause of the rapid development of big capital, E. Schumacher considers that the main objective of society is to humanize technology ("humane technology"). However, having formulated this thesis, he immediately turns to the problem of ownership and eliminates the distinction between technical and socioeconomic problems. The technology he conceives of is the equivalent of the rule of small-scale ownership. Private ownership, Schumacher claims, is natural in a small enterprise. In medium-sized enterprises such ownership is functionally unnecessary while in big enterprises it is inefficient.

The characterization of the faults and contradictions of the system based on the domination of capitalist ownership is essentially limited to such judgments. This is an attempt to whitewash capitalism as a social system. The appearance of the erroneous belief that the production problem has been resolved is related, in Schumacher's view, not to the development of ownership relations but to the "philosophy of changes in the attitude of man toward nature," and the mounting of the "battle against nature," in the course of which man considers himself not a part of nature but some kind of alien force. Whereas until recently the "battle against nature" supported the illusion of unlimited power, backed by scientific and technical achievements, now the time has allegedly come to abandon this fatal course. But where is one to go?

One is to return to petty private ownership, to small enterprises with a "humane technology," and to creative or artisan labor, to an "equitable" distribution of simple labor products, without "pursuit" of economic growth.

H. Woodward proceeds from similar premises. He disassociates himself completely from the "doomsayers" and presents his petit bourgeois program as the only alternative to the "big companies" which trigger contradictions. He bases his program on "labor philosophy," which he describes as the creation of possibilities of working only for the sake of earnings. As a prerequisite for such an idyll is the "beginning of civilization," i.e., the comprehensive rule of small ownership, peasantry and crafts.

An essentially similar "reform program" is presented by R. Garaudy who hopes to gain the sympathy of the French petit bourgeois masses: elimination of large-scale enterprises with the help of the state, insuring the comprehensive dissemination of small-labor ownership for all, the creation of small farming and artisan communes, a free market for the bartering of labor products, one's own labor and skills, and traditionalism.

The fact that such ideals are obsolete leaves their promoters entirely indifferent. It is a question merely of pharisean appeals to "save" capitalism from its vices and to renovate it, make it viable and insure its existence forever. The petit bourgeois ideal, which includes revisionism, splendidly cohabits not only with the touted private acquisition but with reformist illusions of the spreading of large-scale ownership through the "participation of the working people" in ownership. Numerous such views may be found. The most typical among them, however, we find in the book "The Social Model" by the West German ideologue G. Schleier. The author enthusiastically describes the virtues of petty ownership and private farming because...private farming makes every individual an owner. "Possibly," he concludes, "a major splintering of ownership and the participation of the working people in the growth of ownership is the most constructive sociopolitical ideal of our time." The means for the implementation of this idea is simple: essentially, it is the rejection of all progress.

3

The petit bourgeois dream of resolving all capitalist ills through a drastic limitation of technical progress, for lack of other prescriptions, is persistently promoted, again and again, by the "hunters of human souls," and by demagogues of all hues.

The nature of such illusions was exposed by Lenin with exhaustive depth. He pointed out that "lack of understanding of the historical role of machines as a measure of progress is precisely one of the reasons for which latest theories consider Sismondi's doctrine reactionary" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 2, p 179). The fault of idealizing small-scale production lies in the inability to see that the petty producer turns in actuality into a petit bourgeois (see Ibid., pp 214-216). The call for restoring the old production and trade methods is both reactionary and utopian. This Leninist characteristic is entirely applicable to the views of the contemporary neo-Sismondists who represent the reactionary economic romanticism of the period of domination of financial capitalism and of state-monopoly capital.

The contemporary neo-Sismondist concepts bear the clear imprint of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Whereas in the past Sismondi's theoretical views were used even by the ideologues of utopian socialism, the socialist-Ricardians in particular, today the supporters of neo-Sismondism mount attacks against scientific socialist theory and, above all, the practices of real socialism. This petit bourgeois antisocialism proceeds from the false premise whereby real socialism is considered merely one of the varieties of the industrial society and of the domination of the large-scale corporate production process, based on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

Hiding behind the criticism of the theses of big corporation ideologues who consider that all such economic problems can be automatically resolved within the framework

of the industrial system, the petit bourgeois theoreticians hope to discredit with the help of their programs mainly real socialism which is represented as being the extreme stage of corporate gigantomania. In an effort to weaken the attraction felt by the toiling masses to socialism, they present as a "basic fault" its advantage over capitalism: centralized planning and the subordination of public production to the task of insuring its effectiveness and quality as the main content of a socio-economic strategy aimed above all at raising the material and spiritual standards of the people. In this respect they join the ranks of the bourgeois "Sovietologists."

In his book "Productivity and Social System," the American economist A. Bergson claims that socialism is unable to reach the effectiveness achieved by capitalist corporations. Assuming this thesis as a given and supporting it with the manipulated figures of noncomparable prices of resources and finished products, he tries to impose the conclusion that socialism is a waster of resources and a power which suppresses human needs. The London TIMES published an article sensationally entitled "Planning Is Becoming Moscow's Nightmare." In this article "Sovietologist" A. Nove complains of the stability with which the Soviet economy is developing and explains some of its difficulties once again with the "impossible scale of centralized planning." It is noteworthy that the Chinese propagandists as well are beginning to blather about the "shortcomings of the Soviet highly centralized economic structure." They are clearly joining the chorus of reactionary scribblers. This is no accident, for Beijing is impressed by the reliance of imperialism on the petite bourgeoisie. In turn, it is increasingly promoting in its domestic policies freedom of "competition," although it is fraught with severe social consequences for the Chinese working people.

The misrepresentation of the Soviet economic management system is being used today with a view to contrasting it with the "economic planning" which is being allegedly practiced by the capitalist countries through the flexible combination of market forces and unobtrusive planning. Attempts are being made to compromise at all costs the basic Leninist principle of economic management and the principle of democratic centralism with the help of an obviously unscientific method. First of all, the characteristics of the socioeconomic circumstances of one or another historical period are ignored. Secondly, differences in the socioeconomic problems resolved by the CPSU and the Soviet state and the specific stages of the building of socialism are ignored.

The negative interpretation of centralized planned economic management is radically groundless. The trend toward centralized management of national economic processes is created by objective material-economic large-scale production factors. Historically, the social nature of the production process has been manifested through the various stages of its socialization, the beginning of which was laid with the division and cooperation of labor. It was under their influence that not only production centralization and concentration developed but also the centralization of the mechanism of influencing the production process. In the first volume of "Das Kapital," Marx emphasized that "any directly socialized or joint labor carried out on a relatively large scale, needs to a greater or lesser extent a management which coordinates individual projects and performs the general functions which arise from the dynamics of the entire production organism, unlike the dynamics of its separate organs" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 342).

As it reaches the edge of capitalist private ownership, the increased level of technical and organizational production socialization clashes with it and demands its economic socialization. That is precisely why under socialism planning is based not only on material and technical but on socioeconomic factors represented as the attitude toward societal socialist ownership. Centralized economic management is the implementation of the objectively necessary national economic approach to the solution of the socioeconomic problems of the socialist society, entirely based on the interest of the working people. "Communism," Lenin taught, "demands and presumes the highest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 392).

Soviet centralized economic management is based on the principle of democratic centralism which operates as an integral system of specific ways and means for the combination of centralism from top to bottom with a maximum consideration of intersectorial relations and local interests and the utilization of the initiative and creativity of the masses.

In the Central Committee's accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted: "The deeper the change we would like to make, V. I. Lenin said, the higher we must raise the interest in it and conscientious attitude toward it and convince of the need for this more and more millions and tens of millions of people ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 140). The economic policy formulated by the party for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for the 1980s reflects the basic, the vital interest of the Soviet people. Combined and merged with the creativity, initiative and energy of the masses, it insures the steady progress of our society in increasing the prosperity of the working people and laying the material and technical foundations for communism!" This means that improving centralized planned management, based on the democratic initiative of the masses, is the most important tool for the practical implementation of the Leninist principles of economic management and of the socioeconomic policy of the CPSU.

The criticism of industrialism, whose most negative variant, allegedly, is a centralized controlled planned system, is being used currently by the ideologues of the various bourgeois strata for strictly anticommunist and anti-Soviet purposes. In rejecting real socialism, the petit bourgeois theoreticians reject faith in social progress in general and proclaim social equality as the opposite of freedom, falsely presented as the domination of "eternal" human values such as petty private ownership, economic autarchy, religion, fear of God and so on. The ideals they impose concern the rising feeling of doom experienced by the petit bourgeois mass in connection with the growth of insoluble crisis phenomena within modern capitalism as well as the rush of some of it to the anticommunist camp, as is the case, for example, with the Maoists.

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The active support of petit bourgeois theoretical illusions by the defenders of imperialism is neither a paradox nor a manifestation of ignorance. It has far-reaching political calculations related to the aspiration to create in this manner a social reserve for imperialist reaction, alienate the petit bourgeois mass from its natural proletarian ally, lead this mass into the swamp of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and use it under the conditions of the drastic aggravation of

contradictions within the imperialist system for a turn from bourgeois democracy to totalitarianism and obscurantism.

The attempts which the ideologues of the monopolistic bourgeoisie are making in this direction are clearly traced in their flirtation with petit bourgeois economic romanticism and the propaganda of a set of ideological and political propositions formulated by the so-called new conservatism and allegedly not carrying the burden of the past. The antiprogressive skepticism shown toward the usefulness of technical progress and the fear of a technological future preached by the pessimists are used by the neoconservatives not only for the sake of proclaiming progress the "bacillus which threatens the entire earth with destruction," but, mainly, for claiming that under contemporary conditions the concepts of "progressive" and "conservative" have changed places. On the surface, neoconservatism acts as a complex ideological-political current the interpretation of which is complex. It contains interwoven claims of reproduction of bourgeois liberalism and frankly totalitarian notes. Essentially, it serves imperialist reaction.

In his book "Difficult Conservatism," the West German ideologue G. K. Kaltenbrunner does everything possible to justify the existence of regressive feelings and formulate arguments in favor of the "new" conservatism. In formulating his position he writes that Western democracy cannot abandon conservatism without harm to itself: the development of the economic, raw material, ecological and other crises, the growing understanding of the ungovernability of bourgeois countries, disappointment in the "utopian revolutionary principle of hope" and other factors of modern life allegedly make it extremely topical, for allegedly conservatism does not call for the destruction of the already created institutional system but is merely in favor of a revision of the attitude toward unrestrained progress and infinite emancipation of the weak man. According to this defender of the old world, conservatism is considered as inclined to use violence and as "rejecting anything which strives forward and upward." In its "new" appearance, however, it merely confirms its sober understanding of its role in contemporary life.

Kaltenbrunner does everything possible to dissociate himself from fascism. "The totalitarian system," he writes, "can no longer rely on conservatism in its mortal struggle for total self-assertion and expansion within and outside itself. On the contrary, the logic of the totalitarian system calls for the radical elimination of all remaining or potential bearers of conservative views." In this connection he frightens mankind with the fact that if it rejects conservatism it will find itself in a state of barbarianism. The trend of the preachings of neoconservatism can be clearly traced through the flood of such threats: it is not simply a question of obstructing technical progress or "establishing control over technological and industrial development," but of insuring the countering of left-wing forces, whose activities are slanderously described as a "sliding toward catastrophe."

We see behind the appeal to distinguish between neoconservatism and totalitarianism the yearning of the philistine mass "for order," and for a "strong-handed" authoritarian system. This was openly stated in the article by R. Barnett, an American political expert, entitled "The Lifeboats Are Full." The clumsy attempt to establish a democracy, he claims, and the appearance of authoritarian regimes are contributing to the dissemination of the ever more popular viewpoint according to which the future belongs not to democracy but to strict systems. In this manner neoconservatism proves to be indistinguishable from neofascism.

It is entirely obvious that such prescriptions are aimed at the petit bourgeois. In order to make them attractive, he is thrown a neo-Sismondist theoretical bone: neo-conservatism which, without turning private ownership of productive capital into a fetish, particularly on a large scale, adopts a "tolerant attitude" toward capitalism, for it is precisely under the conditions of capitalism and of a marketplace economy that the "freedom of the individual" is guaranteed. It is greatly emphasized that this freedom should not be connected with social equality in the spirit of scientific communism. Such a reactionary twist was accurately noted by M. Greifenhasen, a West German scientist, in his book "Freedom Versus Equality?" in which he notes that the ruling circles hope to restrain the process of democratization of West German society precisely through the struggle against social equality. An expanded study of the ideology and the policy of this reactionary current in the FRG is found in the book by L. Elm, a GDR Marxist historian ("The 'New' Conservatism," Mysl', Moscow, 1980).

Therefore, although the representatives of neoconservatism claim to support various conceptual orientations (in the past some of them joined democratic movements and even flirted with left-wing forces, while others were affiliated with the old liberals), the fact that the ideologues of imperialist reaction have joined this current infuses into it a clear spirit of fascist-style authoritarianism for which, as history has shown, the philistine petit bourgeois mass, which no longer believes in anything, has a penchant. In an effort to encompass the working class within this mass and to lead it away from the ideals of scientific communism and to push it into the swamp of regression, said Kaltenbrunner claims that should a major crisis break out, the workers risk losing more than merely their chains and slanderously describes them as the main conservative force.

It is no accident that such ideas are willingly taken up by all kinds of revanchists such as the right-wing circles of the CDU/CSU in the FRG. They are needed by these circles so that the latter may draw into the implementation of their reactionary objectives the "silent majority" and, having frightened it with "leftist extremism," swim to power on the crest of the muddy wave it has stirred up. The West German liberal K. Sondheimer has frankly pointed out that neoconservative concepts sooth the forces of political reaction and that the superficially attractive calls for stability and order have already played in history the role of bridges leading to dictatorial systems.

Everything points out that it is precisely such thoughts that are being nurtured by the conservative elements in the Republican Party in the United States, who are seriously relying on the petit bourgeois strata who are suffering from an oppressive tax burden and from the arbitrary behavior of big capital. In their fear of the future such strata are seeking salvation in a strong personality and in idealizing the past, as a result of which they become the victim of slick ambitious politicians. Are these not the strata at which the false campaign of the struggle against "international terrorism," mounted by the Republican administration, is aimed, which is a blanket charge leveled at all forces of social and national liberation?

The left-wing social democrats justifiably believe that essentially the neoconservatives are fighting the "leftist reorganizers of the system," promoting the restoration of reactionary concepts concerning the state and society and encouraging the blanket rejection of social progress and an antidemocratic attitude.

In their speeches at the 26th CPSU Congress, many representatives of communist and workers' parties emphasized the need for the unification of all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism and its reactionary course, against the fascist trends it promotes and for the strengthening of democracy. Frantz Muri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, pointed out that in the course of activities in defense and for the expansion of democracy in the country a "broad antifascist unity of action was achieved in the country in the struggle for the implementation of the stipulations of our constitution, which ban neofascist organizations and their propaganda activities."

By promoting the concept of man as an essentially imperfect and limited being who cannot be disciplined the neoconservatives express their yearning for a strong system which can insure "order" and preserve the stable conditions needed for the existence of a petit bourgeois mass under capitalism "purged" from the contradictions of its development. They considered the authoritarian state as the virtually exclusive guarantee of a "truly specific freedom" of the individual in its Hegelian interpretation.

The petit bourgeois utopianism imposed by the ideologues of imperialist reaction does not simply adopt Sismondist postulates but amends them in accordance with the development of monopoly capital and the aggravation of its contradictions. Such corrections are made on the basis of extreme right positions, for, while superficially accepting the "spirit of the time," it offers unconditional support to the bourgeois system and mounts malicious attacks on real socialism and on the theory of scientific communism. However, the program for the preservation of the "good old capitalism" drastically clashes with the objective trends in its development and calls for turning back to the patriarchal "idyll" of small-scale production and of age-old bourgeois values. For the sake of the implementation of the reactionary-utopian program the neo-Sismondists turn to the use of political slogans which clearly support fascism and criticize not only the socialist system but even bourgeois democracy.

The lessons of history show the danger of the outbreak of reactionary petit bourgeois illusions and of the desperate attempts to make them come true. The same lessons prove that the petit bourgeois mass, which is most exposed to the blows of capitalist development, the pauperized lumpen proletariat above all, becomes the social base of the most sinister reaction precisely in periods of aggravated contradictions within the private-ownership system. Thus, at the turn of the century in Russia, it was only the consistently proletarian line followed by the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, that in the course of the socialist revolution led the country away from the precipice of petit bourgeois chaos and violence. In Germany, in the 1930s, cleverly using the features of the petit bourgeois and the declassed masses, the monopoly bourgeoisie put Hitler in power. In China, after the abandonment of the international proletarian line by its leadership, the petit bourgeois element, outbreaks of which may still be noted, raged over a number of years. Finally, let us remember the three-year horror of the implantation of Maoism in Kampuchea, the counteraction to which required a new, this time anti-Maoist revolution, which was supported by socialist Vietnam and the other members of the world socialist comity.

This has occurred in the past, this occurs to this day here and there, and this may happen tomorrow. In the epoch of universal transition from capitalism to socialism, however, in the final account nothing can stop the forward march of the revolutionary renovation of the social aspect of the earth. Whatever dodges the enemies of peace and social progress may use, and however hard they may try to win to their side or at least to neutralize the tremendous mass of the population, they will be unable to perpetuate a system of oppression and violence.

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ON THE SUBJECT OF DEPARTMENTALISM; ECONOMIST'S NOTES

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[Article by Mark Mikhaylov]

[Text] The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress demand from all of us again and again to think of possibilities of accelerating the conversion of our economy to intensive development. In the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, in discussing improvements in the planning system and the further advancement of the economic mechanism, that we must systematically implement the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers 1979 decrees. "At the same time, we must go further in resolving accumulated problems," he emphasized.

One such problem which tangibly prevents the more effective development of the economy and educational work is departmentalism and its extension--subjective deformation of the mechanism of economic interests and of the system for the stimulation of labor collectives. This is not a new problem and it is not only today that the party has realized it or started the struggle against a departmentalist approach.

Thus, as early as the July 1970 CC CPSU Plenum, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his report that heads of ministries and departments must "find within themselves the strength and ability to rise above purely departmental interests and become truly concerned with the implementation of their assignments." Subsequently, a great deal was accomplished by the working people in the country and by the cadres of economic managers. Let us recall merely that between 1970 and 1980 the gross social product rose by 67 percent; productive capital rose by 116 percent while retail trade rose by 70 percent.

Despite all the tremendous successes achieved by our national economy, the fact remains that in recent years the system of means used in the struggle waged by the state against manifestations of departmentalism has shown the need for daily party support which it received once again, with particular strength and publicity, at the latest plenums of the CC CPSU and at the 26th party congress.

The intolerance shown by the party and its Central Committee of manifestations of narrow departmentalist trends did not fortuitously grow in recent years. The essentially extensive type of economic growth triggered a kind of "competition" among sectors for bigger capital investments and material and manpower resources. The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress earmark the means for the systematic completion

of the transition to intensive growth in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Today a comparison of volumes of growth of production capacities among different sectors can no longer be a criterion of success. Indicators of labor productivity, capital returns, economic effectiveness and work quality become particularly important. Under such circumstances narrow departmentalist trends are considered by society as absolutely unacceptable.

That is precisely why the formulation of a common viewpoint on the nature of departmentalism is particularly important. Actually, whose specific interests do existing narrow departmentalist trends express? Is it always the case that to many people the interests of a ministry are considered to a certain extent equivalent to the collective interests of all working people in a given sector? I am convinced that this is absolutely not the case for, to begin with, the interests of the ministry are one thing while departmentalism is something entirely different; secondly, anything which harms the national, the statewide interests, harms the basic interests of any one of the numerous detachments of working people employed in the various economic sectors.

We can never find in V. I. Lenin or in party documents a positive or even a neutral interpretation of departmentalism (and of parochialism which, in my opinion, is its "horizontal" manifestation). We are familiar with different assessments: "Considering our desperate 'departmentalism,'...and intradepartmental intrigues...today we cannot do without the Rabkrin" \*("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 180). Even more critical assessments may be found! In his letters to A. D. Tsyurup "On Restructuring the Work of the Sovnarkom, Labor and Defense Council and the Small Sovnarkom," written in 1922, Lenin pointed out that "Everyone in our country has sunk into the mangy bureaucratic swamp of 'departments.' The daily struggle against this requires high authority, intelligence and a firm hand" (Poln. Sobr. Soch., Vol 44, p 369).

Since then the country has covered a tremendous distance and acquired a tremendous amount of experience in economic management. New knowledge and skills have been gained and new cadres have been trained. For entirely objective reasons, naturally, the sharpness in the assessment of departmentalism is different. The phenomenon itself, however, exists. Why such durability? There is an answer to this question. However, to find it we must consider an entire group of phenomena and facts.

As we consider again and again the meaning of Lenin's formulation "In Relation to Inevitable Departmental Interests and Excessive Departmental Zeal" (Poln. Sobr. Soch., Vol 44, p 343) we, the communists, the members of a developed socialist society, can and must do everything possible so that, guided by the interests of the department and, if necessary, with the help and guidance of the party, we restrain and direct the "zeal" of the numerous national economic units toward the successful solution of the problems of the building of communism.

It is important to remember in this case that "patriotism" for a sector, association or enterprise, as well as local patriotism, are far from always negative phenomena. Furthermore, in the final account, without them national patriotism cannot be displayed. To love one's work and to care for the interests of the collective in which one works does not mean departmentalism in the least. Departmentalism is something else.

\*[Worker Peasant Inspectorate]

My conviction, which took many years to develop, is that the departmentalism which today conflicts with the overall criterion for the implementation of the national economic plan in terms of variety, quality and quantity of output, is an avoidance of the observance of contractual procurements (including procurements based on direct relations). It aims at inflating the required amount of financing and is mostly a manifestation of group egotism which opposes (regardless of concealing verbal statements) the interests of society as well as the true, objectively existing and objectively useful interests of ministries and thousands of labor collectives.

This is the reason for which departmentalism and parochialism, which tend to expand vertically and horizontally, should be called by their true names. Departmentalism is a way of thinking and, even more importantly, a means for economic actions which depart from the national interest. Its manifestations at each level of management, ranging from a subdivision of the planning organs or ministries down to the enterprise, naturally result in different social consequences. Their nature, however, is the same and one feeds the other. This is not the result of specialization or the monopoly of a given ministry or department. We can say that departmentalism belongs to no one other than to itself. It represents economic egotism in all its aspects.

Departmental egotism in the 1970s and in several preceding decades has a solid grounding. It has gone, as the saying goes, through "fire, water and copper pipes." It has many faces. It has mastered the art of mimicry, the ability to adapt to any type of circumstances. Its representatives can wax eloquent even on the subjects of effectiveness and quality reserves. Having upgraded its "skills" and found its defenders, departmental egotism is relatively less afraid of today's heir of the Rabkrin. However, unquestionably, it fears the party.

Today, in some cases, departmentalism may argue passionately and almost "scientifically" in proving the impossibility of fulfilling the draft national economic plan by any means, in others it daringly promises mountains of gold in the future, providing, naturally, that abundant capital investments are made precisely now. Such phenomena may be noted on the sectorial level and below it, on the level of management of an association or enterprise. In still other cases, aware that the sector or enterprise is about to break down (examples of this could be cited by anyone), the "departmentalist" will abstain from "alarming" the superior organizations excessively to the very last minute: such troubles are excessively straining and "personally unprofitable." Subsequently, when it becomes clear that cost estimates for new construction projects were lowered for the sake of undertaking the construction, while the promised mountains turn out not to be made of gold in the least, most frequently no one will ever be taken to task. The danger of asking someone to account for the fact later is less terrible than the need to display initiative, which could disturb someone's peace of mind, today. In this case we are no longer dealing with "excessive departmental zeal" but with a loss of zeal, period. It is a case of paralysis of will power. However, here again we see neglect of state interests. This is a particularly ugly and cowardly form of that same departmentalism.

Nevertheless, the basic incentive for departmentalism is not pursuit of promotion or of a bonus. Sometimes something else proves to be more important, the quite frequently encountered wish of a specific economic manager (although, naturally, such managers are clearly in the minority) to be "consistent" with the requirements of today, regardless of the actual results of his activities, and to have the official right to report that within his given "system" everything is smooth and that "we are no worse than others." A circumstance in which the plan, in terms of gross output, marketable production, sales, or anything else, is fulfilled 100.1 percent and is

insured without making full use of existing reserves is also the nutritive environment for the virus of departmentalism.

Sometimes the narrow departmentalist approach represents not only a distortion of the real economic interests of the sector in the struggle for the implementation of state plans: we should not ignore cases in which the sources for the appearance of narrow departmentalistic trends are occasionally found in excessive competitiveness or the vanity of specific individuals.

By itself competitiveness is quite a useful quality under socialism. It is noteworthy and fruitful when it loyally follows the Leninist principles of competition. However, when the spirit of individual rivalry is introduced into it as a result of individual character faults or for any other reason, and when someone is willing to pay any economic or moral price for success (a fact which virtually no one ever admits), the competition becomes some kind of impractical rivalry which is an entirely different style of behavior, alien to our collectivistic way of life.

Any deviation from the requirements of the national interests, whatever its cause, or the improper--narrow departmentalistic or parochial--interpretation of such interests and their distortion bring about tremendous economic losses and inevitably cause moral harm not only to anyone involved in the creation of conditions for the manifestation of narrow departmentalistic trends but to a far broader range of working people who become, one way or another, involved in the implementation of erroneous economic decisions.

V. I. Lenin wrote that "electrification is a yardstick. It may be considered a remote plan but it is a plan and, therefore, a criterion (any plan is a yardstick, criterion, beacon, landmark, etc.)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 382). If we ask what is today a yardstick and a criterion of national economic interests, the answer will be simple. Such interests (in terms of quality and quantity and time for their satisfaction) were most fully expressed in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. "The economic policy which the party formulates for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress, "reflects the basic, the vital interest of the Soviet people." The accountability report also mentions clearly and uncompromisingly the question of the subordination of interests: "National interests must always be above the interests of individual ministries and enterprises."

More than ever we pursue profound study of all elements within the system of economic interests operating in the developed socialist society and of the increasingly stronger unity among private, collective and national interests. Narrow departmental trends and group egotism were not created by our time. They have existed and manifested themselves quite negatively over many decades in the past. However, on the crest of the increased party and social attention paid to all aspects of cost effectiveness, the departmentalist trend, which occasionally grows in its soil, and whose hindering nature has been adequately assessed by the party, has become more obvious.

How to surmount subjectivistic deformations of the real economic interests of enterprises and ministries, whose activities in this case, from the national economic viewpoint, lead or could lead to undesirable consequences? The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress answer the question of how to eliminate this evil.

The first element of action is the timely formulation and systematic application of the type of planning system and economic mechanism, i.e., a mechanism operating on a permanent basis, day after day and year after year, which includes the material and moral assessment of economic activities under which the rather nonconflicting parameters and criteria of the assessment of such activities not only would not encourage departmentalism or any other form of group egotism, but would hinder and restrain them. Our economy has already entered the process of improving the still-imperfect practice of planning and of increasing the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and quality. However, a great deal remains to be done, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. Obviously, particularly important here are consistency and special firmness in the implementation of party and governmental decisions by planning and economic organs.

Let us mention in particular the need for a nonconflicting basic evaluation parameter of economic activities from the viewpoint of the ties between the interests of labor collectives, associations and ministries, on the one hand, and the national interests, on the other, for this is an exceptionally important problem. It is not a question of a simple parameter, for this would be an oversimplification of rather complex phenomena and categories. What is important is, let us repeat, the identical direction to be followed by the plan indicators and the criteria used in assessing its implementation at all national economic levels without exception.

The second task of the struggle is party-educational work for, in addition to everything else, departmentalism is a manifestation of insufficient party and general civic upbringing on the part of a still-considerable number of workers. That is precisely why in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew the particular attention of party committees of ministries and departments to the task of surmounting departmental or bureaucratic barriers. Obviously, all primary party organizations as well should give this some thought. The condemnation of any form or manifestation of departmentalism must always remain a part of the party's arsenal, as it is an exceptionally effective weapon in the struggle against this evil.

Our society has always been able to separate good from bad and the rich grains of life from chaff. That is why it is so important to implement systematically and strictly the CC CPSU instruction contained in its 1979 decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work:" "The tasks which the party sets for ideological-educational work are incompatible with the still-encountered fear of openly presenting for discussion topical problems of our social life, the tendency to gloss over or bypass unresolved and touchy problems and to hush up shortcomings and difficulties found in real life."

Naturally, the rather complex system of criteria used for the economic assessment of the work of labor collectives and entire sectors requires continuing supervision over the consistency between their interests and those of the state. The objective

review and systematic resolution of the numerous contradictions of different sorts regarding economic interests could be achieved only by involving broad public opinion in this project. The discussion of real conflict situations arising among specific personal, group, sectorial, regional and national interests must be "inter-related" and comprehensive, always taking into consideration the position, viewpoints and reasons for a conflicting situation, along with the national and sectorial and enterprise viewpoints. At the same time, we must look at situations which arise at points where their interests meet (which is very important!). The profoundly democratic nature of our system makes it entirely possible to make such "measurements" regular, very quick and effective.

In this connection it is exceptionally important to increase the systematic and comprehensive nature of the study of interests and of their interaction mechanism and to surmount the existing lack of coordination as a result of which the individual aspects of an entity become separated on the basis of scientific-departmental "cubby-holes" of economic, philosophical, sociological, psychological, managerial and other sciences. Such splintering hinders both scientific and practical work, for it is precisely the crossing of sciences which triggers in our century with particular frequency most revolutionary and progressive solutions (let us note, economical as well, in terms of outlays and time needed).

Popular initiative is adamantly seeking a road leading to ever more socially and privately effective forms of collective labor and methods for increasing the interest in it and responsibility for its results. As a result of work based on a single order, the brigade contracting method in industry and construction, the Ipatov method and the "workers' relay race," other initiatives lead to the ever-increasing unity of interests among all levels, the elimination of departmental and intereconomic barriers and so on.

These processes are insurmountable, for they are objective. Their scale and social significance will inevitably increase and will strengthen the moral and political unity of society in which private interests can be met the more completely the more closely they are combined with the interests of a big collective, to begin with, and subsequently, of the state at large. On the other hand, the ever fuller achievement of the national interests increases the effectiveness with which private interests are satisfied.

It will be pertinent to ask the following question: Where does the true interest of ministries, not maimed by the abcess of departmentalism, lie?

We believe that this interest is not the mathematical total of the collective interests of the enterprises within the sector. In this case we are dealing with a phenomenon of a higher order, perhaps for the reason alone that sectorial strategy and future are seen better and more completely on the sectorial rather than the enterprise command level. Possibilities of cooperation and specialization and sectorial technical policy are defined by the sectorial command. The ministry resolves major problems of intersectorial relations and defines in a first approximation the variants for the distribution of production forces. It is here that one of the important stages in the planning of all basic aspects of enterprise life is crossed.

The economic (and no longer merely the economic) interest of a production ministry consists, first of all, of the knowledge and skill to implement the trends, the possibilities offered by the scientific and technical revolution; to prevent the scientific and technical lagging of the sector as an area for the application of the work of millions of people and as a structural part of the entire economic complex of the country, to move ahead and to implement successfully the state plan. Secondly, it lies in achieving the highest possible labor productivity and capital returns within the sector and insuring the steady growth of national economic effectiveness and the struggle against departmentalism. Thirdly, it lies in concern for working conditions and the well-being of the workers in the sector, the level of wages and the satisfaction of the other needs of the workers, the engineering and technical personnel and the employees, the growth of their skills and increased opportunities for work according to their maximum ability, and the conversion of the labor process into an inner need felt by everyone. The range of duties and rights of the commands of our national economic sectors was outlined with exhausting completeness in the "General Regulation on USSR Ministries," issued by the government in 1967.

In my view, the following question should be asked as well: Is departmentalism necessary? Are deviations from national interests programmed in the activities of the ministry aimed at the solution of the problems assigned to it? Not in the least! However, the absolutizing of any one of these assignments, the more so as use of arbitrary methods in its implementation "at all costs" already becomes a way (regardless of pious intentions) of sliding from the positions of defending the just and legitimate interests of the ministry to self-seeking positions of departmentalism. Occasionally the line which separates the former from the latter is very fine, which makes here so important the superdepartmental, the party-wide control, including that provided by the primary party organizations, over the means used for the achievement of economic successes.

It is inadmissible to remove the economic way of thinking from civic thinking, i.e., from the realm of ideology. The psychology of the departmental approach has a variety of aspects. It would be a naive simplification to reduce everything to the fact that some people at some time have "forgotten" the good of the state once and for all. In real life we are firmly reminded of the good of the state by the planned assignments issued by the state. Errors originate more frequently as a result of differences in the assessment of the admissibility of the ways and means which were chosen for carrying out one's share of the general project. Occasionally they are the result of the indiscriminate selection of such means or the disregard of their nature and of their consequences in terms of the education of the people.

Differences in understanding the true nature of ways and means come most frequently not in the least from a lack of personal honesty or ideological maturity on the part of one or another manager. It is simply that something which may seem to them accurate, just and substantiated from their departmental viewpoint is wrong when considered from the broader national economic viewpoint.

The consumer value of a commodity assumes priority in the case of truly efficient consumption, when objects are used for their specific purpose rather than because they are available or for the sake of prestige ("no worse than the others"), not to mention the hoarding of objects. Under developed socialism the cost of objects must become increasingly subordinate to the consumer value, as they are an instrument for recording individual and social labor and its results for the individual and for

society, and as means for the social development of sensible material needs and the observance of the first and second halves of the single socialist principle "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his labor."

It may be claimed that occasionally, under the influence of the system for the stimulation of the producer which, to a certain extent, is still focused merely on optimizing the volume of goods marketed and profits without a proper study of the legality of their earnings, in a number of cases normal interests which do not make the consumer luxuriate lose their justifiably highest importance (in the eyes of both the producer and his department).

Here is a rather indicative example taken from the 30 March economic survey by L. Zhmyrev and V. Cherepanov in PRAVDA: In 1946 the Niyva Metallurgical Plant was manufacturing an ordinary, easy-to-use spoon with a wide, flat handle and without a design. A crest was added in the 1950s; stars over a dome were engraved in the 1960s; silver illustrations based on Krylov's fables appeared in the 1970s. Future plans call for the production of spoons with golden trimming. A set will no longer cost 61 rubles but 100 rubles, and so on. And all this is being done while there is a shortage of simply good spoons even at the plant's cafeteria itself.

Others note that such production extravagance may be found to this day. In addition to all other reasons for its existence, it is caused not only by falsely understood and misdirected interests of enterprises but also by important external circumstances such as the higher turnover tax based on groups of commodities within which this notorious spoon is classified because of its gilding. This, however, is a separate subject.

In situations in which the enterprise tries to produce more expensive goods (the number of such goods remains quite high) the interest of the consumer does not always remain supreme. Other interests occasionally assume the upper hand. The authors of the PRAVDA article believe that everything will change immediately following the enactment of the normative net output indicator. Unquestionably, change will come but not immediately and the problem will not be entirely resolved as a result of the re-orientation of the criterion used in assessing the work of enterprises alone. It is important that a new criterion such as the growth of the net (normative) output be used more quickly in assessing the work of entire ministries. Without this the economic situation may change in the direction desirable to the state less rapidly than it could. This is the key to the problem.

The properly understood interest of the ministry always includes an accurate projection. It is an organic part of the national interest. The net (normative) output indicator, introduced in the plans of most ministries, associations and enterprises in accordance with the 12 July 1979 CC CPSU decree, has major qualities also because the sum total of net output of industrial, agricultural and other production collectives is what constitutes the national (state) net product. It seems to me that it is precisely that which expresses most accurately one of the most important aspects of the direct economic interest of the people and the state.

In addition to increasing comprehensiveness and improving the organizational structure of economic management, further possibilities for increasing its effectiveness consist precisely of making the economic interests and incentive systems of each

production ministry and department identical and primarily oriented toward optimizing the total net output (normative-net, conventional-net--variance depending on specific circumstances).

Naturally, the new indicator is not a cure for departmentalism as a phenomenon. However, it is a powerful economic protection from numerous contradictions caused by the imperfect economic mechanism. In this case it is important to make rational and full use of the time allocated for preparing the conversion of the corresponding sectors to the net production indicator.

Naturally, in this case the organizational period is very necessary, for it is a question of the extremely complex economic mechanism. It is obvious that the speed at which it is reorganized cannot be increased with an "administrative whip." However, dawdling is equally impermissible, for in this case instead of the system currently operating on the level of enterprises and production ministries we would have a mechanism operating at the low capacity level. Unfortunately, such cases of slowness are encountered particularly in the middle economic management levels and the lower levels of ministry operations.

The centralized principle in the management of the single national economic complex can be strengthened only by upgrading the role and precision of the state plan and of the real role played by ministries and departments in the actual and steady growth of national economic production effectiveness. The problem is how to learn to recompute the measure, the extent of this effectiveness from the positions of individual ministries and of the entire government, on the basis of entirely supra-sectorial positions.

For decades the traditional method for summarizing of economic results was the following: the higher the growth rate of the gross output, naturally, the better work is being done by the ministry and its apparatus (the latter is important in order to understand the problem). It has long been apparent that this approach was harmful not only on the level of enterprises and associations but of ministries and departments as well.

Not only the enterprises but the ministries had means which, although considered "officially correct," in case of need could artificially raise somewhat the rate of annual increases: the method of double accounting and its mechanics have been well mastered directly by the enterprises and at higher levels of economic management. This was also the purpose of the still extant practice of increasing wholesale prices without any objective need to do so, something easier in the past and now becoming increasingly difficult. A close consideration of this practice frequently reveals misguided interest, not so much by enterprises but by industrial ministries as well. In a number of cases an enterprise may not benefit from any share of the additional profit earned by raising wholesale prices. On the sectorial and ministerial levels, however, this does improve the indicator although temporarily (as a consequence of the ever-more frequent intervention of the USSR State Committee for Prices and the USSR Ministry of Finance, prices earned as a result of unsubstantiated rises in wholesale prices go to the state budget).

The narrow departmental interest cannot obtain more or less regular and stable boosters without the participation of the financial and planning organs and the State Committee for Prices. Naturally, neither of them promotes the broadening of the range of narrow departmental interests. On the contrary, they are fighting it with increasing zeal. What simply happens is that in many cases these state organs have not as yet fully mastered all the means for diagnosing manifestations of departmentalism or even the mechanism which lowers the height of departmental barriers.

Wherever the current cost effectiveness mechanism is used, as it carries out its work, which is unquestionably necessary and useful to society, it also erects (unless closely watched) barriers which separate "its own" profitable work from the work of "someone else," and which separate work "on one's own" and for those who are considered "outsiders" to some extent. A most important question here is how and at what rate of speed can we subordinate all "specific" cost-effectiveness systems to a so-to-speak general economic cost-effectiveness system?

In principle this is a resolvable problem. In real life, however, on the one hand this is prevented by a certain limitation and incomplete activity in the cost-effectiveness system conducted from the bottom upward. At the primary level the system must be implemented far more consistently than it is now so that, to begin with, it will not harm the legitimate interests of properly-working collectives and of its individual members; secondly, it would legally impose economic penalties on poorly-working collectives which fail to cope with their assignments. Cost effectiveness means giving preference to frontrankers in consumption. However, whenever necessary, it also means the strict application of material and social sanctions against those responsible for the failure of the plan. On the other hand, unquestionably, matters are hindered by the circumstance that at the middle management levels cost effectiveness occasionally leads to the creation of new blocks, for reasons we must think about a great deal, blocks which raise the height of departmental barriers, which turn into fences or even fortification walls. The walls of departmentalism do not contribute in the least to economic flexibility, the increased comprehensiveness of economic development and the implementation of the ever-more frequently used intersectorial programs. They harm both society and the state.

The need and usefulness of profits in the national economy are entirely clear. No one can seriously think of eliminating them. Actually, this would be impossible. However, a one-sided orientation on profit as the main criterion in assessing the work of a given enterprise, association or sector sooner or later encourages a certain segment of the administrative personnel (whose managerial decisions determine a great deal of things) to "shove aside" in their own case and in the case of their department measures which might reduce profitability for a while. This is one of the reasons for the endurance of the logic of the narrow departmental economic behavior at various management levels, ranging from the shop to the ministry. In this connection, we would like to point out that the efforts of the ministries to apply partial cost effectiveness not only does not eliminate problems but creates them and the more this process continues the more clear this becomes. Experience indicates that such efforts lead not to the elimination of even some of the roots of departmentalism but, I fear, to the conversion of some of its elements into structural parts.

The ability to fight departmentalism and parochialism day after day is one of the criteria in assessing the firmness, efficiency and political training of all management cadres. Naturally, it is also a criterion of the work accuracy and quality of all supradepartmental soviet and economic organs.

The self-admitted "departmentalists" or "parochialists" are an exceptional phenomenon. It is this precisely that constitutes one of the essential difficulties in identifying and opposing them. Particularly now, after the 26th CPSU Congress, it is not so simple to find someone who, while acting in a departmental or parochial manner, does not also believe that he is guided precisely by governmental considerations and interests.

The point is that a kind of psychological phenomenon exists, according to which one or another variant of "excessive departmental zeal" shown at an enterprise, rayon or department is identified by some managers with the national interest. The former is accepted unwillingly by few while the latter is sincerely believed by a substantial number of workers. This seemingly paradoxical yet entirely real fact must be absolutely taken into consideration in the training of sectorial managers, particularly in the middle range, for it is there, occasionally, that the departmental, the parochial logic is developed.

In addition to everything else the "departmentalists" assume and act on the basis of the belief that the majority of "outsiders" belonging to other organizations and with whom they have to deal are also mandatorily "departmentalists." "Rules" of economic behavior of doubtful value have been elaborated: when you are asking for something, increase your requirement so that even getting one-half of what you want would be adequate; if you are promising to do something, begin by promising less than is possible, so that you may cope even subsequently, when your assignment is increased. Such "business games," created by shortcomings in the planning system, are rather widespread in ministries and departments. We cannot say that the people are educated properly in the course of such "games," not to mention the harm which they cause to the national economy.

The draft plan (annual and five-year) is the result of a certain compromise reached between the overall plan and the sector and the representatives of suppliers and consumers. In an effort to guarantee procurements, suppliers most frequently demand reduced procurement figures. The consumers, ranging from enterprises operating on the basis of direct relations to the Gosstab, submit figures for higher procurements in an effort to maximize the planned growth rates of output. It is at this point that passions flare up. It is also here that the healthy interest of ministries in optimizing the working conditions of the sector is misshapen by departmentalism which, although it may appear in a single area of sectorial interrelationships (in fact, it appears in many more), immediately starts a chain reaction.

We must also realize that a request for procurements, i.e., for the manufacture and consumption of precisely needed quantities means being left frequently without any reserves, and being simply considered a ninny who does not care about the situation of his enterprise, sector or region. This increases even further the temptation to take more and give less, a phenomenon whose elimination should be discussed jointly. This makes it absolutely clear that at this point the further development and

advancement of the system of national reserves of material resources would be a great help. Such reserves would be far more helpful and far more economical than intradepartmental (sometimes quite unnecessary) reserves which are created with the help of all kinds of tricks and stockpiled for eventualities which may be imaginary or, in frequent cases, do not occur.

Departmentalism and parochialism conceal quite skillfully their shortcomings by using a variety of means for concealing from the government records, such as equipment idling, losses of time, raw materials and semi-finished goods, or the production of defective items. In order to protect themselves from external control, the furries of group egotism frequently operate behind the screen of "protecting" the interests of labor collectives, regions, and others. Their arguments are monotonous and simple: "We wanted to do what was best for the collective." In turn, whenever plan indicators remain unfulfilled, second-rate workers in enterprises and construction projects become tempted to search for, to seek reasons for the failure in anything other than their own shortcomings. In such cases the blame for reduced bonuses is laid more or less openly on the "insufficient firmness" of the managers who allegedly failed to insure a lower plan for their enterprise or were unable to amend it downward. Unfortunately, in an overwhelming number of cases such arguments are demagogic and are not voiced by the most industrious workers. This is a harsh yet just judgment. Party-style intolerance should be applied to such situations whose sources must be attentively studied.

It would be scarcely proper to accuse the heads of ministries and departments of allowing departmentalism to be generated exclusively within the ministries, arbitrarily, so to say. This is not the case at all. Many of the reasons for departmentalism may be traced to a somewhat higher economic level, where the criteria for assessing the work of ministries and departments are established, on the level of the Gosplan and other intersectorial economic organs. He who defines the price mechanism and the other criteria for assessing ministry activities can also control the essential aspects of their economic interests. Since the process of controlling and regulating interests does not take place as systematically, expediently and rapidly as demanded by the party and the government, this means that some Gosplan subdivisions or units within the machinery of other state committees have not coordinated their work properly.

What is good for the state must always be good for enterprise collectives and individual workers. This applies equally to national economic sectors and ministries. Incidentally, the real material incentive system of individual enterprises is not so different from the interests of their sectors as might seem to be the case. If something is good for society and the state but to some extent unsuitable to a ministry, association or enterprise, the latter will always find thousands of "objective" reasons with which to prove the untimeliness and even the impossibility of making the necessary changes. The problem of improving final national economic results can be resolved successfully not despite the economic interests of sectors but by actively and purposefully optimizing the management of such interests and by relying on them firmly.

I would not be wrong in saying that the biggest dream of virtually any decent person, although finding himself in the role of a departmentalist, is to make each one of his steps truly serve the interest of the state. Departmentalism is a disease

which is painfully suffered by the majority of the patients, naturally excluding double-faced people. To economic managers such as a director of an association (the "hero" in L. Zhmyrev's article "Twin Profile or How To Understand Initiative," published in the 13 April PRAVDA issue) departmentalism is like water to a fish: the customary and pleasant environment. There also exist unscrupulous speculators who apply their "breakthrough" abilities, not without profit to themselves, to the "no-man's land" which appears at the junction of organizationally and economically poorly interconnected departments. In all likelihood, the readers have come across such people. However, if some rules of economic behavior, which developed in the course of several decades, are hindering the work, all of us should try to elaborate faster proved means of socialist economic management, regardless of the sector, association or enterprise. This formulation of the problem eliminates the possibility of criticizing exclusively our neighbor's departmentalism while adopting a stance of passive expectation. Today every economic manager must strive to achieve real, tangible improvements above all in his own sector and to advance it in the direction earmarked in the decisions of the 26th party congress.

This means that we must firmly surmount sluggishness and inertia in economic thinking. We must irreconcilably oppose the type of indifference which, not only at home but also at work professes, frequently fearfully, whisperingly or, sometimes, militantly and loudly, the base rule of philistine existence: "What is it that I (or you) need more than the others?" It is precisely to people who "need more than anyone else" for the sake of the work rather than themselves to whom we owe many of our successes. Without such people loyal to the party, fearless and persistent in defending the interests of the state our spiritual life would be less intensive and the development of the national economy would be slower. The true communist is a communist precisely because he never shifts to someone else's shoulders his share of the social burden.

It is common knowledge that the cadres of our planning and economic apparatus, of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and construction projects are in their overwhelming majority people who possess not only high professional skills and experience but who are also zealous patriots, dedicated to the work which they perform selflessly. Virtually all serious managers have the strong and sincere desire to do their work to the fullest, the maximum extent of all their capabilities, and no less. That is precisely why it is so important to see to it that the work of the Soviet people is always accurately programmed on the basis of the sectorial and national economic management parameters. To work without timidity, not to fear any "excessive" outstripping of last year's results, not to create artificial stockpiles, not to struggle for a reduced plan, and so on, are not in the least mere dreams but a need which our cadres have realized as well as entirely obtainable objectives which the communist party and its Leninist Central Committee have set for the national economy.

Systematic implementation of the instructions of the 26th party congress, filled with profound optimism and a constructive spirit concerning the need to improve the style and methods of economic management on the basis of the Leninist management principles, to increase exigency, to learn how to work and manage more effectively and to wage an irreconcilable struggle against the manifestations of bureaucracy, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism are major prerequisites for the new labor successes which will be achieved by the Soviet people.

## SOCIETY IN THE LIGHT OF THE SYSTEMIC APPROACH

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[Review by Prof A. Korshunov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book "Sistemnost' i Obshchestvo" [Systems and Society] by V. G. Afanas'yev. Moscow, 1980, 368 pp]

[Text] The new book by V. G. Afanas'yev, the well-known Soviet philosopher and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, is the result of more than 20 years of work. It is a summation of the results of studies conducted not only by the author himself but by other Soviet as well as foreign specialists. Furthermore, the book does not merely systematize achieved results but formulates new problems and develops and concretizes previously raised ones. The author has focused his attention on the analysis of the nature of the systemic method and its role in the study of social processes and the summation of social practice data. He has used a great deal of material borrowed from the natural sciences and the humanities. The problems are considered in close connection with the practical tasks of our time, of the developed socialist society and of the building of communism. Convincing criticism is offered of anti-Marxist concepts which distort the nature of the systemic method.

The problem of systems in modern science is a most important one. It has been already studied extensively by Soviet scientists. We cannot deny some successes achieved by bourgeois scientists as well in the study of systems problems. Nevertheless, as the author justifiably emphasizes, many concepts of the systemic approach are distinguished by their abstract and formalistic nature and bear the imprint of positivism. For this reason the dialectical-materialistic substantiation of systems is one of the main tasks to which V. G. Afanas'yev has addressed himself, relying on what has already been accomplished in Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It is precisely in Marxist dialectics and Marxist sociology that this problem was given its initial and most profound development and comprehensive substantiation.

The main objective of the book is expressed in its title--the study of society as an integral system. However, this objective is implemented on two levels which are internally interconnected. The first is the general theoretical aspect, the characteristic of systems, of the systemic approach; the second is the study of society itself as a special system.

The stand adopted by the author is largely new. In particular, he extensively substantiates the idea of the internal unity between the systemic approach and dialectics. The systemic approach, as V. G. Afanas'yev points out, is a side, an aspect of dialectical-materialistic methodology and of its intensification and concretizing as a theory of reciprocal relations and of the development of objects and phenomena in reality (see p 14). This idea runs throughout the book. Categories such as "integral system," among many other categories of dialectical materialism, such as quality and quantity, the general and the specific, reason and consequences, necessity and accident, form and content, identity, differences, contradictions and so on assume great importance. By this token the systemic approach becomes part of dialectical-materialistic methodology. The objective consideration of society and of systems in general is internally related to the determination of the ways for their effective study and the analysis of cognitive means which are mainly characteristic of the systemic approach. Its methodological principles perform their heuristic functions by relying on the objective systemic nature of the world and of human practices.

Unfortunately, we still find even in our own publications interpretations of systems as being merely abstractions, as a specific means for the conceptualization of the world rather than an objective phenomenon. To some extent such concepts are the result of the exaggerated logical-methodological aspect of systems and the paying of insufficient attention to their actual ground. Currently openly idealistic, teleological and metaphysical interpretations prevail in bourgeois publications. This becomes particularly clear in the consideration of the nature of society. Therefore, the criticism of subjectivism and of metaphysics in the study of systems and entities is one of the important merits of V. G. Afanas'yev's work. As the author emphasizes, the trouble of these philosophers-"integralists" is not that they consider the whole as the cause of the parts but that they consider the entity as a kind of "supernatural" factor. In reality, the identity is formed as a result of the inner connections among its parts, and through their interaction.

The heuristic role of the systemic approach is determined above all by the degree to which it is integrative. It makes it possible systematically to engage in an integral consideration of the object with the use of logical-mathematical instruments and modeling and formalizing methods, to penetrate into the essence of phenomena of a different order, synthesize different problems and so on. These possibilities become fully apparent when we consider society as a superior type of system and its interaction with natural circumstances, its internal structure, the place and role of man and of material factors of society as a product of human activities, the activeness of the mind, and so on. Social systems, naturally, are developing systems.

The great attention which the author pays to the principle of historicism is not accidental. Particular mention should be made of the place which historicism holds. The problem of the correlation between the systemic approach and the principle of historicism obviously remains underdeveloped. Furthermore, there is a clear tendency to pit one against the other, practiced, as a rule, by the opponents of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The positive development of this problem is necessary not only in order to surmount this trend but to insure a deeper understanding of the nature of the systemic approach and of its role in the study of social processes.

V. G. Afanas'yev assumes quite legitimately that an integral system cannot be scientifically understood without a historical analysis. This applies to systems at all levels of inanimate and animate nature and in society. The role of the principle of historicism rises with the increased complexity of matter and the accelerated pace of development of systemic formations and, quite naturally, becomes particularly important in the study of social phenomena. As the author emphasizes, "the principle of historicism, dynamics and development could be described with no exaggeration as the basic aspect of the systemic approach" (p 182).

Naturally, with a systemic-structural analysis of an object, we can arbitrarily ignore the development of the system in terms of time while emphasizing its functioning. However, such an abstraction can be made only up to a point. Systems are dynamic and historical and, consequently, in the final account, all their parameters change, including their structure, however stable the latter may be. This is clearly manifested in systems of a social order: system and history are inseparably interrelated. There is no system without structure or without history.

Any system represents the unity of the present, the past (existing in records such as ruins, relics, monuments, historical sources) and the future (development trends). In its dialectical-materialistic interpretation, the action of the principle of historicism cannot be limited to the reproduction of the present and the past, something which is frequently encountered in the scientific study of social phenomena. The principle of historicism is also inseparable from the need to study the dynamics of systems in the future and of their transition to a qualitatively new state. "Prediction and history," V. G. Afanas'yev claims, "are inseparable from each other, for they are based on the laws governing the development of the object, on the knowledge of the laws which, like trends, link together the past, the present and the future, laws and trends which imbue the various stages of dynamics of the project, laws which develop in the past, laws which 'led' the object (system) from the past to the present, and laws which 'lead' the system from the present to the future" (p 189). It is precisely this which allows us to speak of the principle of historicism as the most important aspect of the integral reproduction of the object and of the essential limits of the system's approach to the study of phenomena in general and of social reality in particular.

As we know, the elaboration of the historical-materialistic outlook was based on the concept that the historical process is a change of socioeconomic systems. The consideration of these problems remains topical, for, as in the past, the question of the role of the production methods in social development remains topical. We are forced to return to it constantly also in order to wage an active struggle against the bourgeois views on social development. "The socioeconomic system" is a category which reflects the most universal form of integrity and of the systemic nature of society. Consequently, it is only by taking this category into consideration that society could be studied as an integral system and that its specifics of place and role in the development of the objective world can be brought up. The author has been able to prove this convincingly.

The author has paid great attention to the fact that a high level of complexity is a characteristic feature of social systems. Social systems have numerous components, occasionally heterogeneous, and an inordinate wealth of relations among them and between the system as a whole and the environment. All this must be taken into

consideration as we analyze the ways and means for the study of society and for the determination of its specific features, which include the use of the systems approach as well. The systems study of society inevitably includes the study of the complex dialectics of the objective and the subjective, the determining role of material production, the activeness of the subject, the importance of spiritual factors and so on. At the same time, it means the study of social integrity and systems and basic parameters and characteristics.

Compared with systems at other levels, the author notes, the systems operating on the social level of the development of matter possess qualitatively new attributes. In this case an entirely different integrative factor develops. The production process becomes the universal substance which imbues the entire variety of social phenomena and which determines the place and role of each one of them and which subordinates and changes them in accordance with its own nature. In such systems the dialectics of the entity and of its parts becomes more complex. The extent of the autonomy of the components in terms of the entity changes: parts cannot exist outside the whole. The role of the whole in terms of its parts increases, and so on. The structure changes qualitatively. The attention of the readers is drawn to the characterization of types of social relations such as coordination, subordination, determination (as a rule, nonlinear, probability, stochastic) and compatibility.

According to V. G. Afanas'yev a function is a means for the manifestation of the activeness, of the activity of a system and of its components (see p 131). The function is performed by society as a whole and by its individual components and structural subsystems such as classes, social groups and individuals. The social purpose and direction of a function are determined by the system of specific historical relations. Social functions have a purposeful nature. Their study represents a purposeful consideration and determination of the meaning of human practical activities and the definition of their results and means leading to the acquisition of knowledge. Consequently, this approach presumes the development of an image of the future, which becomes the target. Let us note incidentally that in the book the concept of target is given separate meanings. To the author the target is not only the image of the result but the result itself. This could hardly be considered accurate. The result as a target exists only as an image of the future, for at the present it is not as yet extant. Once the result has been achieved, it can no longer be considered a target. In this case the result represents the totality of actually existing conditions on which actual human activities are based.

However, something else is important: V. G. Afanas'yev describes the interrelation between the integral consideration of society and the principle theory of causality. The target consideration of society necessarily relies on the determination of causal relationships among phenomena in social life, for the functions and targets for whose implementation the functions are used are materially determined.

The author makes an interesting distinction between the functioning of the system and its development. Functional laws as they apply to society are characteristic of a specific socioeconomic system which retains its qualitative specifics over a certain period of time, sometimes quite lengthy. The laws of development are those of a qualitative transformation of the system and of the transition from one socioeconomic system to another. This is an important conclusion. It cautions us against reducing development to one of the forms of manifestation of the activeness of a

social system--its functioning--and, therefore, the absolutizing of its relative stability. However, the author notes, we should not ignore the internal link between functioning and development, for it is only in the course of the process of functioning of social systems that conditions are created for their changing and conversion into a new qualitative state. "In order to explain (not determine but specifically explain) and substantiate the function we must be familiar with the history of the system, its birth, establishment and development. We must be familiar with the environment of the system, both social and natural, the nature and characteristics of its interaction with the environment and so on" (p 148). We see here yet another confirmation of the already expressed stipulation that the study of society as an integral system must be based on the principle of historicism.

In considering the integrity of the social system, naturally, V. G. Afanas'yev has not ignored yet another theoretically and practically exceptionally important aspect: the problem of management. The author justifiably points out that management is a process inherent in the organized definition of the type of system (whether biological or social). He describes extensively the unity existing among system management, development and functioning. We can only agree that management is a factor not only in the preservation of the order of the social system and its functioning but of its change and development. The author singles out the specific features of social management: expediency, planning (naturally at different levels), and indirect social information. The most important trend in social planning is the increased role of the conscious factors.

Man is the central and universal link of the social system which, according to V. G. Afanas'yev, from the viewpoint of the substantive material (a term which, in our view, is not entirely apt), includes components of a material, procedural and spiritual nature. All of them, however, are related to man and his activities and take place in the material environment. Objects are the products of human activity transformed in accordance with man's specific needs, objectives and tasks. They represent materialized human activities and it is through them that experience and knowledge are passed on from one generation to another. Involved in the realm of social relations, objects assume a second, a social life and value characteristics. In our view, the study of man, of his interrelationships with the material environment and the determination of the role of the latter are of essential significance in terms of the further characterization of our knowledge of social phenomena. Man is a social being and the sum of social relations. However, this does not cover his entire structure, for, as the author notes, man is a biosocial being. We cannot agree with all of the author's views concerning the social and biological aspects of man. In our view, the biological foundation of the social aspect cannot be considered as a component of the nature of man, which must be willy-nilly assumed if we acknowledge his biosocial nature. The biological factor serves the social factor and supports the life of man without, however, determining his social characteristics. Therefore, we can hardly agree with the fact that the manifestations of human life are social (in the broad meaning of the term), and that man's psychological features and characteristics, together with his biological qualities, are precisely the components of the personality as an integral system (p 306). As a whole, the study of the problem of man made by the author deserves a high rating. In formulating the concept of the universality of man and of his all-round development within the socialist social system, V. G. Afanas'yev develops the long-term direction to be followed by systems studies.

Finally, we cannot ignore yet another topical subject raised by the author: the progress of the social system toward a higher type of integrity--the communist system. It is precisely in this area that the author systematically promotes the principle of historicism as the most important feature of the systemic approach and shows the advantages of the communist system which make it a superior type of social system. One of the essential changes which take place within the framework of the communist system is that man himself and the all-round development of his physical and spiritual qualities becomes the target of society. "Communism is a system in which the highest expression of the Marxist idea of the identity between man and society and between the component and the system is achieved," the author concludes. "It is this same identity which would be inconceivable under the conditions of a private-ownership and exploitation system, an identity whose practical implementation was started by socialism, an identity in which the developed socialist society is manifested most emphatically" (p 365).

Let us note yet again, in conclusion, that the book by V. G. Afanas'yev represents a substantial contribution to the elaboration of the problem of systems, analysis of social processes and clarification of the characteristics of the study of social life.

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CSO: 1802/15

## PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY AND THE BIRTH RATE IN DEMOGRAPHIC PUBLICATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 119-123

[Review by Prof M. Sonin, doctor of economic sciences, of the following book: "Demograficheskiye Problemy Sem'i" [Demographic Problems of the Family]. Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 208 pp. Editors: T. V. Ryabuskin (editor in chief), A. Ya. Boyarskiy M. S. Bednyy, A. G. Volkov, R. A. Galetskaya, V. G. Kostakov, B. Ts. Ulanis and L. Ye. Mints; "Demograficheskiye Razvitiye Sem'i" [Demographic Development of the Family]. Statistika, Moscow, 1979, 191 pp. Edited by A. G. Volkov; "Vosproisvodstvo Naseleniya i Trudovykh" [Population Reproduction and Labor Resources]. Nauka, Moscow, 1976, 304 pp. Academician N. P. Fedorenko, general editor. USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member T. V. Ryabushkin, editor in charge]

[Text] The task of developing an effective demographic policy, formulated in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress, gave a substantial impetus to the further development of demographic science in the USSR.

Together with other scientists, the demographers have done substantial work in this area. Specific measures for the implementation of an effective demographic policy in connection with recently aggravated population problems were included in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th party congress, "The main way for their solution is to show greater concern for the family, the newly married and, above all, the women." In accordance with this instruction, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers recently passed the decree "On Measures To Increase State Aid to Families with Children," which calls for taking further major steps in the implementation of an active demographic policy.

The scientific elaboration of contemporary problems of demographic policy has been reflected in a number of publications among which we may single out studies which focus on the most topical problems of the country's demographic development. They include the books under review, which deal mainly with problems of the family and the birth rate.

The study of the role of the family in the population's reproduction is based on its dynamics and on the number of children involved. According to the 1970 census the average size of a family in the USSR was 3.7 people (3.5 according to the 1979 census). This figure, however, as the authors note, does not provide an adequate idea of the possible deviations resulting from one or another characteristic governing the formation of a family. Thus, the average family consisted of 3.1 members in

Estonia and 3.2 in Latvia. A lowering of the birth rate, which was noted starting in the 1960s, the reduced disparity between the urban and rural ways of life and the intensive process of urban development led to an increase in the percentage of small families consisting of two to three members. However, whereas in Latvia and Estonia more than one-third of the families consist of two people, in Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan about one-third of the families consist of seven or more members.

In our country the average number of children in a family, according to the same data, was 1.92. According to the 1979 all-union population census there were 66.3 million families. Of them 29.7 percent had two members; 28.9 had three; 23 had four; and 18.4 percent had five or more members.

The attitude toward marriage and celibacy, the frequency of marriages based on age and attitude toward divorce and second marriages of widowed or divorced persons have a direct impact on the birth rate in each nation and bear the marks of the characteristics of its historical development. This is confirmed, in particular, by the dynamics of women's marriages among the different nationalities and republics of the USSR.

The higher age at which young women marry is confirmation of the changes which have occurred in the Soviet Union in the social status of women of all nationalities. They have become active participants in the country's economic, political and social life. The level of their employment in public production has risen and the professional structure of female labor has changed. Their general educational level has increased. All of these factors, which break down the former family-marriage mentality, have contributed to the weakening of previous marriage traditions of the various nationalities, traditions which were firmly observed in the past. Between 1926 and 1970, for example, the number of Kirghiz, Turkmen and Azerbaijani women marrying between the ages of 16 and 19 was reduced by a factor of three to four.

However significant the differences in the birth rate may be, depending on ethnographic population characteristics, it is not they but the basic socioeconomic changes, common to all nations in the USSR, and changes in the way of life which determine the main trends and factors affecting the birth rate.

As many studies, reflected in the works under review, indicate, female employment in the national economy exerts the biggest influence on the birth rate. Although employment and birth rate are interrelated, in this case employment plays a leading role, for it determines the level and nature of the economic development of society to a greater extent than the birth rate.

Under mature socialist conditions (in addition to the absence of overpopulation, whatever its forms, unemployment above all, characteristic of our society), along with the implementation of the principle of equal wages for equal work, the growth of skills in female labor is being insured to an ever greater extent on the basis of the higher general educational and cultural standard of women, and the improved protection of the health of mothers and children. The existence of favorable objective and subjective conditions for the involvement of women in public labor is characterized by data which indicate a considerable increase in women's employment. However, the participation of women in public labor cannot fail to have a restraining influence on the birth rate. The reciprocal influence which these two processes have is confirmed in the works under review by the dynamics of the birth rate and the employment of women in public production.

These data prove that an inverse ratio exists between the employment and birth rate levels: the higher the employment, the lower the birth rate. However, this dependency is not so simple as might seem from data for the entire USSR. The correlation between employment and birth rate is not the same in all republics. This is due to the complexity of the process of involving women in public production and, particularly, the fact that such involvement takes place mostly in the cities and is related not only to economic but to psychological changes within the family, changes in the time budgets, the organization of the way of life and many others.

The general educational and cultural level is legitimately considered in these works as one of the social factors which has a substantial influence on the birth rate. There is convincing proof that the birth rate indicator is lower in the case of women who have reached a higher educational level, whether they are employed or not, since the higher educational level is accompanied by intra-family birth control and increased parental responsibility for the upbringing of the children and for insuring their all-round development. A higher general educational and cultural standard is a base for the development of man's spiritual and material needs and for the aspiration to meet them to their fullest extent. In turn, this is related to the income level and, consequently, to employment in the public sector for which favorable opportunities open as a result of better education. At the same time, in families enjoying a higher level of material well-being, we note more frequently that the level of requirements rises faster than that of income. In the final account, the interaction between these two factors has a negative impact on the decision to have children, particularly in the question of a second, not to mention a third child.

For quite some time the viewpoint that the birth rate is directly related to the level of income prevailed in our economic publications. The works under review convincingly prove that the income level does not influence the level of the birth rate directly or in any way simply. It affects it indirectly through the increased employment of the female population in the public sector, among the urban population mainly. The authors particularly single out the influence which household labor and the time spent in the raising of children have on the birth rate. Such outlays remain quite high. Combined with the high level of female employment in the public sector, they exert a restraining influence on the size of families.

What circumstances could substantially influence changes in the birth rate?

According to the authors of "Vosproisvodstvo Naseleniya i Trudovykh," in the immediate future such factors would include improvements in housing conditions, increased availability of preschool establishments and a higher consumption level. In their view, the following factors would act in the opposite direction: the increased size of the urban population, increased needs and other factors. Generally speaking, we consider debatable the idea that improved housing conditions is the most significant of the factors likely to promote an increase in the birth rate. This should apply to the young recently established families, in whose case improvements in housing conditions are indeed a very significant circumstance affecting the birth rate. Let us recall here that this was precisely the way the problem was resolved by the Moscow City Party Committee Bureau and the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee in the decree "On the Status of and Measures for the Improvement of the Demographic Circumstances and for Encouraging the Natural Growth of the Moscow City Population" (September 1977). This decree particularly emphasizes improvements in

the housing conditions of young families. In particular, currently facilities for obtaining housing in Moscow are now granted to young families and to spouses living in workers' and students' hostels. The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening of the Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy" equally stipulates free material assistance to newly married couples and loans for cooperative and individual housing construction on preferential terms.

As a whole, the influence which changes in housing conditions have on the birth rate must be considered in close connection with changes in the family structure, which are particularly tangible today.

Today, three-generation families in which not only young parents live with their children, but with their own parents, i.e., with the grandfathers and grandmothers, have been replaced, as a rule, by two-generation families: parents and children. Naturally, this is one of the reasons which delays the appearance not only of a second but even a first child in young families. Unfortunately, the authors have not considered comprehensively the specific means for the elimination of the excessive number of small families, although unquestionably this has a great deal in common with the reasons for a declining birth rate, as considered in the works. They should have singled out precisely the circumstances which motivate small families to refuse to have a second or a third child and, in this connection, studied the data of other socialist countries.

Bearing in mind the demographic situation which has developed over the past decade and the trend toward smaller families, the European socialist countries have adopted a variety of measures aimed, directly or indirectly, at encouraging the birth rate and equalizing the income of small and big families. In terms of form and content there is a similarity between the most important measures taken by the individual countries. They include, for example, payment of monthly aid as a supplement to the wages of individuals with a second and third child, one-time aid when the child is born and partially or fully paid leave to working women who take care of their child until it reaches the age of one. Quite justifiably, it is precisely these measures that have been most closely considered in the works under review. The consideration of such measures is important in terms of the elaboration of corresponding recommendations applicable to our country.

The authors consider in sufficient detail the question of the influence which female employment in the public sector has on demographic processes. In particular, for the first time in our literature, the authors describe the way in which the use of manpower resources, which are affected by the influence of demographic processes (population size, dynamics, structure, broken down by sex and age groups, and birth and mortality rates), in turn, affects the population reproduction system, the birth rate in particular. Unfortunately, the authors have limited themselves to a general formulation of problems related to the establishment of favorable conditions for combining work with family activities of working women, such as, for example, partial employment for young mothers and for those who combine work with school, additional benefits to working mothers in terms of the use of social funds and in the period of pregnancy and so on). They should have analyzed the consequences of the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Additional Measures To Improve the Labor Conditions of Women Employed in the National Economy" (April 1978).

In accordance with this decree the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU drew up a list, coordinated with the USSR Ministry of Health, on production lines, professions and work involving difficult and harmful labor conditions, in which women cannot be employed.

Data related to economic-mathematical methods used for the study of demographic processes are of definite interest. Until recently, the factor of population dynamics was never included in the study of the principles of optimal planning of the Soviet economy. However, a system for optimizing national economic plans cannot be effectively formulated without taking into consideration the population as a source of the main productive force of society--manpower--and as the main consumer of produced goods and services.

The method for the study of manpower as a balance of population dynamics, which enables us to trace this process over a specific period of time, a year for example, developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute is noteworthy (see "Vosproisvodstvo Naseleniya i Trudovykh Resursov"). The work offers data on mathematical models which enable us to provide an economic assessment of manpower resources. However, the model considered is rather arbitrary and could be useful in determining manpower requirements only in connection with the optimizing of the criterion considered by the authors--the value of the goods produced or the amount of profit.

The same work offers a study of the model of dynamic planning of manpower resources by type of labor activity and by family characteristics. This is an expedient approach, for it is based on the need to plan manpower resources not only in connection with their utilization in public production but with a view to affecting the process of shaping of social groups in the population. The latter, in particular, plays an important role in defining the consumption structure. In this connection we must agree with the authors' conclusion on the need for systematic selective studies covering "all population groups, based on a single program, with a view to acquiring representative data based on a firmly established selection of coordinated indicators" (pp 298-299). The authors' view on the method for determining "payments for labor utilization," based on the "economic assessment of manpower resources," is justified, although debatable, for the question itself of paying for labor resources is debatable (see pp 265-267).

A separate chapter in the book deals with the important and complex problem of the utilization of manpower development indicators in optimum planning models. Currently such indicators are used in terms of restrictions based on labor, regardless of its social determination. Obviously, this is insufficient. However, optimum productivity of labor in optimum planning models is complicated by the fact that the problem of the utilization of manpower resources, as the authors justifiably note, is an economic, social and demographic problem simultaneously. Taking into consideration the complexity of the problem, let us note positively the efforts they have made in connection with the formulation of the problem itself, a problem the solution of which is most urgent today. While we emphasize the importance and topical nature of the theoretical approaches presented in the book, we would have liked to see their simplified variants as well, based on modern statistics. In this case an experimental test of the theory would have been very valuable from both scientific and practical viewpoints.

In these works, family and birth rate problems are considered relative to many other population reproduction features, the total of which is the main content of demographic policy, the further shaping and implementation of which is quite clearly expressed in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period through 1990." This document points out the need for "pursuit of an effective demographic policy which contributes to the strengthening of the family as the most important nucleus of socialist society, the creation of better conditions for the combination of motherhood with active participation of women in labor and social activities, improved care for children and the disabled at the expense of society, and the implementation of a system of measures leading to the extension of the span of life and labor activities of people and the strengthening of their health."

Unfortunately, the works under consideration do not develop to a sufficient extent their substantiation of practical demographic policy measures. The explanation of this by the authors is that contemporary scientific studies do not make it possible to define a precise measure of the interaction between demographic and socioeconomic processes and to determine the influence of individual socioeconomic factors on one or another population change. In particular, regardless of the fact that socioeconomic processes within the population were almost the first in the study of which mathematical methods began to be used (actuarial tables), there still are no mathematical methods which can express the interconnection between demographic and other socioeconomic patterns. Demographic development forecasts are still a weak spot (see "Vosproisvodstvo Naseleniya i Trudovykh Resursov," p 13).

Naturally, the insufficient development of problems of demographic policy could be explained to a certain extent by the complexity of social life and the contradictory effects which identical factors have on population reproduction under varying historical and socioeconomic conditions. Essentially, however, we cannot use such reasons to justify the fact that despite the great number of ethnographic publications and collective studies, to this day the demographers have been unable to substantiate and submit for discussion by the general public specific practical science recommendations on the pursuit of an effective demographic policy. This situation is related to the lack of coordination among the studies under way. Currently, fruitful work is being done by demographers in Moscow, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic and some other republics. However, their efforts are not sufficiently coordinated organizationally and methodically.

Today Soviet demography is rapidly developing in terms of content and form as a separate socioeconomic science with its own subject (the study of population reproduction) and method (demographic analysis), based on Marxism-Leninism. The theory of demographic development must become ever more consistent with the practical tasks of shaping a demographic policy.

As we discuss now the future economic and social development of the country it would be pertinent to raise the question of decisively improving work in the field of demography. One specific means would be the creation of a scientific research demographic institute with its proper branches. Let us point out that two such institutes operated in our country in the past.

## STUDY OF MARRIAGE-FAMILY RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 81 pp 123-125

[Review by A. Myalovitskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences, Kiev, of the book "Sovremennaya Sem'ya i Ee Problemy (Sotsial'no-Demograficheskoye Issledovaniye)" [The Contemporary Family and Its Problems (Sociodemographic Research)] by A. G. Kharchev and M. S. Matskovskiy. Statistika, Moscow, 1978, 224 pp]

[Text] Marriage and family problems hold an important position among the topical problems which are intensively discussed in the press and in scientific publications. Sociologists, jurists, economists and demographers pay close attention to the study of the various aspects of marital-family relations.

To some extent, the heightened interest in such problems reflects less the growing need of the citizens of the socialist society to become scientifically familiar with the new features and facets of the family as a social phenomenon and the prospects for its future development, than the interest shown by the Soviet state in upgrading the effectiveness of the upbringing of children and adolescents within the family. Problems of family study are of major practical importance. At the same time, however, they present some difficulties. The family has always been not only "the nucleus of society" but a kind of mirror of social problems. It is pleasing to note, therefore, that in recent years the number of publications which raise important questions of the development and social functioning of the Soviet family has increased.

The mastery of Marxist-Leninist methodology has enabled demographers to convert from purely quantitative analyses of the birth rate to the study of the social functions of the family together with other aspects of marital-family relations. By the mid-1970s demography had acquired rich statistical and empirical data on the state of the birth rate. However, demographic works frequently lack a broad theoretical interpretation of the acquired data. In turn, sociology had created the necessary theoretical prerequisites for such a summation but lacked an empirical base, statistical data and representative results of population surveys. The "coupling" of these lines in demography was prepared by the works of D. I. Valentey, A. G. Vishnevskiy, A. G. Volkov, L. Ye. Darskiy, A. Ya. Kvash and B. Ts. Uralnis, who began to apply sociological and sociopsychological concepts such as regulatory stipulations, motives, needs, and so on, and who tried to structure and substantiate socioeconomic models which explain the dynamics of the birth rate and enable us to forecast its changes.

The work by A. G. Kharchev and M. S. Matskovskiy is an attempt on the part of sociologists to engage in a "countermovement." This book compares and interprets the results of basic demographic and sociodemographic studies of motivations for marriage, initial adaptation of the newly married, family functions and marriage breakup. The authors have summed up and summarized the acquired data as a result of which they have been able to study the strong and weak aspects of research done in the field of marital-family relations and to correlate achievements in this area with the requirements of our demographic policy.

Interesting scientific results have been obtained also in the area where sociology, economics and demography meet. The studies in this area deal essentially with female work in industry and its influence on marriage and family. In addition to the monograph by A. G. Kharchev and S. I. Golod,<sup>1</sup> in which the problem itself was formulated and the first empirical method for its analysis developed and tested, several other works were written in this scientific area in the 1970s.<sup>2</sup>

These works substantiated and refined recommendations aimed at insuring the gradual elimination of contradictions between the professional and the family roles played by women.<sup>3</sup> They include conclusions on the expediency of developing a network of enterprises offering half-time work, the insufficiently effective assistance given the family by the social services, measures to encourage the latter and many others.

The second revised and expanded edition of A. G. Kharchev's work sums up the experience gained in the study of families and the substantiation of measures for the further enhancement of their social effectiveness. On the basis of extensive empirical data the author provides a broad study of the establishment and development of the family. He presents a comprehensive study of changes which have taken place in its size, structure and social functions and formulates forecasts on the future of the Soviet family. The work is characterized by clear scientific assessments of such phenomena as they occur in the socialist and the bourgeois society and a sharp and substantiated criticism of bourgeois concepts. Another merit of the book is the logical consistency and convincingly publicistic manner in which a rather complex and multi-leveled material is presented.

The monograph discusses particularly extensively and profoundly the problems of marriage stabilization, improvements of conditions leading to the founding of a family, particularly the means for surmounting contradictions between women's professional and family activities, basic directions of social regulation of premarital behavior of young people and other topical problems of major social importance. In describing the social functions of the family, the author justifiably notes that this concept "reflects, on the one hand, the ties between the family group and society and, on the other, the direction followed in its activities" (p 267).

One can only regret that not all aspects of the social functions of the family have been sufficiently reflected in the book. For example, in discussing the educational function of the family and the need for achieving harmonious unity between family and social upbringing, the author limits himself to the traditional consideration of ties between the family and children's preschool institutions and schools. However, under mature socialist conditions, these ties have become considerably richer. The labor collective is playing an increasing role in the development, upbringing and shaping of the individual. The author could have referred to some examples from the

life of labor collectives in the Ukrainian SSR which confirm the strengthened social interest in the family, including in the education of the growing generation. In Khersonskaya Oblast, for example, family members are invited to attend ceremonies at which production frontrankers are presented with awards. In many villages in the Zaporozhskaya and Kirovogradskaya Oblasts, memorial plaques stating that here lives a noted worker are put on the walls of homes of labor shockworkers and congratulatory letters and telegrams are sent to their families. Thus moral incentives go not only to individuals but to their relatives and the personal glory becomes a family glory. Some Kiev industrial enterprises sponsor a joint children's day. On a non-working day children visit the workplaces of their parents, see machines and equipment and study production technology. Parents welcome with great pride their sons and daughters to whom they show everything new and progressive and speak of their comrades. Such examples prove that many forms of relations between the family and society are waiting to be studied.

The meaningfulness, purposefulness and considered nature of the book are confirmed by the logical system followed by the author in his analysis of the material, in the course of which the leading principles of dialectical materialism have been used and concretized, such as unity between the historical and the logical, the general and the specific, the essence and its manifestations, quantity and quality, internal and external aspects of the considered processes, and necessity and accident. Thus, unquestionably, the author's conclusion to the effect that the development of marital-family relations under socialism takes place under the influence not only of the economic base and culture of socialism but of added factors such as the consequences of the war and the economic and demographic difficulties experienced by our country, will play a major role in ideological discussions and in the further study of the family.

The successful implementation of the broad and important idea of the author has led to the creation of a scientific work which, in a certain sense, is the result of many years of activity of a multinational collective of scientists who have dedicated themselves to the study of the family and the development of the scientific foundations for a demographic policy.

In conclusion, let us voice our approval of the view of the author to the effect that today "it is a question less of including new scientific cadres and areas in the study of the family than of insuring a more efficient utilization of the resources already available to the respective scientific sectors. This can be achieved by raising the effectiveness and quality of scientific research and the study and summation of acquired theoretical and methodological experience, the combination of new studies with the ever more extensive utilization of secondary studies and the drafting of programs which enable us to reach the level of interdisciplinary and comparative study of marital-family relations" (p 36<sup>f</sup>). In our view, such an approach will make it possible to substantiate measures related to the further development and strengthening of the Soviet family.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Professional'naya Rabota Zhenshchin i Sem'ya (Sotsiologicheskoye Issledovaniye)" [Women's Professional Employment (Sociological Study)] by A. G. Kharchev and S. I. Golod. Nauka, Leningrad, 1971, 176 pp.

2. "Zanyatost' Zhenshchin v Proizvodstve" [Female Employment in Industry]. Statistika, Moscow, 1975, 144 pp. and "Zhenshchiny na Rabote i Doma" [Women at Work and at Home]. Statistika, Moscow, 1978, 96 pp by A. E. Kotlyar and S. Ya. Turchaninova.
3. "Brak i Sem'ya v SSSR" [Marriage and the Family in the USSR] by A. G. Kharchev. Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 367 pp.

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LUIGI LONGO: '...THE FASCIST MENACE HAS NOT BEEN REDUCED IN THE WORLD...'

Moscow KOMMUNIST No 8, May 81 pp 125-128

[Review of the book "Uroki Antifashistkogo Soprotivleniya" [Lessons from the Anti-fascist Resistance] by Luigi Longo. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 439 pp]

[Text] The book "Uroki Antifashistkogo Soprotivleniya" by Luigi Longo, the noted leader of the Italian and international workers' and communist movements, has been published within the "Library of the Workers' Movement" series.

The Soviet people have always known L. Longo as an enthusiastic internationalist and friend of our country. He is quite familiar to the readers of KOMMUNIST as well, which has published articles and reviews of anthologies of his works published in the USSR. One year ago, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, KOMMUNIST (No 4, 1980) carried the article "Same Age as the Century," written about him. Seven months later, while the book "Uroki Antifashistkogo Soprotivleniya" was being prepared for printing, the news reached us that Luigi Longo had passed away. This book is the last Soviet edition of the works of L. Longo to be prepared while he was still alive and with his direct participation. It also includes the last one of his works--an appeal to the Soviet reader--in which he wrote that this book "may assume a place within the framework of the broad exchange of specific information, study of them and their ideas and evaluations on which our collective experience could and should be based."

The segment of this book which follows is an homage to the bright memory of the revolutionary:

Having reached the age at which it is no longer recommended to travel about the world (a habit which the restless profession of revolutionary developed in us), I find it a pleasure to once again plunge, although mentally, into a reality to which such a significant share of my political experience and of my entire life is related. The USSR, Moscow in particular, has become one of the main coordinates of my activities, naturally not in the geographic sense alone. Actually, however much I may admire the many cities of the big and varied Soviet Union, and however much I may love them, my mind keeps returning to Moscow, to its gamut of colors and its atmosphere.

The first time I went to Moscow (unless I am mistaken, I was among the first Italian communists) in that distant year of 1922, when the city was still obviously bearing the marks of the long domination of tsarism, I was shaken by the striking contrast--

the elimination of which the young Soviet system at that time had neither time for nor the possibility--between the beautiful monumental palaces which, only a few years back, symbolized the arrogance and love of luxury of the oppressing aristocracy and the dilapidated little wooden houses which exposed the poverty in which the popular masses lived. However, as I have already frequently mentioned in my speeches and books, regardless of this, already then, in the most difficult initial period of the building of a new society, an inordinate uplift, confidence in the future and creative thrust could be felt in the appearance of the Muscovites and in the entire life of the city. They themselves represented if not a guarantee of success, in any case a prerequisite for a future and previously inconceivable progress.

Subsequently (I feel like writing about this, although I have no intention of turning an ordinary preface into a "diary of recollections" of my trips) I frequently visited Moscow and every time I could see the way the city was growing, in the broadest meaning of the word, and the way the entire country was changing precisely at the same time. I do not know whether I will have yet another occasion to visit the USSR and to see personally its further progress, which I can well imagine. Therefore, allow me to go somewhat beyond the conventional framework of a literary preface to offer through the readers of this book (in the hope that some of them will be interested in it) warm greetings to the land of the soviets and to Moscow, its beautiful capital. Unquestionably, the resistance movement in Italy was similar to the antifascist and anti-Nazi movements in other countries in terms of basic political and spiritual motivations. However, it had its own quite original aspects. For example, it is of some importance that Italy was virtually the only country among those which joined Hitlerite Germany in the war where the antifascist resistance movement, which relied on the participation and support of the people's masses, had a broad and developed military-political structure.

The beginning of this movement was laid by the spontaneous protective reaction of the young and the military servicemen who, under the conditions of the general confusion which followed the 8 September 1943 armistice, and the subsequent occupation of a considerable share of Italian territory by the German troops, decided to organize resistance in order to avoid the compulsory armed draft or the virtually inevitable shipment to Germany.

However, very shortly afterward, such scattered and spontaneous protective activities developed into a conscious, organized, disciplined and aggressive movement, despite many difficulties. This change became possible thanks to the cooperation among antifascist forces of different political and ideological beliefs, yet united in their understanding of the need to struggle for the immediate liberation of the country.

I believe I am telling the historical truth by stating that it is precisely we, the communists, who played a primary if not a decisive role in this movement. In fact, we assumed the main burden of the combat operations, in the course of which we successfully applied the experience acquired in the period of clandestine struggle and, above all, the truly invaluable lessons learned in the fighting in Spain in the International Brigades. We also assumed the task of countering the numerous cases of deliberately hesitant policy of expectation, which was inherent in the other political forces, and which was frequently manifested precisely at critical moments of clashes. Furthermore, it was precisely we who brought to the resistance movement the feature which predetermined its character: the legacy of the political and social struggle

of the working class, whose culmination was the March 1943 strikes, which dealt the first real blow to the already-weakened Mussolini regime. However, these are not the only reasons for our legitimate pride; we also take credit for the fact that we did a great deal to give the resistance movement a purpose and a content which went beyond its main task of defeating the Nazis and the fascists. Despite the obstacles and mistrust (particularly on the part of the Anglo-American forces' command, which was quite well informed of the role which the communists were playing) we supported and strengthened the unity of antifascist resistance forces, with a view not only to insuring the final rescuing of Italy from the fascist shame but to preparing conditions for the creation of a new, a truly democratic social system, which would be the consistent manifestation of this unity. The national liberation committees, the organs in charge of providing political leadership to the resistance movement, represented, to a certain extent, a prototype of the new democratic system, based on unity, or else, at least, a means for the conversion of the "circumstantial" unity which had developed in the resistance period, into an autonomous long-term political gain which would become the foundation for the reorganization of Italian society and for uprooting fascism once and for all.

I hope that this book will help understanding of how we Italian communists, although not always equally successfully, but invariably showing our consistency in evaluations and strategy, waged the struggle during those difficult years and resolved the problems it created.

After the liberation of the country we clearly felt (the initial symptoms of this appeared in the resistance period) how difficult it would be to unify the various political and social forces for the sake of Italy's democratic reorganization.

Profound changes occurred in the ratio of forces in the world arena as in the "laws" governing international relations as a result of World War II. Above all, the area of imperialist rule became considerably smaller. Now imperialism was forced to take into consideration the impressive front of countries brimming with the resolve to oppose its encroachments. At the same time, new conflicts began to shake up other parts of the world, indicating that peoples who were still under colonial oppression, but who had already taken the path of the struggle for independence and true national development, were awakening. Furthermore, the beginning of the atomic age created an entirely new logic of international relations, which faced all democratic forces, the international workers' movement and the socialist countries and, particularly, the Soviet Union with the particularly responsible task of mobilizing all efforts in order to defend the peace and save mankind itself and disseminate comprehensively the awareness of the general revolutionary significance of this struggle.

Well aware of the scale of the changes which have taken place in global relations and realizing the difficulties which Italy's continuing dependence on the diktat of the United States created for us, we tried to protect our concept and strategy of democratic unity. As a result of the resistance and the activities of national unity governments, a republic was created in Italy and a constitution was adopted which embodied the new and positive aspirations which reflected the people's requirements for democracy and progress.

The breakup of national unity, which was the result, on the one hand, of the pressure exerted by the U. S. ruling circles and, on the other, the coinciding intentions of the Christian Democratic Party, did not prevent us from retaining our loyalty to the ideals of the resistance. We also retained the conviction which, in the time of the struggle for liberation, inspired the most progressive and conscientious forces of both secular and Roman Catholic orientation--the conviction that an antifascist revolution can be successfully completed only through the creation of a sociopolitical system based on the unity of the broad people's masses.

To a tremendous extent the fact that Italy was spared once again the sight of the disgusting face of fascism is a result of our consistency and, naturally, of our strength and the bonds which have always linked us with the working class, the working people and the people's masses in the country.

In fact, the decision which was made by the Christian Democratic Party in 1947 (entirely consistent with American insistence) to terminate its cooperation with the communists within the cabinet created a new impetus and a further inspiration for the activities of the conservative forces which, as early as the period of the struggle for liberation, were doing everything possible to counter the revolutionary line. On the other hand, the system of power which was created by the Christian Democratic Party, with regard to which the stipulations of the Constitution were becoming an ever-greater burden, not only triggered the current crisis in Italian society but, by its very nature, supported subversive and reactionary trends. It is no accident that terrorism (which is one of the most serious problems facing Italy today) is trying to direct its excesses not at the actual power system of the Christian Democratic Party but precisely at the democratic gains and ideals which became the most reliable obstacle on the road to the restoration of fascism, whatever its form, and are still our gain left to us by the resistance. It is similarly not accidental that terrorism, regardless of the sources, "reasons" and "labels" behind which it hides, became particularly fierce precisely when a shift in the ratio of forces in favor of the left and the Italian Communist Party, as confirmed by the electoral results of 1975 and 1976, presented an opportunity for the resumption of the unity which was particularly necessary under the circumstances of the grave socioeconomic crisis. We are trying to keep this opportunity open, even when it appears that the most conservative circles, which are trying to launch a wave of anticommunist discrimination and which are relying on a frontal clash with us, are assuming the upper hand among political forces, particularly in the Christian Democratic Party, as has been the case of late. In other words, we want to protect the foundation on which unity can be built, for we are convinced that the country needs it. This is a manifestation of our consistency and feeling of national responsibility which guides us in our political activities. At the same time, it is entirely clear that the extent of our national self-awareness and responsibility is determined, as I mentioned in one of my previous speeches, by the "ability to remain what we were, i.e., the ability not to betray but to carry high the image of our communist party, which grew and became a major force because it had never abandoned its role. Whether as members of the government or of the opposition, we have always been a party of the working people, a party which expresses its expectations, ideals and their will for struggle and renovation."

At a time like the present, when more frequent attacks are mounted against democracy, which, in our view, is not merely a system of institutions which need protection but

an inseparable area of the struggle waged by the working class and the entire people for achieving the objectives of the communist reorganization of society, the communists inevitably face the task of defeating any attempt at the restoration of fascism, while promoting maximum unity among democratic forces. The slogan we have put on the agenda is to defeat terrorism and block its subversive and reactionary actions. To this effect, we say, a new resistance movement is needed today....

Despite their brevity, these considerations could help the Soviet reader to gain an idea of the overall context within which, we believe, the events which have occurred in Italy in recent decades have taken place.

Nevertheless, I would like to add several more remarks regarding the resistance. Wherever the partisan movement developed, starting with the memorable struggle waged by the partisans and the entire Soviet people for the freedom of their homeland, it acquired specific national features in each individual country. Nevertheless, precisely because of the extensive and decisive participation of the communists and left-wing forces, as the most irreconcilable enemies of fascism, the resistance throughout Europe acquired one common distinguishing feature: it became the expression and manifestation of extensive international solidarity and profound internationalist feelings. The Soviet partisans, the French maquis and the Italian "garibaldians" pursued not only direct national interests but deeper ones as well, the same that only a few years previously had motivated Soviet, Italian and French citizens, and people from all parts of the world, voluntarily to take up the defense of the Spanish Republic from the attacks of international fascism.

Although at that point their struggle did not end in victory, they drew valuable lessons which are applicable to this day. These lessons are valuable because the fascist threat has not declined in the world. Furthermore, it is capable of assuming a great variety of forms. In the face of this steadily hanging threat we must preserve the entire vitality and combat capability of the spirit which lived in the International Brigades and the European resistance and, at the same time, seek means leading to the further development of international solidarity. It is not in the least a question of rigidly supporting any kind of plan. On the contrary, internationalism must be looked upon as a steadily developing acquisition whose content is becoming increasingly richer, as an unprejudiced exchange of views and as a concept which contains the great objectives of the struggle for peace. What makes this even more pertinent is the fact that, regardless of remaining difficulties and the unabated aggressiveness of imperialism, which remains the main enemy of peace and of the freedom of the peoples, and despite the still-existing danger of fascism, the forces which are inspired by the ideals of socialism have grown immeasurably throughout the world.

Unquestionably, we have no intention of forgetting the fact that this progress which, naturally, is stormy and difficult, began one October day in 1917 by the will of the Russian proletariat and the communists, headed by a revolutionary named Lenin. Since then the USSR has advanced steadily, becoming the first socialist state in the world and the source for new strength and confidence in the entire international workers' movement.

This was, and remains, the main event of all contemporary history. The ideals of socialism opened a wide path to unparalleled valorous accomplishments, contributing,

by the very scope of their influence, to the independent and autonomous activities of all detachments of the international workers' movement, based on the great principles which have always guided the revolutionaries in their activities.

Allow me to mention, yet again, Lenin's statement which sheds light on this question: "All nations will come to socialism. This is inevitable. However, not all of them will reach it in an identical manner. Each of them will contribute a characteristic feature of one or another form of democracy, variety of proletarian dictatorship or one or another pace of socialist reorganization of the various aspects of social life. Nothing could be more wretched theoretically or ridiculous practically than to depict the future in this respect in a gray monochromatic tone 'for the sake of historical materialism'..."

With these simple and clear words Lenin not only proved his farsightedness but provided the foundations of a truly internationalist spirit. He expressed his thought in a strikingly topical manner and the best we can do...is to think of his legacy once again....

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