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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1981

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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 at the Ceremony in Tbilisi on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia.....	1
CPSU--Vanguard of the Soviet People (I. Kapitonov).....	8
26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Policy in Industry and Construction (V. Dolgikh).....	23
Torrid Urengoy (Yu. Konishchev).....	38
Moral Climate in a Scientific Environment (L. Golovanov).....	49
Outstanding Contribution to the Theory of Communist Construction (Prof V. Medvedev).....	62
Legal System and the Strengthening of Socialist Society (V. Kudryavtsev).....	73
Topicality of Lenin's Struggle Against Revisionism (R. Konyushaya).....	84
On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China.....	95
The Caravan Moves On! (M. Melikyan).....	108
Thoughts on a Book by Lenin (G. Volkov).....	119
Broad Photographic Portrait of the Great Patriotic War (N. Belous).....	129

Records on Stone and Metal (Col V. Kazarinov).....	133
Tested Weapon of the Working Class (V. Pavlov).....	135
Essays on the Methodology of Historical-Philosophical Science (Prof I. Antonovich).....	139
Progress in History--Progress in Literature (G. Lomidze).....	143
Bookshelf.....	147

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY IN TBILISI ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE GEORGIAN SSR AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GEORGIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 3-9

[Speech delivered on 22 May 1981]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the great anniversary -- the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia -- allow me to present to you and to all working people of the republic the sincerest and warmest congratulations of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers (stormy and lengthy applause).

Your holiday is a holiday of all the Soviet people, of the entire great family of Soviet peoples. The entire country knows that Georgia is a beautiful corner on earth, inhabited by big-hearted people who have long valued the nobility of man, inspired toil, military valor and loyalty to friends (lengthy applause).

Georgia's historical destinies have not been easy. For centuries the country was the victim of foreign invasions which wrecked it. However, your ancestors proved to be firm like the rocks of the Caucasus. They defended their independence and created and preserved an original and, in many respects, unique national culture (lengthy applause). The voluntary unification of Georgia with Russia and the friendship with the great Russian people, which grew through the centuries, played a beneficial role in this (lengthy applause).

The best sons of the Georgian people took an active part in the October Revolution and courageously fought in the civil war. In the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War the sons and daughters of Georgia selflessly rose to the defense of the Soviet homeland: 270,000 of them, or nearly one-third of the republic's citizens who fought at the front gave their lives in the struggle against the aggressor. Their memory shall remain sacred (applause).

Socialism brought true freedom to Georgia. It awakened the profound creative forces of its people. Like the rest of our republics, under the Soviet system Georgia changed unrecognizably.

The republic's industry -- metallurgical, automotive, machine-building, chemical and many others -- was created virtually from scratch. Recently petroleum was

discovered in your generous land. Today Georgia is experiencing a new and most important stage of industrialization on the highest possible technical level (applause).

The same type of innovation prevails also in agriculture. In the 10th Five-Year Plan you harvested record-setting tea, citrus, grape, fruit and vegetable crops. The country is watching closely the interesting experiments being conducted in the republic, such as improvements in production management and procurements of agricultural commodities, labor incentives and cooperation between public and private farms.

Let us consider Georgian science, culture and art. The republic's scientists deserve credit for many outstanding discoveries. Soviet Georgia can boast of outstanding creations in literature, painting, music, theater, motion pictures and architecture, which have enriched the multinational Soviet culture. Let us note the upsurge in artistic creativity of recent years. Naturally, here as well the guidance of the CC CP of Georgia plays a role. The Central Committee was able to find the proper way of working with the masters of culture, helping them and contributing actively to their creative efforts (applause).

All the Soviet people know that Georgia is our all-union health center. They are grateful to you for your warm hospitality and for all you are doing for the protection of the health of millions of working people (applause).

As a whole, the contribution of the republic to the overall resources of the country is now rising steadily. Industrial output has doubled over the past 10 years while the average annual production of agricultural commodities has risen by 50 percent. The 10th Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule in terms of basic economic and social development indicators. These are good achievements, comrades (applause).

Georgia is off to a confident start in the new, the 11th Five-Year Plan. On the occasion of your anniversary you produced above-plan industrial commodities worth 80 million rubles. I congratulate you on this success (lengthy applause).

It is pleasing to note that an atmosphere of truly international friendship exists in Soviet Georgia. Georgians and Russians, Abkhazians and Ukrainians, Osetians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Greeks and Kurds -- working people of more than 70 nationalities -- are working hand in hand for the good of the republic and of the entire Soviet people (lengthy applause). The experience of your republic is yet another convincing proof of the accuracy of our party's Leninist national policy (applause).

Your accomplishments are the result of the persistent toil of hundreds of thousands of working people in the republic. They are also the result of the organizational and political activities of the CP of Georgia Central Committee and the Central Committee Bureau headed by Comrade Shevardnadze, whose energy, creative approach to the work and principle-mindedness are known to and valued by all of us (lengthy applause).

All of us remember the negative phenomena which occurred in the republic in the past. They were pointed out in the CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi City Party

Committee and in many other Central Committee documents directly addressed to the Georgian party members and working people. Their main purpose was the radical improvement of the republic's situation, the strengthening of its economic potential and helping the working people to resolve the problems of the building of communism more successfully.

The republic's party organization drew proper conclusions from this criticism. You were able to mount a principled and uncompromising struggle against negative phenomena, for strengthening party and state discipline and for following a correct cadre policy. A great deal was accomplished in strengthening the positive processes in the republic's social and economic life (applause). Tireless efforts must continue to be made in order to ensure that the moral atmosphere in Georgia remains clean as the air above your mountains and that the youth becomes suitably familiar with and continues the best traditions of the senior generations as dedicated workers and patriots infinitely loyal to the homeland (applause). The progressive people of Soviet Georgia are our common pride and glory and, on this anniversary day, the country offers them its nationwide thanks (applause).

Naturally, comrades, all of this does not mean that you do not face serious problems or have no shortcomings in your work. Unfortunately, both exist (excitement in the hall).

In the next few years Georgia must improve some essential economic development indicators. For example, you have fallen behind in the production of agricultural commodities, meat, milk and eggs in particular. In industry you still have a high cadre turnover and working-time losses. You must master the use of new capacities faster. The reconstruction of a number of big enterprises and the development of your young petroleum industry and capacities for the production of manganese and copper ore must be pursued at a faster pace. A great deal remains to be done to resolve the housing and many other social problems. One of your particularly important tasks is to ensure the ever fuller utilization of labor resources. They must become more energetically involved in the solution of key economic problems both within the republic and outside it.

You have raised the question of building a railroad straight across the Caucasian Pass. This is an old idea. The difficulties involved in such a project are tremendous. However, the absence of roads causes no lesser difficulties. Obviously, the time has come to undertake seriously the solution of this complex engineering yet economically important problem (lengthy applause).

The further upsurge of the Georgian economy calls for higher agricultural intensiveness and specialization. Your contribution to the implementation of the all-union food program should be raised. You have the needed potential to accomplish this.

The people must be reliably supplied with food and agricultural raw materials within a short time. Such is the task which the party has now set on a national scale. We must and we shall implement it (applause). Currently, the food supply program is being drafted. It is not the result of scholastic computations. It must be based on economic experience and possibilities. It is very important, therefore, for the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, rayons, oblasts and all republics to determine precisely the level of their maximum, I emphasize, maximum, contribution

to this matter of prime importance. We must thoroughly consider how each ruble of capital investments and each additional ton of fertilizer can be fully recovered through the increased output of fields, truck gardens and livestock farms.

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses and all people employed in agriculture must become truly interested, morally and materially, in increasing the output for union-wide procurements. The skillful utilization of local resources, close consideration of weather and other characteristics in a given zone and the accurate determination of crop selections are best done locally. It must become the rule not to hinder local initiative but to encourage it, providing, naturally, that it does not conflict with statewide interests (lengthy applause).

Naturally, animal husbandry is the most important component of the food program. It was no accident that the 26th congress described it as a shock front. However, in your republic results in this area still leave something to be desired. Cattle productivity is increasing too slowly. It is proper, therefore, for you to have now charted a course which will make Georgia a republic with highly developed animal husbandry (applause). Strengthening the fodder base is a key task in ensuring the upsurge in animal husbandry. On this level the current five-year plan must largely become a fodder five-year plan.

Agriculture is not isolated from the other economic areas. Today agricultural output is ensured not only through work in fields and on livestock farms but also through the work of hundreds of plants and factories and the impeccable organization of the transportation system. It is therefore clear, comrades, that in order to implement the party's food supply task, each ministry, association or enterprise must include in its plans specific measures to this effect. By this I mean indicators of the growth of procurements for agriculture of equipment, fuels, chemical fertilizers and other means for the production and processing of farm commodities and the expansion of industrial and cultural construction in the villages.

Allow me to dwell in particular on yet another matter which affects town and country: the struggle for the rational and economical utilization of material resources and the struggle against all kinds of losses. We lose an excessive amount of goods because we have not as yet learned how to care for the people's goods properly. We lose because of the carelessness of some people at work, because of engineering errors, because some enterprise managers do not act like statesmen and because of the poor organization of the transportation and storage of the products.

Serious attention must be paid to the organization of the timely and full processing of all the various crops raised by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Here the thrifty approach and the initiative of kolkhoz and sovkhos managers and of all rural workers are important. This is also one of the most important tasks of the respective ministries and of all party, soviet and economic organs. The process must be organized in such a way that literally not a single kilogram of grain, fruits and vegetables is lost (lengthy applause).

Losses do not develop by themselves. They are caused by specific culprits whom we do not properly take to task. On the other hand, we do not as yet sufficiently encourage those who are able to save raw materials, fuel and energy, who know how

to save the state kopeks. This, comrades, is something that must be done. It is no accident that our economy is a national economy. Its entire development is subordinated to the good of the people. We could stop all losses by involving all of our party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, our entire people in this project. The active involvement of all working people in the struggle against losses is a good way of ensuring the participation of the masses in the administration of social affairs.

Comrades! The 26th CPSU Congress brought a vivifying impetus to the labor and political activeness of the entire Soviet people. The congress' decisions awaken the thinking of the people and sharpen the feeling for the new. The uplifting atmosphere which prevailed at the congress has spread throughout the country. The Soviet people welcomed the spring of the new five-year plan with good results as convincingly confirmed by statistics. The main thing now is not to slacken the pace and to develop the successes achieved confidently as we reach new milestones. I believe that your republic as well will not let us down! (lengthy applause).

Now, comrades, allow me to discuss international affairs briefly.

The foreign policy ideas of the 26th congress are doing their work by clearing the way to serious political dialog and talks on basic problems of war and peace. Without the bold and major initiatives formulated by our congress the entire contemporary political landscape would have been flat and inexpressive, like the Caucasus without the Caucasian Range (applause). Three months have gone by since the congress and not one of the topics we presented for discussion has lost any of its significance. On the contrary, they are becoming increasingly more topical.

Let us take as an example the Near East, which is indeed near in terms of Georgia and the rest of the country. What is happening there is cruel, tragic and dangerous. Can one ignore the rightlessness and suffering of millions of Palestinians? Can one remain indifferent to the fate of Lebanon whose blood is literally being drained away, torn as it is by the Israeli military? Just one rash step and a military conflagration may spread throughout the entire Middle East. Furthermore, who knows how far the sparks may reach?

The Soviet Union has formulated a proposal which provides a good opportunity for engaging in collective efforts with a view to stabilizing the situation in the Middle East. It is a question of convening an international conference on this topic. This suggestion has met with a broad positive response in the Arab countries and in many other states.

We support active talks for the improvement of international relations. This fully applies to the situation in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan. The situation was aggravated by Washington's efforts to exert flagrant pressure on Iran and its organization of intervention against the Afghan revolution. The unparalleled concentration of U.S. armed forces in that entire area worsened the situation.

How can it be defused? We see several possibilities: the reaching of a separate agreement on guaranteeing peace and security in the Persian Gulf area and a separate settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, or a discussion of the international aspects of both problems on an interrelated basis. Naturally, the sovereignty of all the countries in the area should be reliably protected.

Therefore, the Soviet Union is ready to engage in different kinds of talks. The only trouble is that the NATO camp, which loves to fuss about "Soviet expansion" and the "Soviet menace," has remained silent on the subject of our proposals so far.

Our position concerning Afghanistan is clear. We support the full independence of that country and respect its nonaligned status. Both the USSR and Afghanistan favor a political settlement which would bring the undeclared war against Afghanistan to an end and would give it reliable noninterference guarantees.

With Afghanistan's agreement, an accord on a political settlement would stipulate the time and procedure for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. The nonresumption of intervention against Afghanistan will have to be reliable and guaranteed. The withdrawal of the troops could take place in the course of the implementation of the agreement stipulations. The obstruction to such a settlement is due mainly to the stubborn refusal of the Pakistani leadership to reach an agreement with Afghanistan and to stop interfering in its affairs.

Comrades! We recently celebrated Victory Day. One month from now we shall mark the fortieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War. These dates -- 9 May and 22 June -- make us consider again and again what is happening in Europe, where two world wars had their beginning. Europe had a taste of detente in the 1970s. Now, however, the situation is changing for the worse. This is due above all to the NATO decision to deploy new medium-range American missiles in Western Europe. The purpose of this NATO plan, recently reasserted at the Rome meeting of the bloc's council, is to satisfy the Pentagon's immoderate appetites. It does not conform in the least to the interests of European security. The question of limiting and even reducing nuclear missiles in Europe can and must be resolved through talks for which we are ready. Now it is up to Washington.

At the same time, I must state most seriously that we cannot fail to respond to the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on European soil, targeted on the USSR and our allies. In this case we must consider additional defensive measures. If necessary, we shall find impressive means for the protection of our vital interests, and in such a case, let the NATO planners not complain (lengthy applause).

I repeat, however, that the choice is not ours. We find no attraction in a peace founded on reciprocal deterrents. We prefer a peace in which the level of armaments keeps declining while the scale and quality of cooperation expand and improve (applause).

The Soviet Union favors agreements which can moderate the severity of the confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact (applause). This, among others, is the purpose of the suggestion that a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe be convened. The question of such a conference is currently being considered at the meeting of the representatives of the 35 states in Madrid. The Soviet declaration of its readiness to extend the measure of trust to the entire European part of our country was a major step in clearing the obstacles to the holding of such a conference. Naturally, this is based on the the assumption that the Western countries will take a similar step. However, for some reason they are pretending to forget this. If the Western countries are not ready at this point to

pretend to forget this, if the Western countries are not ready at this point to tell us now what their counterstep will be in broadening the zone of trust, they can give their answer not in Madrid but at the conference itself.

Opposition to the deployment of new American missiles and a movement for initiating talks with the Soviet Union as soon as possible are growing in Western Europe today. Many Western statesmen realize the need for the preservation of detente, and a growing number among them realize that a policy of refusal to talk and reliance on military power is a policy of rejecting common sense.

More than 8 centuries ago the great Rustaveli said: "People, do not boast of your strength! Give up this stupid game!... A small spark can burn a big forest (applause)!" It would be good to listen to this wise appeal which should be accepted by the people of all countries and continents now, on the threshold of our third millenium (applause)!

Dear Comrades! You are celebrating suitably your wonderful holiday. It can be said that your celebrations are imbued with the spirit of friendship among the peoples, a good labor upsurge, pride in your accomplishments and big plans for the future. This is quite satisfactory (applause). A great deal of intensive work lies ahead of you.

What can we wish you for the future? Act more daringly, work even more adamantly and enhance the reputation of Soviet Georgia even further. The Soviet people are confident that your sunny republic will please the country with new labor successes again and again (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

We wish you new successes, comrades and much personal happiness (lengthy applause)!

Long live four-time order-bearer Soviet Georgia (tempestuous and lengthy applause)!

Fraternal greetings to the Georgian communists (tempestuous and lengthy applause)!

Long live the inviolable friendship among the Soviet peoples! (Tempestuous and lengthy applause. All rise. The participants at the meeting chant "Glory to the CPSU!" "Friendship!" and "Peace!" Shouts of "hurray" resound).

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CPSU -- VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 10-23

[Article by I. Kapitonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Under the leadership of the Leninist party the working people of the Soviet Union are consistently implementing the tasks of the building of communism. The 26th CPSU Congress, which was an event of history-making significance, outlined the further highroad for the country's onward advance to communism. The congress convincingly proved that our party worthily performs the leading and guiding role in Soviet society, and in close unity with the people follows the true Leninist course.

The CC CPSU accountability report delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, its general secretary, at the congress is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist document of the present time. It is a vivid reflection of the grandiose accomplishments of the party and the people. It contains an all-round analysis of the present-day situation and brings to light the essence of the processes under way in the country and in the world. It is noteworthy for its creative and constructive approach to fundamental economic, sociopolitical and international problems; it gives a scientific substantiation of the party's strategy and tactics for the years to come and sets sights on a more effective use of the opportunities of the developed socialist society for ensuring a further rise in the living standards of the Soviet people. The report is an inspiring source of social optimism and a profoundly realistic program for action in the struggle for peace and security on earth.

The results of the 26th CPSU Congress were received with great inspiration and ardent approval in the party and the country and were highly rated by the progressive world public. Work for the implementation of the decisions made by the congress is increasing in scope day after day. The meetings held by the party organizations were an important mobilizing factor at which specific measures for the implementation of the instructions of the congress were formulated. These meetings once again demonstrated the CPSU's monolithic unity and the close cohesion of the communists and all working people around the party's Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, the follower of the great Lenin's cause and the ardent champion of peace and communism.

Among the multi-faceted and long-range ideas of the congress, the principal positions characterizing the party's development at the current stage occupy an important place. The conclusions and directives of the 26th congress on questions of party construction are enriching the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party, are strengthening the theoretical defenses of the communists and are providing a precise direction for their practical activity.

I

The fundamental question of the revolutionary doctrine -- that of the leading role of the communist party in the socialist society and of the ways and means of its implementation -- was further developed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Presently this question assumes special significance for the successful resolution of the tasks pertaining to the building of socialism and communism. It has long become the key issue of principled theoretical and quite often of acute political struggle by the Marxists-Leninists against overt and covert enemies of the new system in the world arena. Unable to belittle the great advantages of real socialism in the eyes of the working people, and having become convinced of the futility of frontal struggle against it, the class enemy goes to every length to undermine the leading role of the communist parties in socialist countries and to shatter their prestige among the people.

The bourgeois ideologists and politicians and their yesmen from among the revisionists are intensively spreading the idea of the alleged possibility of socialist development without the leadership of the communist party. These and similar ideas come up whenever a fresh attack against the gains of socialism in one or another country, or a propaganda campaign is launched against the socialist comity as a whole.

Our viewpoint on this issue is generally known. It is comprehensively substantiated in the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics. It stems from the CPSU's vast experience and has been borne out by the historical practices of the struggle waged by the working class and all working people against the bourgeoisie, the counterrevolution and the antisocialist elements in the USSR and the other countries which embarked on the path of socialism. The objective truth is that communist party leadership in the socialist society has been the cementing foundation, the guiding force, without which socialism is simply inconceivable.

Life has shown that a weakening of the leading role of the communist party is always detrimental to the interests of the working class, the interests of the people and, under certain conditions, can even jeopardize the very existence of the socialist system. Conversely, the more consistently a party performs its leading role, the more successful is the building of the new society.

The party's leading role is no abstract notion. It reflects the dialectics of our development. It is deeply linked with life, with the practices and day-to-day activity of the party itself and of all parts of the political system. Addressing the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Both from past and present experience, we are all well aware that the role of the leading force in society does not come of its own accord. This role has to be earned, to be won in the course of constant and unceasing struggle for the working people's interests. And this role is consolidated by the fact that the party is steadily deepening its ties with the people's masses and takes their needs and concerns to heart."

At all stages of building socialism and communism our party is invariably guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It creatively applies them and acts in conformity with the objective laws of social development. This enables the party to define its policy correctly and to rally and rouse the people to the resolution

of urgent problems. The party proves in action its ability to be the collective leader and political organizer of the working class, of all working people.

Vivid evidence of this is provided by the past five-year period. The results of the path traversed have confirmed the correctness of the party's general line, which was charted at the 25th congress. The goals which were set were met on the whole. Our country has become considerably richer. Its production and scientific and technical potential have grown and the Soviet state's defense potential has strengthened. The living standards of the people have improved and the society's further sociopolitical and spiritual progress has been ensured. The new USSR Constitution has ushered in a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy. In its foreign policy the CPSU has achieved its main aim -- the preservation of peace. In the period under review all transformations in the country and all actions in the world arena were carried out in conformity with the party's guidelines.

The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed the earlier conclusion that in the period of developed socialism the party's role in the life of society steadily grows. This conclusion, which is a reflection of the most important pattern of the historical process, has become part and parcel of our ideological and theoretical arsenal. It has become one of the fundamental provisions of the concept of developed socialism.

The significance of the party's leading role grows also because it has to resolve increasingly more complex large-scale problems of building communism. They are predetermined by the requirements of our society's growing economic and social progress, perfection of socialist democracy and development of the activeness of the mass organizations of the working people. Increasing attention is devoted to the questions of molding a new man. Particularly topical in this connection are the tasks pertaining to the strengthening and developing of the world socialist system and the struggle for strengthening peace and ensuring a favorable international situation for the Soviet people's creative toil.

The core of all party activity is the guidance of the national economy as it is precisely in that field that the necessary material prerequisites are created for the Soviet society's successful advancement to communism. In considering this fact, the party has outlined and consistently carries out an economic strategy directed at ensuring economic growth through predominantly intensive factors, at achieving a rise in the effectiveness of production and quality of work and resolving in this manner ever more effectively the main problem, that of ensuring the further improvement of the people's well-being.

Proceeding from the necessity of long-term scientific forecasting and relying on the experience acquired in this effort, the party outlined the basic trends for the country's economic and social development not only for the five-year plan period, which has begun, but also on a longer term basis, through 1990. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, the starting point of the party's political approach to the economy has always been and remains the invariable programmatic requirement: everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man. The decision adopted by the 26th congress on redrafting the CPSU Program is of great significance. It will be a profoundly scientific reflection of the most important changes in the life of Soviet society, in global developments and in reaching the major objective of building communism.

The popular nature of our Leninist party and its entire policy stood out in bold relief at the 26th CPSU Congress. This further enhances the party's prestige among the working people and strengthens the confidence of the people in it. The party, which always and on all matters acts on the basis of principled class positions, correctly expresses the fundamental vital interests of all working people and serves them loyally. After building developed socialism, the CPSU, which remains the party of the working class, has also become the party of the whole people. The general people's character of our party and its policy is consolidated and developed on a class basis and organically blends with it. This is a reflection of the general process of the appearance and development of the sprouts of communism in the depths of the socialist society and of the gradual growing of socialist relations into communist ones.

The party's leading role is implemented at an increasingly higher level and the more effectively the closer the unity between the party and the people becomes, and the stronger and more diversified become the party's ties with the masses. The strength of the party lies in unity with the people. The strength of the people lies in unity with the party and its leadership. These propositions, which were put forward by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, are a reflection of the CPSU's tremendous concern for the consistent implementation of Lenin's precepts on increasing and strengthening the party's bonds with the working class, with all working people.

V. I. Lenin said: "To do service to the masses and express their properly conceived interests, the advanced contingent, the organization, must carry out all its activities among the masses,...at every step verifying carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact. Thus and only thus does the advanced contingent train and enlighten the masses, expressing their interests, teaching them organization and directing all activities in the masses along the path of conscious class politics" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, p 37). Undeviatingly following Lenin's precepts, our party holds dear the confidence of the masses, strives to draw even closer to them, enhances their political awareness and fosters their creative energy in every way possible. Because of this the party has succeeded in winning recognition as the militant vanguard, first among the majority and then among all working people. It convinces them that they should fully go over to the positions of the working class and conscientiously accept its communist ideology.

The party attentively heeds the voice of the masses and sensitively detects their moods. A profound knowledge of what is on the people's minds and of their anxieties and concerns, enables the CPSU to react to their requirements on time. It permanently draws fresh ideas and experience from the depth of the people's life, as from a life-giving well, includes them in its policy and translates them into practical activity. In turn, the ideas which are put forward by the party serve as a powerful stimulus for the creativity of the masses and give them the necessary direction. Accepted by the masses, they become a real material force. Herein lies the most important dialectic law of social development under socialism.

Historical experience shows that the growth of the party's leading role is simultaneously a permanent process of its increasingly drawing closer to and unification with the people and of the growth of its prestige and influence among

the masses. This was demonstrated once again by the 26th CPSU Congress, which was in all respects a supreme expression of the party's leading role and of its indestructible unity with the people.

II.

The party's ability to perform successfully the role of political leader of the working class and of all working people directly depends on the condition of its inner forces. As the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the communist party grows, strengthens and matures along with the development of our society and the transformation of its sociopolitical and cultural appearance.

If we are to single out the main trend in the party's development under the conditions of mature socialism, it would be suitable to quote Engels' metaphor that it strikes ever deeper roots among the people (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 22, p 570). The CPSU has deep roots in all of our society's classes and strata. This is manifested also in its social composition. Presently workers account for 43.4 percent of all party members; kolkhoz members for 12.8 percent; and representatives of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, health care, culture, administration and in the Armed Forces, for 43.8 percent.

Our party permanently draws fresh force from among the people and offers party membership to the most conscientious and the worthiest among them. Since the 25th congress CPSU membership has increased by 1.8 million, now totalling 17.5 million. This means that the communists now account for roughly one eleventh of this country's adult population.

The party's composition increasingly fully reflects the changes which take place in Soviet society's structure and the objective process of rapprochement among all classes and social groups. The numerical strength of the working class and its role in the country's life and in building communism in the USSR steadily grow. Today the working class makes the majority of the working people. It is the leading force of all social progress. Quite naturally, the CPSU grows above all through admission to its ranks of workers, who have accounted over the past 5 years for 59 percent of the newly admitted members. This is a decisive factor in improving the qualitative composition of party ranks and in further strengthening the party's ties with the masses.

The steady growth of the ideological and political maturity and the educational and professional standards of the working class makes it possible under present-day conditions to select its representatives for admission to the party on a qualitatively new level. Greater possibilities also exist for admission to the CPSU of trained people, who have firm links with the production process, i.e., whom Lenin described as "those who have acquired a proletarian mentality by virtue of their very position in life" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 20).

Lenin is known to have attached special importance to increasing the party ranks through admission of workers in heavy industry, as it is above all here that contingents of the working class, which are the party's base, are found. It must be noted that in this respect too our possibilities have considerably broadened, in view of production concentration, the construction and development of big enterprises and associations, which is characteristic of the Soviet economy.

As was pointed out at the 26th party congress revolutionary ideology and ethics, collectivist mentality and the interests and ideals of the working class are becoming now the property of all sections of Soviet society. This is well seen from the example of the kolkhoz peasantry, in whose life and social character vast changes have occurred under the Soviet system. The kolkhoz peasantry is a loyal and reliable ally of the working class, and works hand in hand with it to resolve the problems of communist construction.

The party actively recruits progressive members of the kolkhoz peasantry. Over the past 5 years they accounted for more than 10 percent of the newly admitted members. This roughly corresponds to the percentage of kolkhoz members among this country's gainfully employed population. The number of party members at kolkhozes is increasing. A total of 1.4 million party members work nowadays in kolkhozes and more than 1.1 million in sovkhoses. The strengthening of the party stratum in the countryside contributes to the successful implementation of the party's agrarian policy. It must be noted that an increasing number of workers operating the latest equipment are party members in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is a vivid reflection of the changes in the life of the present-day countryside, brought about by the industrialization of agricultural production.

Presently every fourth working person in our country is basically involved in mental labor. The intelligentsia plays an ever more significant role not only in science, education and culture, but also in material production, in our entire social life. Correspondingly, the influx of members of the Soviet intelligentsia into the party is not abating. It accounted for 25.4 percent of the newly admitted members of the CPSU. Most of them are engineers, technicians and other specialists directly involved in production and science.

The party stratum in the various detachments of the intelligentsia is also strengthened through communists from among the workers and kolkhoz members who have become educated and are highly skilled specialists and have been promoted to executive positions. This is a legitimate process, which is also a reflection of the gradual development of our society's classless structure.

Almost three quarters of the people who joined the CPSU after the 25th congress were Komsomol members. Our young people are profoundly devoted to the party's ideals and are ready to carry on the cause, for which the older generations of communists fought and are still fighting. This is all the more important, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, since the young people who are today 18 to 25 years old will tomorrow form the society's backbone as well as the backbone of our party. All of this increases the demands made on party organizations relative to the qualitative selection of young people for party membership. It increases the responsibility of the Komsomol for the ideological-political, labor and moral education of young people, the development of their social activeness and for its recommendation of those who apply for admission to the CPSU.

The strengthening of the party's influence among the various sections of the population is largely predetermined by the growing number of women in its ranks. Over the past 20 years the number of women in the CPSU has grown by a factor of almost 2.5. It is now more than 4.5 million, i.e., a quarter of the total number of all party members. Over that period of time the number of women among the people admitted to the party rose from 20.3 to 33.5 percent. This is undoubtedly one of

the positive tendencies which are characteristic of present-day conditions which must be supported, because women have an important role to play in production, social life, services, health care, public education and culture.

Our party firmly stands on the positions of proletarian internationalism, equality of nations and friendship and fraternity among peoples. This is expressed in its national composition. It numbers in its ranks representatives of more than 100 peoples and nationalities. The number of communists of indigenous nationalities is growing in the party organizations of union and autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs. These party organizations are also becoming increasingly multinational in their composition. These two trends are interlinked. They are a reflection of the legitimate process of formation of a new social and international community of people--the Soviet nation.

Therefore, in increasing its ranks the party invariably proceeds from the premise that a sociopolitical and ideological unity of society, an indestructible alliance among workers, peasants, intellectuals and people engaged in physical and mental work has taken shape in the USSR and that consequently the entire Soviet people constitute the CPSU's social basis, which becomes increasingly stronger with the growth of the Soviet people's communist convictions, political culture and active-ness.

The party regulates the growth of its ranks in such a way that its composition and the placing of party members should ensure in the best way possible the resolution of the problems facing society. In recent years the number of party members in the sectors which determine the rising effectiveness of the economy and scientific and technical progress, as well as in the regions where production-territorial complexes are created, has noticeably grown. In the light of the decisions of the 26th congress serious attention must be devoted to strengthening the party's stratum in such areas of public production as heavy industry, capital construction, railroad transport and livestock breeding.

An indicator of the party's high prestige among the people, of its inseparable links with the masses is the fact that the number of people wishing to join the CPSU is rising steadily. This is, of course, gratifying. At the same time, in regulating the growth of its ranks the party is invariably guided by Lenin's well-known precept of maintaining a proper ratio among the party, the class and the masses and of the inadmissibility of the elimination of distinctions between the forward contingent of the working class and the other working people. Its main concern has always been and remains the improvement of the qualitative composition and enhancement of the combat capability of party ranks.

In the period under review, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party organizations have begun to show greater exactingness in the admission of new party members. Better use is made of the probation period for testing the political, business and moral qualities of new members. Far from all prove to be able to pass this test. Over the past 5 years 91,000 probationers were not admitted to full membership.

It must be said, however, that casual, unworthy people at times find their way into the party for lack of the necessary exactingness. The further strengthening of

party ranks firmly demands that only the finest people be admitted to the party, so that further on each of them should carry the title of the communist worthily. Unfortunately, there are still people who do not fulfill their duties, comport themselves improperly, thus causing moral damage to the whole party. The party organizations resolutely get rid of such people. Over the past 5 years almost 300,000 members have been expelled from the CPSU for actions incompatible with the calling of communist.

The 26th congress made it incumbent upon the party organizations to show further high exigency as to how every party member performs his duties as stipulated in the party's bylaws. A principled viewpoint of the party to this effect was expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the accountability report: "It must be stated categorically that our attitude to people who comport themselves unworthily and violate the party bylaws and the norms of party ethics was, is, and will remain irreconcilable. Nobody can expect indulgence where it is a matter of the honor and prestige of our party, of the purity of its ranks."

By expelling unworthy people from its ranks the party unquestionably strengthens itself. At the same time every instance of expulsion from the CPSU must be viewed by the party organizations as a signal, as it were, of omissions in educational work, of insufficient party discipline. Every party member must be distinguished by firmness of convictions, principle-mindedness and responsibility, moral purity and selfless work for the good of society. It is the paramount duty of the party organizations to educate the party members in this spirit. It is one of the components which ensure the party's monolithic unity and its high prestige among the masses.

The CPSU's ability to lead Soviet society is largely determined by the fact that the whole of its life and activity is built on the firm foundation of democratic centralism. Our party follows this Leninist principle unswervingly. The consistent implementation of it in past years has contributed to enhancing the activeness of the party members and their responsibility for their assignments and for everything that takes place in the party and the country.

The beneficial processes which take place in party life and the effective nature of intraparty democracy were particularly clear in the pre-congress accountability and election campaign. Practically all party members participated in the discussions on the most important questions of party policy and the essential tasks of economic and cultural construction. Nearly 1.5 million meetings were held at primary and shop party organizations and party groups. They were attended by 96 percent of the membership. Nearly 10 million party members took part in the discussions. A total of 4,569 rayon, city, okrug, oblast and kray party conferences and 14 congresses of communist parties of union republics were held, attended by more than 1.8 million people. A total of 85,000 speakers addressed the conferences and congresses; almost 40 percent of them were workers and kolkhoz members.

The accountability reports and elections concentrated, as it were, the party's collective intelligence and single will. They expressed the close cohesion of the members rallied around the Central Committee. The participants in the meetings and conferences examined in a businesslike manner and most practically various aspects of political, economic, organizational and ideological-educational work. They showed exactingness in evaluating achieved results and the

activity of elected leading organs. They criticized shortcomings and miscalculations and those who made them. Many valuable proposals directed at improving matters were expressed. It is important now to seal these results and work so that the businesslike creative atmosphere which distinguished the accountability report and election meetings, conferences and congresses should be firmly established in all party sections.

In the accountability report Comrade Brezhnev touched upon enhancing the role and improving the practices of holding party meetings and party committee plenums. It is a place, he stressed, where all urgent matters should be discussed in depth and seriously. The party organizations have paid great attention to these remarks and instructions. Indeed, some of their meetings and plenums occasionally sin of ostentation. Speeches at some of them are one-sided and self-promoting. Not everywhere is proper attention paid to considerations expressed by party members and to their remarks and suggestions. It is necessary to eliminate shortcomings of this kind and to enhance in every way possible the significance of plenums and meetings as organs of collective leadership, as a rostrum for a comprehensive frank exchange of views and as a school of political education of party members. This is an important prerequisite for enriching the inner life of the party organizations and enhancing the effectiveness of their work.

An indispensable condition for the party's normal function and performance of its duties to the people is, as Lenin said, open criticism and self-criticism. The extensive development of criticism and self-criticism in recent years has been an indicator of the party's greater strength and combat capability, and of the maturity of intraparty relations. The 26th CPSU Congress deemed it necessary to develop further in every way possible this positive trend and to develop in all party organizations a spirit of self-criticism and irreconcilability to shortcomings.

With this aim in view it is necessary to insure, above all, everywhere possibilities for a free expression of opinions and views by every party member on any issue and for party bylaws to be strictly observed. It is necessary to develop in every way possible criticism from the grass roots and to instill in people confidence that their proposals and remarks will meet with an attentive and respectful attitude. Criticism of shortcomings and mistakes must necessarily be followed by their rectification.

Correct reaction to criticism is a sure sign of a person's party maturity. Regrettably, some party members forget that nobody in our party is above criticism. They have a morbid sensitivity to just criticism addressed to them, and go as far as to try to settle the score with their critics. The Central Committee accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress states: "Any attempt at persecution for criticism must be rebuffed most resolutely. Our stand on this question is clearly recorded in the party bylaws. It is also reflected in the USSR Constitution. There must be no condoning of those who muzzle criticism--such is the demand of both the party and the state law!"

Intraparty briefing is an inseparable element of the party's democratic life. It contributes to the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. It helps to insure the coordinated interaction among all party links and

the close reciprocal ties between the party's leading organs and the party masses. An efficient briefing system has been developed in the party and is constantly being improved. The CPSU Central Committee keeps the local party organizations and the party members broadly and promptly informed on questions of domestic and foreign policy and on organizational and ideological work, using for this purpose both mass media and intraparty channels. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and all party committees make more active and better use of the information supplied by primary party organizations. This enables them to form a clearer idea of the local state of affairs and take more extensively into account public opinion in decision making.

The Central Committee demands that the party organs strictly observe the provision of the bylaws on systematically briefing party organizations about their work. At the party committee plenums and party meetings reports on the activity of bureaus and party committees, on the course of the implementation of decisions and actions on previously expressed remarks and proposals must be submitted regularly. The elected party aktiv and the propagandists must be briefed extensively and systematically.

It is important to keep all Soviet citizens informed about party affairs. Publicity in the work of party organizations is an effective means of strengthening the party's ties with the masses. Our party strives to broaden it further and to make better use of direct contacts between executives and people and of the opportunities of the press, television and radio to this effect.

Letters and suggestions from citizens are one of the most confiding and valuable sources of information about the requirements, sentiments and opinions of the Soviet people and an important channel of the party's living bond with the masses. The CPSU Central Committee attaches great significance to work with letters. Control over the organization of this work has been strengthened by party and state organs. In recent years the question of work with letters has been discussed at almost all plenums of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms and obkoms. Guided by the tasks set at the congress, the Central Committee passed an expanded decree on measures for further improvement in work with letters and suggestions of the working people. It makes it incumbent on the party and government organs and on all our cadres to show a sensitive and attentive attitude to letters, requests and complaints of the working people and to consider this as their duty to the people and the party.

Through its inner life the party profoundly influences the development of socialist democracy and of all social relations. The directives of the 26th congress on questions of intraparty life are aimed at ensuring an even greater consolidation of CPSU ties with the people. The party's strength lies in the growing unity with the people.

III.

The CPSU regards its leading role in society above all as its highest responsibility for the successful resolution of the complex tasks of building communism, for all that happens in the country and for the outcome of our great cause. The 26th party congress, which outlined the work program for the next 5 years, laid emphasis on perfecting the methods of party leadership. It stressed that this is

an important matter for the entire party and people. The CPSU Central Committee accountability report summarized the accumulated experience and examined in detail the basic trends of this work in all party sections.

The congress' resolution fully approved the Leninist policy and practical activity of the party Central Committee. In their speeches the delegates spoke highly of the style and methods of work of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat and of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally. It was pointed out that the Central Committee resolves the pressing problems of domestic and foreign policy farsightedly, specifically and creatively with due regard for the demand of the times. Its activity is characterized by a scientific approach to social processes, strict observance of the norms of party life and the principle of collective leadership, high exactingness and respectful attitude toward cadres, close ties with the masses and a considerate approach to the proposals of central and local organs and to the needs and requirements of the working people. All of this ensures the fruitful work of the party and of every party organization.

It was also stressed at the congress that all problems of our life are profoundly and most carefully examined by the party Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, under Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's direct leadership. Inseparably linked with his name are the Leninist style, high organizational standards, purposefulness, scientific foresight and realism which characterize the work of the higher leading party organs. Leonid Il'ich is always close to the people. He invests his enormous practical experience, wisdom of a statesman and spiritual generosity in the service of the people. This has won Comrade L. I. Brezhnev the infinite love and respect of the Soviet people and of all people of good will. Today, in interpreting the results of the 26th congress and the provisions and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report, the Soviet communists draw from it a clear understanding of the objectives, confidence and optimism and fresh strength.

The Central Committee plenums are of great significance for the practical implementation and creative development of party policy, in mobilizing the forces of the party members and of all working people for its implementation. The plenums examine in detail, in a businesslike manner and self-critically the key problems in the life of the party and the country. They collectively chart ways and means for their resolution. Particularly characteristic in this respect are the Central Committee plenums on questions of economic construction and the speeches at them by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They provide a realistic analysis of the situation in the economy, focus the attention of the party and the people on outstanding issues and stimulate modern economic thinking. Each plenum is a course in socialist economic management. It teaches the cadres, the entire party the science and art of economic management.

The Central Committee provides daily specific guidance to local party organizations, maintains very close bonds with them and assists them in perfecting the ways and means of organization and education of the masses. The meetings of the CC CPSU Politburo and Secretariat regularly deal with various questions pertaining to the work of the party organizations. In the period between the last two congresses, reports were heard by the central committees of the communist parties of Georgia,

Kirghizia and Turkmenistan, by the Krasnodarskiy Kraykom, the Donetskaya, Bashkirskaya, Karagandinskaya, Tomskaya and Udmurtskaya oblast party committees, the Kalinin and Orsk city party committees, other party committees and a number of primary party organizations. The conclusions that are drawn are of significance for the entire party. They set correct guidelines for local party committees, government and economic organs and public organizations.

It was stressed at the 26th congress that further enhancement of the role of the local party organs is an important, serious and permanent task. If each party organization puts to use the entire potential in its sector and brings order into everything, the whole country will make greater progress. Vigorous and competent party committee leadership is of decisive significance in this matter. Over the past years they have acquired extensive experience in the efforts to intensify public production and to improve work effectiveness and quality. They have developed greater initiative and have begun to act as organizers of the comprehensive resolution of economic, sociocultural and educational problems. They have begun to work more purposefully among the masses. As a result they have become more efficient in their work as organs of political leadership.

The Central Committee accountability report to the congress has convincingly shown from the example of a number of republic, kray, oblast and city party organizations how many valuable and instructive features have become apparent in their work. Noteworthy is the broad geographic distribution of creative initiatives and their range. They cover Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Urals, Siberia, the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Baltic republics, etc. These are questions pertaining to the development of the creative activity of production collectives, use of scientific achievements and advanced practices, acceleration of the rates of economic and social development, improvements in the quality of products, conservation of metal and fuel and energy resources and improvements in the selection and education of cadres. The richer and more diverse the local experience is, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, the more fruitful the activity of the party as a whole becomes.

We know what an important role the primary party organizations have to play in party activities and in the implementation of its policy. They are the basis of the party and firmly link it with the masses. The steady increase in the number of primary party organizations, their consolidation and the improvement of their inner structure are a legitimate phenomenon. Thus in the last 5 years the number of primary party organizations has grown annually on an average by 4,700; of shop organizations by 11,300; and of party groups--by nearly 18,000. A rapid growth of these party units is taking place in industry, construction and scientific institutions and, in territorial terms, in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the krays and oblasts of Siberia and the Far East.

The CPSU has now 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop organizations and more than 618,000 party groups. This alone is indicative of the party's vast opportunities for daily influencing the working people for the solution of production and educational problems and of the life and work of labor collectives. Thanks to the energetic and purposeful work of the party organizations, the ideas and instructions of the party become firmly accepted by the people. They are translated into the language of specific practical efforts and embodied in constructive and creative work.

The Central Committee and the local party organs devote unremitting attention to improving the work of the primary party organizations and strive to enhance their activity. Much has been done in this respect in past years. The main trends here are the organizational and political strengthening of the organizations, the further enhancing of their role as the political nucleus of work collectives, the systematic study and summarization of experience, the development of initiative and the enhancement of responsibility for the state of affairs and daily work with the primary party aktiv.

The 26th CPSU Congress laid special emphasis on the fuller and more efficient use by the primary party organizations of the right to control the activity of administrations, setting their sights on displaying greater initiative and always firmly pursuing the party line. Control by the party organizations must actively contribute to removing obstacles in the way of economic growth. The only real way to achieve this is to increase exactingness and to learn to work and manage the economy more efficiently. The party organizations must display a principle-mindedness and not be led by administrations when the latter act wrongly, whether the points at issue are matters of cadres, the implementation of economic plans or improvements in the working and living conditions of the people, the congress said. The party committees of ministries and departments must have the first say when it comes to overcoming departmental and bureaucratic barriers standing in the way of resolving economic and other problems of the administrative machinery. They must even more resolutely and uncompromisingly stand guard over the interests of the whole state.

There is no doubt that the directives of the 26th congress will provide a fresh impetus to the entire work of the primary party organizations, will further enhance their leading vanguard role in the life and affairs of labor collectives.

Our success in the building of communism is determined largely by the fact that the party always promotes from among the people able organizers and carefully trains and educates them. Now the country has a good staff of highly skilled executives who are devoted to the people and the ideas of communism. They are knowledgeable, have high professional skills and enjoy prestige among the working people. Our cadres have shown in practice that they can skillfully direct the creative effort of the masses and that they are capable of resolving any, even the most complex, problems.

The organizing role of the cadres who are called upon to rally closely and inspire the people and to organize harmonious collective work with an eye to the new objectives and requirements formulated by the party rises with the development of production, and the growth of the consciousness, cultural standards and creative activity of the working people. We must improve the selection, placing and training of the cadres further, work for a further improvement of their qualitative structure and raise their professional skills.

In accordance with the party instructions many specialists in the national economy have been assigned to party work in recent years. This contributes to enhancing the level and competence of party leadership. However, some of the specialists who have come to the party apparatus from industry do not have sufficient political experience and at times apply administrative economic management methods in their

work. In this connection the congress set the task of raising the standards of political training of specialists who are promoted to the party apparatus, help them to acquire more speedily the necessary experience in party work and patiently mold them into executives of a truly party nature. The party worker gains authority through persistent efforts and ideological tempering, irreproachable attitude to work, great closeness to the masses and concern for the needs of the people. Selflessness and principle-mindedness, clear political thinking, an acute sense of the new, a highly exacting attitude toward oneself and others, tactfulness, modesty and simplicity in behavior and in everyday life are the demands being made of the party worker today. He must be able to use the methods of party leadership, which is based on work with the people, their persuasion and education.

As was pointed out at the congress, it is insufficient to undergo training at a party school to become a real party leader. To this end, as people say, it is necessary to have one's seasoning in the thick of the toiling masses in order to know not from theory but from personal experience what is in the mind of workers, peasants and intellectuals and what their life needs and interests are. The party organs must see to it that all party members who are promoted to leading positions have as a rule, gone through this school of life and practical work among the masses.

From the viewpoint of molding the personality of a party leader, further improvement in the activities of the party's educational establishments and the system of qualification upgrading is very important. Methods of individual work with them also play an important role. Thus, conversations, in the course of which a critical analysis is made of the activity of party workers and the blunders made by them are pointed out and good advice is given, have proved to be quite effective.

The decisions of the congress call for a considerable improvement in the work with cadre reserves. This means that the party organs must always keep an eye on promising workers, follow their actions at work, know well what they can do and like and see their strong and weak points. No difficulties usually arise in the selection and promotion of cadres where work with reserves is planned and purposeful. Improvements are necessary as regards the promotion of women to leading positions. As the 26th congress pointed out, the opportunities in this field are not fully used. This applies to economics and party and government work.

Great responsibility is placed on the cadres for the implementation of party directives and state plans and for the efficient organization of production and work and the education of the working people. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said: "Powers--and big powers at that--are vested in leaders so that they could make full use of them. But, in so doing every leader must always remember his lofty responsibility as well--his responsibility to the men and women he has been entrusted with leading, his responsibility to the party and the people." Such high responsibility is on the whole inherent in our cadres. But there are still cadres who violate state discipline and party ethics, abuse their official position and show an unconscientious attitude toward work. The party organization must be irreconcilable on these issues. It must correct such leaders, and when criticism does not help, draw the necessary conclusions. It is important to foster in all of our cadres a style of work which would organically combine assiduity with a bold striving to achieve great aims and a critical attitude to shortcomings with unshakeable confidence in the historical advantages of the path we have embarked on.

Experience irrefutably proves that success in organizational work and in the correct upbringing of cadres depends largely on control and verification of fulfillment of decisions. This is one of the key issues of party leadership. It is not fortuitous that the congress paid most serious attention to it. Recently measures have been taken by the party organs in conformity with the instructions of the Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to strengthen control and enhance its effectiveness.

But the verification of fulfillment remains a bottleneck in the work of a considerable number of party organizations. As practice has shown, many shortcomings especially in the economic activity stem from the lack of an efficient control system and bureaucratic management. In this connection the Central Committee accountability report stressed that the art of leadership does not consist of producing and circulating directives on every occasion. Once a decision is made it is necessary to have it carried out within the set time limits. This must be helped by increasing verification which must be done systematically and promptly and simultaneously from above and below in all sectors of activity.

The party organs must tirelessly perfect the control system, and resolutely eliminate in this field elements of formal attitude. They must shift the center of gravity, as Lenin said, to checking as to what happens in practice (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 364). The main purpose of control is to ensure that the word should be matched to the deed and that there be a real improvement in work. A communist businesslike attitude must permeate all fields of life in our society.

Presently the party organizations are focusing all their efforts on the implementation of the decisions of the congress, the 11th Five-Year Plan. All must show a high feeling of responsibility and firm conscientious discipline, constant initiative, a tireless quest for the new and support for everything that is progressive.

The CPSU Central Committee and the local party organizations are carrying out specific measures for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th congress. They concern the development of socialist competition in the new five-year period, the further development of the industrial, energy and agricultural sectors and the implementation of the outlined social programs. The high political and labor enthusiasm in the country was evidenced in the valuable initiatives of labor collectives aimed at increasing labor productivity, extensively applying the achievements of science and technology, with a view to ensuring the saving of labor, material and energy resources, increasing the productivity of animal husbandry, assisting in the development of the Nonchernozem zone and resolving many other problems. The initiatives of the working people vividly show that the plans of the party are the plans of the people and the vital cause of tens of millions of Soviet people.

The 26th CPSU Congress has marked a new stage in the struggle of the Soviet people for the victory of communism and for the triumph of peace and social progress. Its ideas and decisions infuse us with a powerful charge of confidence of the future. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We are optimists because we have faith in the power of labor, because we have faith in our country, in our people. We are optimists because we have faith in our party and know that the road it is indicating is the only sure one!" The party is confidently leading our country along this road, in indissoluble unity with the people, toward new accomplishments and victories.

26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE PARTY'S POLICY IN INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 24-37

[Article by V. Dolgikh, CC CPSU secretary]

[Text] Work on the implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is developing ever more actively in the country with every passing day. Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives are defining their specific assignments and increasing their efforts for the successful implementation of the program for socioeconomic development earmarked by the congress.

The 26th CPSU Congress was a historic event in the life of our country and in the world revolutionary movement. It marked a new level in the development of Soviet society along the path toward communism. The programmatic speech by L. I. Brezhnev "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," that outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism, provides most important summations and conclusions on the basic problems in the international situation, the party's economic and social policy, the improvement of the political system of Soviet society, party construction and ideological-educational work at the present stage.

The congress provided a profound analysis of the results of economic construction in the 1970s. It was the initial economic base for the definition of the key problems and bottlenecks and for the solution of the major new problems related to the development of public production and for upgrading the people's well-being.

Over the past decade, our country has made considerable progress in all directions in laying the material and technical foundations for communism. Production forces reached a qualitatively new level. Productive capital more than doubled, and scientific and technical progress was accelerated. A line designed to improve economic effectiveness and to raise the living standard of the Soviet people was consistently pursued.

Our achievements are the result of the outstanding labor of tens of millions of citizens, of the active efforts of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the extensive scope of socialist competition. The Central Committee and the Soviet government highly rated the labor contribution of frontranking collectives and production innovators. The competition winners were presented with USSR orders and medals and the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

As we note the great achievements in the country's economic and social development, we also see the shortcomings and unresolved problems clearly. The past period was not a simple one. Some difficulties were created in economic development by adverse weather conditions. Substantial shortcomings occurred in the upgrading of production effectiveness and work quality. The planned increase in labor productivity was not achieved. The unsatisfactory work in the transportation system caused many difficulties.

The concentration of our attention on unresolved problems and the elimination of shortcomings in economic construction are mandatory conditions and important prerequisites for further progress, and for the more effective utilization of the country's production potential. The working people must be mobilized to combat omissions in the work. Specific examples and facts must be cited to demonstrate the availability of reserves. Their active use must be encouraged and the party organizations and labor collectives must be helped to channel economic policy into the stream of practical accomplishments.

I

As the most important component in the building of communism, the party's economic policy is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the objective laws governing social development. It expresses the basic interests of the Soviet people. It encompasses the formulation of basic long-term economic and social objectives and the definition of the ways and means of achieving them in accordance with the characteristics of the specific historical period.

The nature of these characteristics is mainly typified by the fact that under developed socialist conditions, the economy increasingly acquires the nature of a single national economic complex which covers all production and consumption units. It has become tremendous in scope. Cooperation and inter- and intrasectorial economic relations have broadened. The USSR Unified Power System and the gas and transportation systems, as well as the largest territorial-production complexes, have been established and are continuing to develop.

Substantial changes in the location of production forces and the ever more extensive involvement of natural and raw material resources of the eastern and northern parts of the country are characteristic features of the current stage. This is due to the fact that it is here that the bulk of all proven reserves of coal, petroleum and natural gas, considerable quantities of ferrous and nonferrous metals and other minerals are concentrated.

The impact of the scientific and technical revolution on economic development has increased sharply and become more profound. The technical standards for productive capital are rising. New sectors, progressive equipment, and highly effective materials are being created, and automated control systems are being used ever more extensively.

The importance of the accelerated renovation of productive capital is increasing. Many enterprises built during the first five-year plans need radical reconstruction. Major efforts must be made in this direction if we are not to lag behind world standards.

Another important characteristic is the fact that whereas in the past, extensive factors played a significant role in the creation of production potential, they have today been largely exhausted. A further increase in national income must be ensured by upgrading public production effectiveness. This a better, although more complex, method. It requires the serious reorganization of not only administrative and economic management methods, but of the thinking of our cadres as well.

We must also take into consideration the steady increase in the economic value of raw materials and fuel and energy resources. The country's needs for raw materials are increasing steadily, and extraction of them is becoming ever more expensive. The cost of environmental protection is increasing significantly.

The dynamic and stable development of the economy must be ensured under conditions in which there is an aggravated manpower problem. No less than 85-90 percent of the increase in national income must be obtained as a result of greater social labor productivity.

The expansion and energizing of foreign economic relations and the development and intensification of socialist economic integration with the member countries of CEMA play a very important role in our national economy. This drastically increases the importance of the competitive capacity of domestic output and the organization of highly effective economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

The starting base and the characteristics of the present stage of economic development are largely determined not only by the growth rate of public production under the 11th Five-Year Plan but by the nature and priorities of national economic problems and the ways and means of resolving them.

The 26th CPSU Congress and the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the congress constituted tremendous contributions to the creative development of economic policy in the mature socialist stage. Taking the characteristics of the 1980s into account, the party's economic policy calls for further improvement in proportions in the development of the national economy, and the implementation of structural changes in the interests of the most successful solution of the main problem in the 11th Five-year Plan, as defined by the congress. What is their nature?

First, the consumption fund's share of the national income will increase from 75.3 percent in 1980 to 77.3 percent in 1985. This will considerably increase consumption resources.

Secondly, substantial changes will take place in industrial development ratios. Priority will be given to the development of consumer goods (group "B"), as against productive capital (group "A"). The heavy industry sectors will become more extensively involved in consumer goods production.

Third, between 1981 and 1985, the rates of increase in capital investments (12-15 percent) will be considerably reduced. For the first time in our practice, lower rates of increase in the national income will prevail. This means that the plan will include strict stipulations regarding the effectiveness of their utilization.

Fourth, during this five-year plan, priority will be given to end national economic results, as compared to increased material and labor outlays. Labor productivity will be considerably increased. By 1985, there will be savings of 160-170 million tons of conventional fuel and tens of millions of tons of metals and other materials as compared to 1980.

The direction of these structural characteristics is quite clear. They presume, above all, the successful solution of social problems and the all-round enhancement of public production effectiveness. This is the nature of their great economic and political significance.

All national economic sectors will be developed during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The economic growth rates will be increased, compared to the 10th Five-Year Plan. Industrial production will be increased by 26-28 percent, as compared to 24 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Both national income and output will increase in absolute terms.

A widespread system of measures to upgrade the material and cultural living standards of the people will be implemented. Housing conditions, the development of health care, public education, culture, trade and consumer services will be systematically improved.

The particular emphasis which will be placed on a number of leading directions in economic construction is an important feature of economic policy. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, the development of heavy industry is an absolute prerequisite for the solution of production and social problems. Heavy industry faces complex major problems, the solution of which must remain the focal point of attention.

This applies above all to the development of the fuel-energy complex and the reliable satisfaction of the increasing national economic fuel and energy needs. The 11th Five-Year Plan will represent the first stage in the implementation of the USSR power program, which is being drafted on the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. By 1985, electric power production will reach 1.55-1.6 billion kilowatt-hours; petroleum extraction (with gas condensate), 620-645 million tons; natural gas, 600-640 billion cubic meters; and coal, 770-800 million tons. These figures confirm the fact that our country, which has the largest fuel-energy complex in the world, is not reducing its efforts in this most important line of economic progress.

The problem of improving the fuel and energy resources consumption structure by replacing petroleum and petroleum products with natural gas and coal is becoming ever more topical under contemporary conditions. This is important, for in recent five-year periods, the share of the overall volume of fuel resources represented by petroleum and petroleum products increased considerably. However, as we know, these substances provide most valuable raw materials for the chemical industry. Petroleum reserves are limited and nonrenewable, and must be used most efficiently.

Such is the course earmarked by the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which was adopted by the congress. The increased production of electric power will be essentially assured on the basis of nuclear fuel, hydraulic power and coal. This will require the installation of additional capacities in nuclear power plants and the construction of large hydroelectric power plants in Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia and thermoelectric power plants using inexpensive coal produced by strip mining.

The creation of a material and technical base for ensuring long-term guaranteed optimum levels of petroleum extraction in the country is of major importance. This is a most significant aspect of technical policy. The development of the petroleum industry is currently entering a more complex stage. It is characterized by the fact that most of the petroleum extraction is shifting to the eastern and northern areas, mining-geological conditions are becoming more complex, and old deposits are being further worked. Intensive work on increasing petroleum extraction, mainly in Western Siberia, maintaining the level reached in the old areas, and ensuring the accelerated development of petroleum and gas resources in the continental shelf areas of seas and oceans remains to be done.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the congress, the rapid increase in the extraction of Siberian natural gas is a task of prime economic and political importance. The program for the accelerated development of the gas industry must become the most important element in the 11th and 12th five-year plans. We must guarantee a greater increase in the production of natural gas and commission very large pipelines from Western Siberia to the central and western parts of the country.

The accelerated development of strip mining of coal is a major reserve for increasing fuel resources. This is particularly important because of its economical nature and the availability of major deposits in our country suitable for this kind of mining. The cost of strip mining is lower by a factor of 4-5 than that of underground mining. This is why the strip mining of coal will be increased considerably in the Kansk-Achinsk, Ekibastuz, Kuznetsk and Yuzhno-Yakutskiy basins.

Along with the increased production of traditional types of energy resources, more attention must be paid to the use of renewable types of energy -- solar, geothermal, and others. Work on the development of a synthetic liquid fuel must be organized on a practical basis, and the creation of experimental-industrial systems based on the Kansk-Achinsk coal must be accelerated.

For understandable reasons, the party has always ascribed tremendous importance to the development of metallurgy and to ensuring coverage of the needs of the national economy where ferrous and nonferrous metals are concerned. A factor such as the volume of metal stock accumulated in the country, i.e., the metal found in productive capital and consumer goods, which can be recirculated as a secondary resource, is exerting an increasing influence on the solution of this problem under contemporary conditions.

This means that the satisfaction of the national economic needs for metal goods can be achieved with a relatively modest increase in the overall volume of metal smelting, by considerably upgrading its quality and ensuring its more efficient utilization. The quality of the metal is determined not only by the technical standards of machines, equipment and goods, but by the volume of consumption as well. In accordance with the stipulations of the 26th party congress, the production of basic types of progressive metal goods will be increased during the 11th Five-Year Plan by a factor of 1.5-2; the more efficient utilization of metal in metal-consuming sectors, machine building in particular, will be guaranteed.

Scientific and technical progress and production intensification are inconceivable without developed and progressive machine building. The report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev poses extensive tasks involving the technical retooling of the national

economy, the manufacture of highly productive equipment and machine systems, and improving the reliability and durability of equipment, for this sector. Particular attention must be paid to the accelerated production of new machines, equipment and tools which will make it possible to utilize extensively effective and energy and material-conserving technologies and means of mechanizing and automating production. We must undertake a major reorganization of machine building in connection with the implementation of the food, energy, and consumer goods production programs, as stipulated by the congress.

The chemical industry plays a major role in the country's economic development. Chemistry today means fertilizers, new materials with predetermined properties, synthetic staples, fuels and lubricants, and many other items. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, a major new step must be taken in the area of further chemization of the national economy and the more extensive use of chemicals and chemical technology in all sectors. A great deal of work must be done to increase the production of chemical fertilizers to 150-155 million tons in terms of conventional units (36-37 million tons in terms of 100 percent nutritive substance content) by 1985; the production of synthetic fibers, polymers and other materials for use in machine building, construction and light industry must be increased considerably.

The congress has included among the most important tasks for the forthcoming decade increased production of consumer goods. This problem has taken on prime importance in the achievement of the strategic objective of enhancing the people's well-being. Along with the further development of the light and food industries, the "Basic Directions" also call for upgrading the production of consumer goods in other sectors. Particular attention must be devoted to the expansion and renewal of goods variety, and to improving their quality and consumer characteristics. These problems must play a central role in the work of ministries and departments and party, soviet and economic and trade union organs.

In his concluding speech at the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed his confidence that everything possible will be done to ensure that the plans for economic development will not only be fulfilled, but will be overfulfilled. The greater well-being of the Soviet people is directly related to the rates of increase in material production and national income. These rates must exceed the level at which the implementation of new social measures becomes possible. Therefore, the 11th Five-Year Plan assignments on production output, increased production effectiveness and increased labor productivity must be considered as the minimum to be accomplished. Sectors, enterprises and construction projects must be oriented toward finding the reserves necessary for their overfulfillment.

The conversion to primarily intensive development of public production is the linchpin of the party's economic strategy. "Translated into the language of practical accomplishments," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th party congress, "economic intensification and increased effectiveness mean above all that production results increase faster than production outlays, and that more is achieved using relatively reduced resources."

This is a comprehensive program which includes production concentration, shortening the production cycle, increased output per unit of productive capital, higher technical levels and goods reliability, reduced labor intensiveness and cost, fuller and more comprehensive use of national economic resources, and other factors.

What is the essence of the party's economic policy in the area of upgrading production effectiveness? What will distinguish the 11th Five-Year Plan in this regard?

Above all, this will involve an increased role for quality factors in economic upsurge. More than 90 percent of the increase in industrial output and the volume of construction and installation work will result from higher labor productivity. This is a figure considerably higher than that for the 10th Five-Year Plan.

A comprehensive solution to problems related to upgrading production effectiveness will be provided. The main focus will be on the development not of individual measures, but of systems of measures. A course has been charted in the direction of qualitative reorganization of the material and technical base, the elimination of major disparities in the facilities available to the individual sectors, and extensive application of technologies which save on and facilitate human labor.

Another characteristic is that the measures to be implemented affect all sectors and all economic levels and cover all effectiveness components.

Under contemporary conditions, ever increasing importance must be assigned to the effective use of productive capital, which is the most important part of the national wealth. Currently, it comes to more than 1.1 trillion rubles, a large percentage of which is new assets.

In resolving these problems, many labor collectives have gained positive experience in the use of equipment, machines and mechanisms. They include the Moscow Automotive Plant imeni Likhachev, the Nizhnekamsk Petrochemical Combine, the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Plant, the Mine imeni Kostenko in Kazakhstan, the Ivanovo Worsted Combine, and other enterprises. It is important to achieve maximum returns on each machine tool, unit and machine. Here the successes of frontranking collectives and production innovators, who are setting a tangible example of how to master the equipment and showing what major resources can be placed in the service of the national economy, must be adopted as criteria.

What makes this even more necessary is that in many industrial sectors, associations and enterprises, a substantial drop has been noted of late in capital returns. We are faced with high costs, for each kopek of capital returns represents several billion rubles of industrial output per year on a national scale.

Naturally, objective factors have a certain effect on the level of capital returns. In the extracting industry sectors, mineral deposits must be developed in the less accessible areas and in geologically more complex situations. In the processing sectors, the capital intensiveness of output has been increasing with the rise in technical standards and the complexity of the goods. The share of productive capital used for the creation of proper working conditions in industry and for environmental protection is increasing.

Meanwhile, however, many enterprises are not yet making full use of the available productive capital. Major equipment idling is allowed as a result of various types of organizational-technical difficulties. This is true in machine building, ferrous metallurgy, the chemical and cellulose-paper industries, and many other sectors. The work-shift coefficient remains low.

A great deal of work remains to be done on improving the structure of productive capital during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The level of capital returns depends on what share is represented by their active portion -- machines and equipment -- with which commodities are made. However, the share accounted for by this part of the assets is still developing too slowly in industry. A considerable share of these assets is found in plants and equipment, which are sometimes excessively cumbersome and expensive to build.

The problem of improving the use of productive capital must be resolved on a broad front, covering all production units from the work place to the ministry. Specific and efficient work and the ability to eliminate bottlenecks, systematically and step by step, and to increase the returns from each work sector, are particularly important here.

The accelerated conversion of the economy to intensive development is dictated today to an increasing extent by scientific and technical progress and the practical uses of its achievements. At the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev urged that all economic sectors be raised to the frontranking levels of science and technology.

To this end, a system of measures along such important lines as the following has been stipulated for the 11th Five-Year Plan:

The creation and utilization of new equipment and technologies which will ensure the more rapid increase in labor productivity and the substantial conservation of financial and material resources;

The accelerated technical retooling of economic sectors on the basis of the modernization and renovation of productive capital, the installation of highly productive equipment, and the application of contemporary production organization methods;

The considerable improvement of the level of mechanization and automation of production processes, in particular those involving difficult labor conditions, and of auxiliary and loading and unloading operations, and decisive reduction in the role of manual labor;

An increase in the share accounted for by higher quality output out of the overall output volume, with the elimination of the production of obsolete commodities and accelerated renovation of the machines and equipment produced by a factor of 1.5-2.

A considerable scientific stock has been developed along many of these lines: 160 target scientific and technical programs for all leading economic sectors have been drafted and approved. Constant attention must be devoted to the practical implementation of these programs. The solution of problems must be made increasingly comprehensive. The program assignments must be more fully coordinated with other sections of the national economic plans, above all in the areas of capital investments and production.

Today the most decisive and urgent sector involves the application of scientific and technical achievements. The accountability report delivered at the congress critically described the unacceptable lag in the practical use of promising developments in continuous steel smelting, powder metallurgy, one-of-a-kind power transmission cables, and high-strength artificial fibers. A serious lag has developed here. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, continuous smelting increased only from 10 to 11 percent of the total volume of steel smelting, whereas in a number of other countries it has reached the 40-45 percent level. Yet this is a reliable invention the extensive application of which must be assured in the forthcoming years. As to the production of ferrous powders, the output now accounts for 28 percent of the total. This cannot be accepted as adequate either. Bearing in mind the progressive nature of powder metallurgy, the production of metal powders must be tripled during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Under contemporary conditions, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is inconceivable without the integration of science and production. This must be closely correlated, both economically and organizationally, with scientific research and design and engineering operations. Here scientific-production associations in which the entire work cycle from scientific research to the production of new items has been efficiently organized provide an effective means. Many such, including Tulachermet, Plastpolimer (Leningrad), the Central Scientific Research Institute of Machinery-Manufacturing Technology, and others, have achieved substantial success. The Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton is setting a good example in combining science with production. This experience must be comprehensively disseminated.

The congress also called for the further enhancement of the role of the USSR Academy of Sciences and for improvement in the organization of the entire system of scientific research in the country. In this connection, the party organs must interest themselves more profoundly and extensively in the activities of scientific research institutes, design bureaus and engineering organizations. They must establish a creative atmosphere in the collectives and exert a more active influence on the increased effectiveness of their work.

Upgrading quality, reliability, the economical aspect and technical standards of goods is an important scientific and technological task. A great deal has been accomplished in this area in recent years. The share represented by goods of superior quality has increased. Positive experience has been acquired in this work by the leading enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, L'vovskaya Oblast, Saratov, Dnepropetrovsk, and Sverdlovsk.

However, improving production quality in the broad sense of the term is becoming a problem of increasing topical importance. Losses due to defective goods remain high. Some items still fall below world standards. The quality of many consumer goods leaves a great deal to be desired. Greater control over the quality of output at all production levels is needed. Each working person must acquire a sense of personal responsibility for the reputation of the plant's trademark.

The role of state standards must be upgraded as the normative base for planning and management in the field of quality output. Strict adherence to their requirements must be ensured. Standards must be revised promptly. They must reflect not only

the technical level and consumer qualities of goods, but also the effectiveness of their use in the national economy, to the fullest extent. They must contain more progressive requirements of an economic nature, above all specific fuel, energy and raw material outlays, material intensiveness and labor outlays. The standardization system must be made more fully consistent with our strategic line of upgrading production effectiveness.

The conversion of the national economy to the intensive development track and the implementation of economic objectives depend greatly on the comprehensive and efficient use of manpower, raw material and other resources. As we know, our country has a rich mineral-raw material base. The national economy is developing on the basis of its own resources where virtually all types of natural raw materials and fuels are concerned. This assures the economic independence of the country and provides many advantages which show up especially clearly against the background of the energy and raw material crises in the capitalist countries and the sharp increase in the value of such commodities on the world market.

However, this does not at all reduce the topical nature of the problem of the thrifty use of raw material resources. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the congress that "We are responsible for their proper and thrifty use to both the present and the future generations. No one has the right to forget this."

We must adopt a new approach to this task and take into full consideration the characteristics governing its implementation at the present stage. The problem is that due to the increased need for raw materials and the capital intensiveness of the extracting industry, the state must expend ever increasing funds to develop them. We must also bear in mind the fact that the cost of raw and other materials accounts for approximately two-thirds of all industrial production outlays. This is a very important component in economic effectiveness, to which party and economic organs must pay the closest possible attention.

Raising the level of extraction of useful minerals from the ground and reducing the losses occurring in the course of the extraction, transportation and storage processes are of great importance in the solution of this problem. The more extensive application of modern methods and technical means of upgrading petroleum extraction and progressive methods of extracting coal, nonferrous metal ores and other minerals will enable us to include additional resources in national economic circulation.

The comprehensive and extensive processing of raw materials is a major component in production effectiveness. This is particularly important with regard to ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the petroleum, gas, petroleum-refining, chemical and timber-processing industries, and many other sectors. Both accomplishments and unused potential are to be found in these areas. Let us take as a positive example the Orenburg gas complex, where more than a million tons of sulfur is extracted from natural gas every year. Along with the basic output, the nonferrous metallurgy enterprises are obtaining many valuable elements as by-products.

However, the level of the extraction of useful components from many types of raw materials remains inadequate. Further improvement is needed in petroleum-refining technology and in the structure of petroleum products obtained.

Improving the use of secondary raw material and energy resources constitutes a major reserve. Work is being done in this direction. Currently, tens of millions of tons of steel, considerable quantities of nonferrous metals, paper and cardboard are being produced from secondary resources. The volume of energy and heat used amounts to several dozens of millions of tons in conventional fuel units. Economically, this is quite profitable.

However, many types of secondary resources are still used insufficiently in the national economy. Only about 40 percent of the transferable secondary heat and energy resources, and approximately a quarter of the recyclable paper are being used. Plastics, industrial rubber goods and other products are being recycled in insignificant amounts.

The 1981 state plan includes a special section on secondary resources, as well as assignments to ministries and departments with a view to the drastic improvement of this work. A decree on improvement in the system of procuring and processing scrap metal was promulgated. The task demands ensuring the execution of these measures and intensifying the attention devoted to this problem by party, economic and soviet organs, as well as disseminating the practical experience acquired by the party organizations and collectives of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, the Volkhov Aluminum Plant, and the Polimir Association in Novopolotsk in the use of secondary energy resources, approved by the CC CPSU.

Economic effectiveness is inseparably linked with efforts to reduce production material intensiveness. This is one of the main directions in the rational use and conservation of materials. Each percentage in the reduction of material outlays on a national scale enables us to obtain several billion additional rubles' worth of national income. This is an impressive figure, and our potential is substantial. Some types of equipment, machines, mechanisms and other goods we produce still fail to meet modern requirements in terms of specific material intensiveness. Therefore, engineering and design organizations and enterprises must optimize the parameters of their output in terms of weight, power and reliability. The accelerated use of low-waste technology and the reduction of material outlays in production are no less important.

We must also pursue a strict policy of energy conservation. This means effective use of proven fuel reserves, reduction of all kinds of energy losses, application of more economical equipment and energy-conserving technology, better insulation of buildings and installations, comprehensive economy in the use of fuel and energy, and strict observance of the procedures governing their use.

Systematic conservation on all economic levels is now becoming a nationwide task. In accordance with the instructions of the congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan, ministries have been given stricter assignments for conservation of fuel, energy, metals, and other materials. On this basis, a set of measures designed to ensure the economical and rational use of all types of material resources must be implemented. The whole effort in planning and norming the consumption of resources and involving material incentives for conservation of them must be raised to a higher level. The press, radio and television must become fully involved in the solution of this problem, Mass-political and educational work with the population must be intensified and the progressive experience acquired at home and in the fraternal countries must be more extensively utilized.

III

Upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments and accelerating the development of industrial and social projects constitute key problems in the party's economic policy. It would be hard to overstate the role which capital construction plays in the development of the national economy. The bulk of the increase in industrial output and the incorporation of unused resources in economic circulation are achieved by commissioning new enterprises and reconstructing production facilities. The qualitative aspect of the matter is equally important. New capacities require the utilization of the latest scientific and technological achievements, progressive technology, more advanced output and high labor productivity.

A large and complex construction program must be implemented during the 11th Five-Year Plan. "Its characteristic feature," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the congress, "will be the all-round concentration of efforts on the speediest possible completion and commissioning of those enterprises which will assure the greatest possible increase in output and can relieve tight spots. We have already adopted this course, which must be rigorously pursued."

The topical nature of the problem of upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments is determined by a number of circumstances, above all the tremendous and steadily increasing scale of construction. We are building not only individual enterprises, but extremely large territorial-production complexes. Over the past 10 years, capital investments in the development of the national economy have increased by a factor of almost 1.7, exceeding 133 billion rubles in 1980. Having achieved such a high volume, we must now focus our attention on the qualitative aspect.

A real potential exists for improving construction. A powerful material and technical construction base has been developed in the country. More than 570,000 basic construction machines are in use at construction projects. More than 40 percent of the total volume of construction work involves large prefabricated elements. We have outstanding cadres. The planned nature of our economy enables us to channel funds to wherever they will yield the best results.

The joint and purposeful efforts of builders, designers, clients, planning and supply organs and party and soviet organizations are required for the solution of this problem. Particular emphasis must be placed on the main directions for the upgrading of construction effectiveness. One of primary importance is improvement in the structure of capital investments. This can be achieved by:

Giving priority in the allocation of funds and resources to the solution of the most important economic, scientific and technical and social problems which determine economic intensification and improvement in the living standard of the population;

Channeling capital investments into the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises on a priority basis, since here outlays are recovered more rapidly, by a factor of three on an average, than in new construction;

Increasing the share of capital investments used to create the active part of productive capital (equipment, machines and mechanisms) and updating it on a modern scientific and technical basis;

Decisively reducing all kinds of excesses in the construction process, especially those involving the so-called decorative aspect, as well as the building of unnecessarily extensive projects.

It is important to halt the scattering of capital investments among many projects. In this connection, we must change the attitude of ministries, departments, local organs and all cadres. They must evidence special concern for the speediest possible completion of the projects under construction.

The effectiveness of capital investments is largely determined by the rational location of production forces. The essential thing here is to take into account the existence of raw material, energy and manpower resources in deciding where to build new enterprises, to specify the comprehensive use of natural resources, and to locate power and material-intensive production facilities closer to areas where fuel and other minerals are extracted.

To this end, we must upgrade the role of technical and economic substantiation of the construction of new enterprises. We must take all factors affecting the effectiveness of outlays into full and objective consideration and make a comprehensive assessment of end results. Obtaining the highest yield from the funds invested in the national economy in general must be the main criterion. Greater attention must be devoted to improving cost estimates. We must improve the expert evaluation of projects and work with design cadres. We must be more exigent toward them in order to guarantee the maintenance of high scientific and technical standards and the economical aspect of design.

Attention should also be devoted to upgrading the mobility of construction organizations. Often today the building of projects is planned for areas which already have a construction capacity, even though this may not be economically justified. Meanwhile, we have the required experience acquired by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas-Industry Enterprises, which move construction forces wherever necessary. This practice must be adopted by the general construction ministries as well.

The splintered nature of the construction industry is also very costly. We have several tens of thousands of construction enterprises and production facilities today under the jurisdiction of numerous ministries and departments. A considerable percentage of them are small and unprofitable. We must pursue a policy of centralizing the construction industry and consolidating construction enterprises.

All the measures designed to improve capital construction must be focused on end results: the timely commissioning of production capacities, housing and other projects, and the establishment of firm foundations for the further expansion of the country's economic potential. This is a most important task, not only economic but political as well, which must always be the focus of our attention.

IV

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that the solution of the problems which confront us and the utilization of the potential at our disposal depend largely on the level of economic management, planning and administration.

The organizing and mobilizing role of the plan must be enhanced both centrally and locally. Above all, this means the strengthening of planning and contractual discipline, improving the balanced nature of the production process, and ensuring the maximum utilization of intra-economic reserves. The plan must be the law governing the production life of each enterprise and construction project. A great deal of work remains to be done in this regard. Many industrial enterprises are still failing to carry out their planned assignments.

In connection with the instructions of the congress, we must persistently pursue a policy of increasing the personal responsibility of leading cadres for organizing the production process and seeing to its rhythmic nature, and for the strict adherence to plans in terms of quantitative and qualitative indicators. Discipline problems must always be the focal point of the attention of party organizations. We must see to it that faultless observance of the rules by the workers is combined organically with creative initiative and that production leaders head the movement for the successful completion of the task set forth by the congress -- making the economy economical.

Because of the expanded scale of output and economic relations, enterprise autonomy must urgently be increased. Management must be improved on the level of production and scientific-production associations, of which there are more than 4,000 in industry. The share contributed to the total output volume by associations has increased considerably in recent years and comes to 48 percent today. However, the advantages of this progressive form of management are not yet being adequately utilized.

The practical implementation of the measures set forth in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism is a task of major importance. The decree orients the planning and management process toward the achievement of high end national economic results, the effective utilization of productive capital and material and manpower resources, stricter economy and accelerated scientific and technical progress.

The main thrust of this work is to upgrade the effectiveness of economic levers and incentives and to strengthen cost accounting. Intensive and purposeful efforts to reduce material and manpower outlays must be organized in each workplace, sector, enterprise and construction project. The entire economy, from top to bottom, must be imbued with the principles of cost effectiveness. Only thus can the increased effectiveness of public production be assured.

The problem of production costs must occupy a key position in economic calculations. Recently, however, less attention has been devoted to this indicator. Yet the reduction in production costs is the most important criterion for assessing the state of the production process and the best source of revenue and socialist accumulations for the state. It reflects virtually all of the components in effectiveness: increase in labor productivity, conservation of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, and improved use of assets. We must not fail to be concerned about the fact that the cost of many types of industrial commodities has been increasing instead of declining in recent years.

Naturally, objective factors contribute to the increase in production costs. They include the less advantageous conditions for the extraction of minerals and the higher technical standards and improved goods quality. However, it would be wrong

to blame these factors for everything. The main cause of the situation is the fact that many enterprises have not yet become truly involved in the struggle to reduce production costs and various types of production losses.

The strict application of the principles of cost effectiveness is a most important task for management and the broadest possible toiling masses. A thrifty attitude toward the people's property and the ability to find reserves for reducing material and labor outlays must be developed. Economic training must play a major role here.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the congress that problems in economic management are not solely economic but also political and party problems. We must constantly improve the methods of party control of economic activities, upgrade the effectiveness of organizational and political work in labor collectives, involve the working people more extensively in production management, and develop their initiative and socialist competition.

Extensive and specific work must be done to implement the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan." It is mainly a matter of ensuring the further upsurge in the labor and political activity of the masses and directing them toward the solution of the problems posed by the 26th party congress and successful satisfaction of their obligations. It is important to see to it that the problems involving work effectiveness and quality and closely related to the specific assignments of each enterprise and construction project become the main feature of socialist competition.

Creative cooperation among scientific research, design, production and construction collectives must be more extensively developed. Interaction among related enterprises in the resolution of common problems must be strengthened. Matters must be organized so that efforts to disseminate progressive experience will not be limited to the study and popularizing of it, but will include putting it into practical use.

Competition for the successful implementation of the decisions of the congress is developing ever more extensively throughout the country. The collectives of enterprises and construction projects have adopted greater socialist obligations and counterplans. They are mobilizing their resources for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments for 1981 and the five-year plan as a whole. We must guarantee a considerable upsurge in industrial output this year. We must make capital investments in excess of 140 billion rubles, commission major production capacities, and build about 109 million square meters of general residential area and other projects. The first year of the five-year plan is a special year, and the successful completion of its assignments will to a large extent lay the foundation for the forthcoming period and for future results. Therefore maximum effort must be invested in the mobilization of all reserves and resources for increasing production effectiveness and improving work quality at each enterprise and construction project.

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TORRID URENGOY

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[Article by Yu. Konishchev]

[Text] Today the name "Urengoy" is known throughout our country and abroad. It was mentioned in the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th congress. The Urengoy condensate deposits are bigger than many "blue fuel" deposits and provide a first-rate chemical raw material. Not for nothing have scientists and specialists described the Tyumen' fuel and energy deposits as the "discovery of the century." Urengoy also means deposits of the "white petroleum"--gas condensate (which yields pure gasoline and diesel fuel with minor processing) together with petroleum deposits. Today it is the main energy base of the country, whose scale of development exceeds our biggest construction projects. Never before has the extraction of energy raw materials been pursued at such a pace and on such a scale. The first well yielded industrial gas on 22 April 1978, on the 108th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. In the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan the country's national economy received almost 50 billion cubic meters of Urengoy gas. The 1981 plan calls for 88.4 billion. In the 11th Five-Year Plan virtually the entire increase in gas production in the country will come from the Urengoy deposits. Such pace and scale have been made possible by developed socialism and scientific and technical progress. Today this is the leading edge of the building of communism. "This," wrote Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], "is a truly great construction project of our time, superior in scope, volume of capital investments and complexity of technical and transportation problems to anything ever accomplished in our country in previous years and five-year plans." "What has been accomplished," he said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "and what is being accomplished in this rigorous area is a true exploit. The homeland expresses its admiration and deep respect for the hundreds of thousands of people who are performing it."

I

The north clings firmly to its treasures. It has hidden them under the tremendous thickness of permafrost, separated them from the people with a lifeless desert space, the thick darkness of the polar night, the bitter cold, hurricane winds and impassable swamps. Access to such treasures seemed impossible. There were neither roads nor power facilities. There was no experience in the development of such big areas under most difficult weather conditions. At first, many people did not believe in the possibility of extracting petroleum and gas on an industrial scale.

Others cited lack of preparation and the untimeliness of attacking the rigorous environment. Doubts were expressed in the West. At that time, THE FINANCIAL TIMES, the organ of the British business circles, wrote: "The Tyumen' bolsheviks are citing huge figures of possible petroleum extraction.... Let us see, however, if they will be able to extract even 20 million tons...."

Meanwhile, as if testing the patience and resolve of the people, from time to time the North gave a hint of the secrets of its deposits. The Tyumen' geologists claimed that more than one million square km of territory were highly promising in terms of petroleum and natural gas. Ever new deposits were charted on the map of the area.

A party decision called for the extensive development of the area. Drilling towers began to move on the cold soil, pushing back the boundary between life and the desert ever further to the north, toward the Arctic Ocean.

"We realized that it would be virtually impossible to use the old methods for extracting the ground resources of the North," said B. Ye. Shcherbina, then first secretary of the Tyumenskaya Oblast party committee and today USSR minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry and enterprises. "The conventional development system is quite extensive. It begins with the complete survey of the deposits (taking from 2 to 4 years), followed by the study and confirmation of the deposits (1.5 to 2 years), the formulation of a technological development plan (12 to 18 months), organization and drilling on the deposits (2 to 2.5 years) and, finally, industrial production."

Questions arose such as, was it allowed to waste so much time, invest billions of rubles and spend years waiting for returns? In the north, conditions are different. Here, more than ever before, the time factor is an economic category: gaining even a few days means the additional extraction of billions of cubic meters of gas....

Essentially new methods for the development of the deposits and an unconventional revolutionary approach were needed. Above all, there was a need for specialists unbothered by dogmas and stereotypes and capable of resolving complex and extraordinary problems rapidly and substantively, focused on high end results.

Mobile construction subunits had to be created for the comprehensive and full completion of projects. Resources had to be focused and superpowered compact gas extraction installations and highly productive pipelines had to be built. We had to learn how operatively to handle resources and funds in resolving our assignments. All the work had to be done simultaneously, several times faster than conventional and traditional methods and construction time had to be reduced.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that a great deal here was being done for the first time in domestic and worldwide practice. Never before were surveyors forced to drill and test wells in permafrost or were construction and installation workers forced to build superpowerful systems, lay steel and concrete roads on thousands of km of swamps, or lay large-diameter pipes at temperatures of -40° C. Never before did they have to build so quickly.

Tens of thousands of people were facing a tense and long test not only for firmness and ability to work under harsh and unusual conditions, but for their

knowledge, skill and ability to use modern methods. They were prepared. However, the solid scientific and technical base had to be backed by creative enthusiasm. From the very beginning a course of technical progress, economic effectiveness and the reaching of maximum end results with minimum outlays was charted. The most modern highly productive equipment and progressive technology, production organization and management system were applied in the northern Tyumen' land.

For the first time under northern conditions the complete-block construction method was used in Urengoy. Fully prefabricated blocks, with the necessary equipment and instruments, weighing hundreds of tons, were only assembled on the site. Only several years previously, using conventional methods, a powerful construction administration could build an oil pumping station covering as many as five hectares of land in 18 to 20 months. Now, a brigade of 45 to 50 people can build four or five such stations per year on less than one hectare. Compared with the conventional method, the block method makes it possible to save 350,000-380,000 rubles per million rubles invested in construction. Some 400 big projects have already been built by this method.

The construction workers encountered a major problem in laying the pipelines. In specialists' terminology, large-size pipes have a positive buoyancy. If the pipes are laid in the winter, in the flooding period or in summer they would come up, which could be the cause of breakdowns and explosions. Therefore, in laying tracks in flooded soil and swamps, the pipes had to be secured with the help of four-ton reinforced concrete ballast. What would this cost? The Urengoy-Chelyabinsk gas pipeline alone required blocks weighing a total of 1.36 million tons. The delivery and installation of one such block, by helicopter, cost about 1,000 rubles. A simple and reliable, although unexpected, solution was found: the pipelines were secured with bolt or self-expanding anchor systems; a harpoon gun, previously used in whale hunting, was used for pipes with a diameter of up to one meter. The gun was mounted on a cross-country vehicle and anchors attached to ropes were fired at the frozen ground on both sides of the pipe, thus securing the lash to the ground. A single pair of anchors replaced 40 ballast blocks.

The "Sever-1" mobile contact welding system, developed by the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton and the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, was extensively used at the gas mainlines. Whereas manually one worker would take an entire shift to weld a coupling of 1,420 mm diameter pipes, the "Sever-1" completed this operation in 10 minutes on a high quality level. In practical terms, each such system replaced two brigades of skilled welders totaling as many as 80 to 90 people.

The specific nature of the development of the north calls for the use of fewer people and more equipment. The extreme weather conditions require the use of unusual ways and means of work. Solid equipment repair buildings were not constructed at deposits. Siborggazstroy specialists suggested the building of "air castles": inflated structures made of special rubberized fabric, extensively used in industry. Warm air is pumped into the structure in which the proper temperature is maintained. All kinds of repair operations are possible in such an "air castle" which is far less expensive than premises made of conventional materials.

Powerful systems for comprehensive treatment of the gas, with a productivity of up to 15 billion cubic meters per year, were used instead of numerous and expensive collection centers at the Tyumen' gas deposits; the processed gas went directly to the pipeline and from there to the consumer.

The steady flow of new ideas abundantly nourishes the ground of scientific and technical progress and gives birth to varying solutions and major discoveries. For example, an essentially new method for continuous laying of pipelines, without lifting, using the weight of the pipe itself, was developed. A new soldering method, using a laser beam, suggested by the Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton, requiring no more than 2 to 3 minutes per soldering operation, is being tested. This lowers labor intensiveness to one-third while the use of electric power is reduced by a factor of five. The Institute's scientists have recommended the use of multiple-layer pipes for the transportation of the gas, in which the gas pressure may be raised to 100-120 atmospheres, thus increasing the pipeline's capacity by a factor of 1.5-2. Swamp vehicles, new types of air-cushion transport facilities and other equipment are being developed.

The people here think on a truly broad, nationwide scale. Supplying fuel from the northern latitudes is costly to the state. It has required a great deal of funding, for virtually all compressor and natural gas pumping stations installed at the Urengoy deposits receive their power from mobile power plants powered by diesel fuel. Specialists from the Urengoygazdobykh Production Association suggested the building of a small plant for the processing of the Valangian condensate into diesel fuel and high-octane gasoline and the power problem was resolved successfully.

It is not so simple to enumerate all the innovations and discoveries which were made in the Tyumen' area. They include hydraulic filling in laying roads, multiple directional drilling, comprehensive development of the deposits, use of gushers as development wells, use of pneumatic casings in containers and many, many others....

II

Even the most advanced technology and first-rate equipment cannot guarantee success if unskillfully handled. What is important in the north, however, are not simply skill and ability to adapt to local conditions. In these latitudes the equipment frequently breaks down. For example, at -50° C. with a strong wind the metal of a drilling tower becomes brittle like glass. Any brigade would be justified in not going to work in such a cold temperature. One would get paid anyway by staying indoors in the warm trailer and chewing the fat. However, the brigade headed by drilling foreman Aleksey Ivanovich Glinyanov is yet to miss a single working day because of the weather. The members of this collective frequently volunteer to work a double shift, knowing that every additional hour of drilling means additional penetration and thousands of cubic meters of gas. Time in such shifts seems to fly: the people forget about resting, they forget the cold and the wind, as they follow the intensive rhythm and the exacting requirements of the brigade leader, strictly observing the technological discipline.

Here is what A. I. Glinyanov, the head of the collective, says about his brigade:

"The only real way to see a man is through his accomplishments. At the drilling site we live like on a small island, close to one another. We can note the

qualities and shortcomings of everyone. We reject the bad and try to accept the good. Above all, we learn how to work with high professional standards. Even the smallest error in drilling, any omission or even a delayed action may mean trouble. This is no joke, when the gas pressure in the seam exceeds 180 atmospheres. Some woolgathering may lead to hundreds of pipes of a 1.5-km deep column blowing up like gun shells. Do you think it is simple to climb to the top of the tower in a strong wind? Sixty meters above the ground the tower is pitching more violently than in any storm at sea. No one among us has ever refused this operation. The drilling has brought us together like a single family. At difficult moments no one wants to go away and sometimes we must just about order home brigade members who have completed their shift. Sometimes, however, there is waiting: pipes may not have arrived on time, cement for concrete may be lacking or equipment parts may be missing. Forced idleness is most depressing. At that point, as foreman, I spend a great deal of time in substituting one operation for another, setting a normal labor rhythm and working on procurement problems. Naturally, all of this affects end results."

Cohesion, mutual understanding and mutual support shape the high moral and business-like climate in the brigade. People who have come from all parts of the country, such as A. Bazarnyy from Krasnodar, A. Mirosnikov from Volgograd, G. Tishin from Perm', P. Dobosh from Feodosiya and other brigade members have become firm northerners. Their only objective is to give the homeland a sufficient quantity of energy and chemical raw materials. This collective has reached one of the best indicators of the association in terms of well drilling speed. It has not had a single breakdown in one year. The brigade makes productive use of 100 percent of its working time. The principle on which its labor is based is the slogan "Accomplish Everything Ahead of Schedule!" This year the collective intends to overfulfill its drilling plan by 10 percent.

There are many such progressive collectives, purposeful, dedicated and frenzied in their work in Urengoy. The labor accomplishments of the brigade headed by A. Slobodskov of the Urengoytruboprovodstroy Trust are well known. The brigade is the basis of the insulation-pipe laying column. This is a mobile subunit working for all related organizations involved in laying the gas main. The shift indicators of this "high-pace column" are assessed in terms of km of ready-for-use pipelines. At the pipeline insulation and welding are considered among the most important and complex operations. After the cleaning and the application of the glue, the polymer insulation film and the protective cover, the pipe is laid in the trench and buried. Under northern conditions a gas pipeline becomes virtually inaccessible to repairs. Even the slightest scratch or crack open to the air or moisture could have severe consequences. The pipe may develop a leak from corrosion (the gas flows at a pressure of 75 atmospheres). This inevitably leads to major raw material losses. Furthermore, the forced cutoff of the pipeline is quite costly. The greatest possible skill and strictest possible control are needed for ensuring high quality insulation. All of this must be done under open skies, regardless of the weather, when it is cold, in a snowstorm, when the road is covered literally in a matter of seconds, and when the biting wind blows through the entire body.

"The sector on which we are currently working is difficult and covered with swamps," Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Slobodskov says. "That is why we use double insulation. Although the norm is 500 meters daily, we cover a km, or even two, with standard insulation...."

"You mean four norms?"

"Yes. However, when the brigade was working on the Urengoy-Chelyabinsk track, some days we insulated 4,800 meters of pipe with a one-km norm."

"How were you able to reach such a pace and speed?"

"To begin with, we changed the organization of the work. The collective acquired a reliable continuous insulation machine and all the necessary machine units. Our principle is to avoid all idling. We consider any unplanned stop an exceptional event. This view is shared by all 16 members of the brigade. Naturally, however, the experience and the growing skill of the individual members are not the least important...."

We compared the effectiveness of the brigade's work with the labor results under the previous organization of the work. Whereas in the past an entire construction administration consisting of consolidated brigades was able to insulate 80 km of pipe in the winter months, over the last winter Slobodskov's brigade alone prepared and laid 105 km of pipelines. This experience is now being applied by all collectives. Incidentally, a characteristic feature of the work of the Tyumen' people is that individual records quickly become standard achievements. The indicators of many collectives are roughly the same and it is only extreme skills and tireless searching for the new that enable someone to rush ahead at a given point.

The people who have tied their life with Urengoy have something in common. The similarity among them is manifested in their daring, initiative, professional skills, sharp creative thinking, profound understanding of responsibility to society and permanent concentration on the application of progressive ideas and the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

"All of them live and work on a high-frequency rhythm," says Nikolay Yur'yevich Minkevich, party committee secretary at the Tyumen' Burgaz Association. "These people are our backbone, our golden stock. Watching them work becomes an inspiration. For years on end they refused their paid leaves and, should they accept a traveling card for the Crimea or the Caucasus, you see them come back after a couple of weeks, claiming to be restless and yearning for Urengoy.... Unfortunately, we do have losses and substantial turnover, people leaving for a variety of reasons. The membership of frontranking collectives, however, is stable. The great traditions of the conquerors of the north are passed on to the young workers. Here we see more clearly the sources of the strength of character of the Soviet people. One characteristic can be easily noted: anyone who comes here in answer to the call of his own heart falls in love with this land and becomes tied to it forever...."

It is claimed that there is such a thing as the phenomenon of the north. "The north is a magnet," is a frequent answer to the question of "Why have you come here and do you intend to remain long?" Most people answer that they have come for a long stay and many add "forever."

What sort of phenomenon is this, and why does it bewitch anyone who has come here even for a single visit? The conversation at the PRAVDA SEVERA, the Urengoy newspaper, turned to this topic. The fullest answer was given by Valeriy Georgiyevich Nagornov, the editor, who began his career as a journalist at MAGNITOGORSKIY

RABOCHIY, but who has dedicated himself to the north in recent years. He produced an extract from the book by Fridtjof Nansen "In the Country of the Future," published in 1915: "The tundra and the tayga have their poetry, their melancholy, their bright dreams marked by big and simple outlines in the eternal cycle of life: the bright green of the forests and the grass, the blueness of the lakes and the rivers in summer, the purple and gold of the autumn, the infinite snow-white cover in winter, days with glittering sun and long winter nights with the peaceful light of the moon, bitter frosts and violent storms and, finally, once again the re-awakening of nature in spring, streams gurgling under the snow, and the endless strings of arriving birds...."

"Naturally," Nagornov said, "nature bewitches us strongly. There is also the attraction of hunting, fishing or picking the abundant berries and mushrooms. Nevertheless, what makes the north tempting is not this or, rather, not only this. It is here that more than anywhere else a person can show his best qualities, where his capabilities can be fully disclosed and awakened, where he can gain faith in himself and feel the profound meaning of his own work. A great deal of what is being done here is being done for the first time. It is this type of pioneering, this exposure to the origins of a great accomplishment that attracts daring, firm and confident people. We have thousands of them. People come here to test themselves under difficult conditions, to learn how to conquer them, how to surmount the inertia of tranquillity and contentment. Here it is difficult and, therefore, interesting. All the facets of man and his work become obvious. Respect is earned through work. Whoever in contact with this land can withstand its test proves to have the highest moral qualities and to have been tempered spiritually. At the dawn of the century F. Nansen perspicaciously described our land as the "country of the future." But the future belongs to the young. We have many young people here: the average age of the residents of Novyy Urengoy is 23. Urengoy has many natives. For example, Nikolay Ivanovich Dubin, city party committee second secretary, has three children. His son was born in the Pangoda settlement; one of his daughters was born in Nadym and the second in Novyy Urengoy. The children and grandchildren of brigade leader Slobodskov whom you met at the track are native northerners. We have innumerable such united families. Last year alone we celebrated 166 marriages. The families are as strong as the people. Not a single divorce in one year.... The city's population is expanding quickly.

III

There is also the opposite trend. There are those who leave after a few months, junking everything. Others can hardly wait for the termination of their contract. Turnover remains high in construction subunits, triggering major problems which are probably unavoidable in such pioneering work. The test of the north is uncompromising. This rigorous land rejects the shallow, the weak, the individualists, not to mention those who come here for the sake of money, lured by high salaries with bonuses for work in the north, per diems and service time.... The desire to earn money faster and then take off is not respected here. For such people the "climate" is very unsuitable. Every ruble is earned in difficult and stressed circumstances. Here you cannot hide behind the wide back of your comrade or behind high-sounding words.

Unfortunately, however, generally good boys and girls are frequently unable to endure and they leave. They leave mainly because of poor living conditions and

other difficulties. There are housing difficulties. Thousands of people are still living in trailers, in so-called "beam houses"--miniature homes with very small rooms which, true, have central heating and other communal facilities. Naturally, one could live in a "beam house" for a while. However, it is difficult to reconcile oneself to a long life in such conditions. Those who come here have the right to hope that the necessary conditions for normal work will be provided: a base, housing, roads and sociocultural establishments, which will be built at a faster pace. However, how is this to be done, when resources are limited, the handling capacity of water mains is insignificant and the hauling of construction parts by air is too expensive? In the past a proper solution was found: build everything on a parallel basis. However the mentality of the managers frequently switched to the "traditional" style of ignoring living and social projects. Therefore, in many places the "rear lines" have fallen substantially behind industrial construction.

Those who come to the north answering the call of heart have simple requirements and are willing to wait. At first they are content with a bed in a hostel and a place in a "beam house" and as a rule they do not complain of lack of amenities. How long, however, will the managers continue to rely on the modesty of such requirements? In the final account, their ideas lead to both material and moral losses. Actually, frankly speaking, sometimes one can understand the person who decides to leave the north after waiting for years on end for a place for his child in a kindergarten, who cannot see a movie month after month, or who cannot take a bath for several weeks....

Tens of thousands of people live in Urengoy but all it has is a single 250-seat club, three cafeterias for 750 people and two kindergartens, although the needs are several times higher. Skillful and experienced people adapted to local conditions leave. They will be replaced but the novices must learn a great deal which is both unnecessary and costly. It is thus that social and economic problems become closely interwoven with each other. What promised benefits and was justified at the initial stages in the development of the gas deposits may now turn into losses....

"Sometimes it is believed that increasing wage supplements for Siberia, the Far East and the northern areas would be sufficient for keeping the people there," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress. "Naturally, supplements are needed. However, they will not resolve the problem. For example, a person would leave Siberia most frequently not because of the unsuitable climate or low earnings but because of the difficulty in obtaining housing and placing his child in a kindergarten, and because of the scarcity of cultural centers. That is why this five-year plan we intend to develop in these areas at an even higher pace the construction of housing and of the entire socio-cultural complex and to improve consumer goods supplies to the population. Everyone agrees that the situation here must be changed in the very immediate future!"

All of these problems are in the focal point of the attention of the city party committee and executive committee which, incidentally, were set up quite recently, and of the various public organizations.

Yevgeniy Fedorovich Kozlov, first secretary of the Novyy Urengoy city party committee, and a man with extensive labor and party training, ranging from locomotive engine fireman to senior party worker, is aware of the influence of social factors on economic factors.

"We rushed ahead," he says, "and were somewhat carried away by industrial construction. The 'rear lines' fell behind. They must be tightened up. Homes rose more slowly than the pace of natural gas extraction. However, does this mean that the offensive should be slowed down or even stopped? It does not. We shall advance even faster and the pace of gas extraction will rise. Meanwhile, housing and sociocultural projects will be developed at a higher rate. Whereas in under 3 years in the 10th Five-Year Plan we used 600 million rubles' worth of capital investments, the plan for 1981 alone calls for 640 million. Life in our area is hard. For this reason the rigorous weather conditions must be balanced by maximally comfortable working and living conditions. If the people who come here are to settle permanently we must build proper housing. In 1979 new settlers in Novyy Urengoy received 7,000 square meters of housing; the next year they received 68,500. This year 230,000 square meters must be completed. In the 11th Five-Year Plan we shall build no less than one million square meters of housing. At that point the per capita living area will reach 13 meters. Novyy Urengoy will develop as a major industrial city with a population of 160,000. This will be a beautiful, an unusual city with densely built up streets which will offer protection from the wind, winter gardens, and splendid social centers. In a few years Novyy Urengoy will become one of the most comfortable cities in the modern north. Meanwhile, major problems remain and plans for the completion of housing and sociocultural projects are not always fulfilled. This is mainly due to the shortage of materials and their poor quality...."

As to the construction workers themselves, they work conscientiously, sparing neither effort nor time. The best carpenter construction brigade in the city is headed by Pavel Alekseyevich Baryayev, a young party member. He is also commander of the All-Union Shock Komsomol Detachment imeni XVIII S"yezda VLKSM. After May 1978, when the first group settled in Novyy Urengoy, the detachment, consisting of 248 people, built its own administrative base, school, kindergarten, twenty homes and hostels, including the first five-story brick building, an outpatient clinic and a covered sports complex, a store and vegetable storage area, a library and cafeteria, the first boiler room and the Yagenetskaya compressor station and completed more than 17,000 square meters of housing. Currently the building of a city social center and a service-passenger building at the airport is in full swing. In 1978 the detachment did work worth 4.1 million rubles; two years later it did work worth over 12 million rubles. Production per worker averages almost 48,000 rubles, which is one of the highest indicators in the construction industry. P. A. Baryayev was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the population of Novyy Urengoy.

"Here all construction problems of the north, economics and morality, have become closely interwoven," Pavel Alekseyevich says. "The brigade does not lose a single minute (there has been no case of idling). For example, the building of a 100-place hostel was started on 1 November (the socle was built in October) and the roof was raised before the new year started. The work could have been completed even faster but material procurements and quality were poor..."

Together with the brigade leader I visited the project--the building of a similar hostel. A joiner's bench has been put at the main entrance. Standing on it, Serezha Blokhin, a carpenter, seems to be carving some kind of mosaic from the dry plaster, using a hacksaw as if it were a fret-saw.

"I have to do this," says he sighing. "Look at the type of dry plaster they have given us, they load it on barges in bulk, as if it were timber...."

One hundred plaster sheets are piled on the bench, but look at them! Broken up, with big cracks on the surface, and many of them in pieces. More than 30 percent of them have to be discarded. However, one must build and there are no other materials. The carpenters are trying to carve out of these unsuitable sheets little bits with which to cover the walls. What is the cost of this to the state? The construction trust alone loses 50,000 rubles per year from such dry plaster. A similar situation prevails with cement. Almost half of it is received in lumps. The butt-ends of the reinforced concrete piles are wrecked. Housing parts arrive incomplete. Only six out of seven sets of beam houses which, incidentally, have proven their suitability under northern conditions, can be assembled. The Khanty-Mansiyskles Association is delivering incomplete block houses, citing the numerous transshipments as an excuse. The goods, they say, break down during the transportation. Some suppliers ship hackwork, knowing that the north will accept everything. What else is there to do? Supplying enterprises have suggested that they send their own representatives to accept the goods on arrival in order not to bear responsibility. However, this would be unrealistic, as the Urengoygazstroy Trust has more than 4,000 suppliers.

The attitude toward freight shipped to the north must be different. Tyumen' gas is reaching many cities throughout the country. More and more of it will be received as time goes on. When lighting the gas burner at home, everyone should think of the cost at which this fuel is procured and the conditions under which it is extracted in the north. The "blue fuel" is our common resource. At each stage of its procurement and at each transshipment of freight for the northern construction sites concern must be shown for this national wealth by everyone, rivermen, railroad workers and truck drivers.... Urengoy is generously gifting the wealth of its soil to the country and the country must help it. For example, roads--made of steel and concrete--could help resolve complex problems. The transportation problem is of prime importance. According to Academician A. Trofimuk, the classical expression that "the development of Siberia means fighting space" remains just as topical as it was 50 years ago. The most effective means for the development of the Yamal space is the laying of railroads, for under northern conditions rail shipments would be dozens of times less expensive compared with river transportation, hundreds of times cheaper compared with trucking and thousands of times cheaper than haulage by air.

Another problem arises: the future of the development of railroads. For many years an excellent detachment of transport construction workers has existed in the Tyumen' area. Whereas the laying of the Tyumen'-Surgut tracks took more than nine years, virtually the same distance from Tyumen' to Urengoy was covered in half the time. The same fast pace could be maintained in laying track to Salekhard, with a bridge across the Ob'. The planning of such a project must begin now. However, to this day the USSR Gosplan has not made a final decision even on opening the sector from Urengoy to Yagel'naya this year. This slowness may turn out to be very expensive for the national economy: experienced transport construction workers are beginning to leave Urengoy for other areas because of an uncertain future.

With every passing year the problems of the development of the north are being resolved more substantively and faster. Not only a fast growth of economic potential

and social change is taking place in this huge area but a new person is shaped, a person well aware of the tasks facing the state and aware of his high responsibility for his contribution to the common cause. Such people can resolve the complex and amazingly interesting problems of the development of Western Siberia....

The constructive toil of the Soviet person in the Tyumen' area is developing ever more extensively. Grandiose major projects will be accomplished here. The 26th party congress set the Tyumen' gas workers the task of reaching a level of gas extraction of 330 to 370 billion cubic meters in the final year of the five-year plan. The conquerors of the Tyumen' soil have formulated a counterplan: substantially to outstrip this level in order in 10 years to reach gas extraction in Western Siberia of one trillion cubic meters! Unquestionably, the energy, brains and courage of the pioneers will prevail and the homeland will receive this valuable energy and chemical raw material in as great a quantity as is necessary. The enthusiasm of the Soviet people, multiplied by precise economic and technical computations, will enable us to double and triple the amount of work done on Tyumen' soil, to conquer its space and to turn the tundra into a modern industrial area.

Novyy Urengoy-Nadym-Tyumen'-Moscow

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MORAL CLIMATE IN A SCIENTIFIC ENVIRONMENT

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[Article by L. Golovanov]

[Text] I remember well a conversation I had a long time ago with the outstanding Soviet chemist Academician Aleksandr Yerminingel'dovich Arbuzov. Asked which, in his opinion, was the most important feature of the scientist he answered:

"Honesty!"

He then specified: "Civic honesty," he said and explained that the concept of "scientist" and "citizen" are indivisible in his view.

"The scientist," he said, "regardless of whether he wishes it or not, must define with absolute clarity his attitude toward society. He cannot remain outside society. He is either a citizen or he is an "anti" citizen. The influence of science on all realms of life is too big and so is the responsibility of the scientist to society. However, he must feel this responsibility not only under extraordinary circumstances."

History is familiar with many "absent-minded professors" like Jules Verne's Paganel, whose mind was limited exclusively to "his own" interests, far removed from social passions and needs. However, the truly great scientists of the past as well were not indifferent to the needs of society. They burned with the passions and ideals of their century and considered their service to science the fulfillment of their patriotic duty.

"The scientific sowing will bring the people's harvest," D. I. Mendeleev wrote. "The main reason for my life," K. E. Tsiolkovskiy emphasized, "is to do something useful for the people, not to live my life in vain, and to move mankind forward, even if a little bit. That is why I have been interested in something which gave me neither bread nor strength. I hope, however, that my work, perhaps soon or maybe in the distant future, will give to society mountains of bread and infinite power." "The elect engaged in science," said K. A. Timiryazev, "must look at knowledge as a treasure entrusted to them but belonging to the entire people." "I am a Russian," A. S. Popov said answering tempting offers from abroad, "and I have the right to dedicate all my knowledge, efforts and achievements only to my homeland." "Whatever I may be doing I always think that I am serving, to the extent of my efforts, above all my fatherland, our Russian science," was the way I. P. Pavlov

spoke at the USSR Academy of Sciences, in expressing his feelings. "This is both the strongest motivation and the deepest satisfaction."

Ever since it originated, science has been inseparably linked with morality. In the final accounting, the search for truth is an assertion of goodness; scientific creativity always presumes objectivity, open criticism, strict proof, unprejudiced views, absence of claim to the monopoly of authoritative views, exceptional conscientiousness, modesty, and collective work. Whenever a scientist sins against the truth he is not only betraying science but is guilty of a personal moral degradation. Let us recall Karl Marx' angry words addressed at the "shameless sycophant" T. Malthus who falsified "theoretical" conclusions which he ascribed to other authors in order to please the most reactionary forces of the ruling class: "...A person who tries to adapt science to his specific viewpoint which is drawn not from science itself (however wrong science may be), but from something external to a viewpoint dictated by interests alien to science, external to science, such a person I describe as 'vile'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 26, Part II, p 125).

A similar thought is found in Lenin's arguments with the narodniks: "They embellish the truth immorally, depicting as accidental and unexpected the order which characterizes all post-reform Russia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 410).

The practices of contemporary bourgeois society entirely confuse the already complex relations in the scientific world, destroying the essential unity between science and ethics, leading them to the antagonistic pitting of one against the other, increasing the disparity between universal human values and the real norms of behavior of specialists and between the traditional concepts of the high purpose of science and the low objectives imposed upon it.

In themselves, scientific achievements are neither moral nor immoral. However, depending on the person, the class or the objective they set out to serve, and the purpose for which one or another cognitive activity takes place and the type of sacrifices that desired results require, we can speak of the moral foundations of science. Such foundations become more obvious the more science acts as a direct productive force in society. However, the nature of production relations which dominate in it leaves its mark on the moral quality of science.

Whereas under socialist conditions science serves the lofty historical objective of building a classless society, under capitalism it has no such objective and the meaning of its social purpose is, as a rule, limited merely to the immediate tasks of the highest possible growth of capital. Under capitalism science does not have objectives such as the molding of a comprehensively developed personality of the working man, social progress or the development of freedom. Conversely, knowledge of the laws governing the atomic nucleus, which could yield mankind tremendous benefits, turns into a deadly threat to the existence of all life; outstanding successes in microbiology, which have given medicine effective means with which to struggle against diseases, suggest the monstrous idea of bacteriological warfare; chemical progress, which indicates the systematic unraveling of the secrets governing the conversion of matter, is accompanied by the sinister shadow of chemical weapons and means for manipulating human behavior. In the secret laboratories

of the Pentagon, dolphins are being trained to be used as living torpedos. The program of American research of atmospheric phenomena includes preparations for... meteorological aggression. The most complex technical mass information facilities which were intended by their creators merely for purposes of communication, education and culture, are now extensively used as weapons for spiritual coercion, disinformation, and impoverishment of the minds of the people, and so on. The latest "achievement" is a laser weapon for war in outer space....

As to the social sciences, the distortion of the functions of scientific activities is frequently taken to its extreme. Along with unquestionable facts and original research methods, the works of bourgeois political experts, sociologists, philosophers, economists, historians, jurists, demographers and so on, frequently contain a deliberate selection of examples, tendentious arguments presented in a scientific manner, and deliberate distortions serving predetermined conclusions.

Could this not be interpreted as the moral degradation of science? Is this not its tragedy? The scientific and technical revolution, which promises mankind new opportunities for creative and transforming activities and new levels of freedom from the blind necessity of nature, is turned into a means for increasing the enslavement of man by man, the spiritual blinding of the masses, the destruction of the mind and the suppression of the will to the advantage of the forces which exploit labor. In the obsolete socioeconomic system science is experiencing a moral crisis whose forms are assuming an increasingly pathological nature, such as the "brain drain," industrial espionage, the trade of ideas, the assigning of antihumane objectives to researchers, investigations of the private lives of scientists and forbidding them to to exercise their profession.

Naturally, the progressive minds in the capitalist countries cannot fail to think of what is taking place at home or to be concerned by the fact that socially useful results of their efforts prove to be fraught with their opposite features, that the forces of good are turned into the forces of evil, that what should be public property is used for egotistical purposes and, finally, that they themselves, the scientific workers, invariably turn out to be the servants of the monopolies, the willing or unwilling accomplices of reactionary social forces. Under such conditions "ethical neutrality" becomes inappropriate. "This is one of the simplest means for dulling the conscience," said Charles Snow, the famous British writer and scientist, referring to it. Therefore, the scientists are entering ever more actively the political struggle the outcome of which determines not only the solution of general social problems but, in the final account, the fate of their own area of activities. Progressive national and international organizations are being created such as, for example, the "Association of Concerned Scientists," the Pugwash movement in the struggle for peace and humanism, and others.

The bylaws of the World Federation of Scientific Workers calls upon the scientists actively to participate in policy-making in all areas and in the leading organs of industry and legislation and in governmental and international organizations and to fight against scorn for or misuse of scientific knowledge.

This crisis can be surmounted only by the conversion of society to the path indicated by the theory of scientific communism.

The practical implementation of this (the elimination of the conflict between science and ethics) can be achieved by the elimination of private ownership of productive capital, the assertion of the direct social nature of labor, and the establishment of a qualitatively new socioeconomic system.

The social orientation of science in our country changed radically following the victory of the Great October Revolution. "...Henceforth," V. I. Lenin said, "the human mind and genius will never be addressed to means of violence and exploitation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 289). Scientific knowledge became that which the outstanding philosophers had dreamed in the course of centuries: a powerful means for improving the life of the working people, an instrument of social progress.

Today the solution of all important problems of the building of communism is related to the utilization of scientific achievements. The new social relations led to a qualitatively new conscientiousness. Within it the ethical and the scientific aspects are organically combined. Today "the Soviet scientist, providing, naturally, that he is truly a Soviet scientist, proceeds in all his scientific activities from the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism. He is an active fighter for the cause of communism and against all the forces of reaction and obscurantism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the ceremony on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The prestige of science in the socialist society is growing. At the same time, so is the responsibility to society of the scientists.

Developed socialism offers the Soviet scientists favorable conditions for creativity and, consequently, expects of them great returns and high work quality. This is based not only on the level of their skills and capabilities but on their communist conscientiousness, their readiness, will and ability to dedicate all their forces and energy to the common cause. The scientists are offered ever-broader prospects enabling each of them to satisfy to the necessary extent the human "aspiration to prove oneself, to make of oneself the most objective feature in the objective world and to fulfill oneself" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 194).

Unlike capitalism, where, by virtue of the dominating social relations, moral responsibility is left outside scientific activities and is a strictly personal problem, socialism makes it an attribute of all social functions of the citizens. This includes their research and development. The scientific workers are morally accountable to their nation.

The Soviet scientists are directly involved in the solution of the single complex of nationwide problems: the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, the improvement of socialist social relations and their transformation into communist social relations, the education of the new man, the enhancement of the material and spiritual standards of the working people, ensuring the safety of the country and contributing to the strengthening of peace and the development of international cooperation.

The Soviet specialists are working to broaden the scale and to accelerate the pace of the utilization of the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience in the organization of labor in the economy, and the conversion of the

production process "from a simple labor process into a scientific process," into "a science which is manifested through material creativity and material output" (K. Marx), which opens new horizons for the application and development of the creative potential of every working person. They conscientiously contribute to the systematic upsurge of the educational, cultural and professional standards of the people, thus broadening their capabilities for comprehensive socially useful work and meaningful social creativity; they participate in the development of the socialist competition which encourages the production and political activeness of the working people; they set examples of conscious discipline based on the principles of respect, reciprocal exactingness, trust and initiative.

In accordance with the needs of society the socialist state ensures the training of scientific cadres and the purposeful development of science. It organizes the utilization of its results in all areas of social life. As stipulated in the USSR Constitution, the state is concerned with the preservation, multiplication and extensive utilization of spiritual values. It guarantees the freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creativity and creates all the necessary prerequisites for this. It protects the rights of authors, inventors and rationalizers. Such are the favorable prerequisites for a moral scientific climate.

The elimination of the conflict between science and ethics does not mean by itself the total elimination of all contradictions in spiritual production. However, at this point their nature becomes entirely different: these are not contradictions of social antagonism but the manifestation of complex internal relations within the structure of the developing system itself, and aspects of its progress which involve the inevitable conflict between the new and the old existing progressive norms, between wish and reality, between necessity and accident and between the general and the specific. Nor should we ignore a certain amount of influence exerted by the capitalist world with which, by virtue of historical circumstances, we are in touch and which is adamantly trying to impose upon us its system of values, through a variety of means, directly and indirectly.

Such contradictions are resolved through the conscious activities of the Soviet people: improvements in the organization of science and its management, systematic ideological and educational work and the practice of the building of communism.

The quality of the work of any scientific collective depends on the professional standard of its cadres and the organization of their joint efforts. However, it would be erroneous to consider it only through the lens of strictly practical functions. A complex system of interpersonal relations and ties and moral-psychological control principles which affect the productive creativity of one and all arises and develops on the basis of the organizational structure.

The collective is not the simple sum total of individuals but a living social organism. Features of the individual character, knowledge, experience, motivations, interests and enthusiasm in particular and, above all, the life stance and principledness in the solution of problems, honesty, conscientiousness, desire and ability to help others and personal charm mandatorily influence relations based on official or social status.

A morally healthy atmosphere predominates in many scientific institutions in our country. Thanks to it successful work and creative research take place; socially useful returns increase and every worker feels a moral satisfaction from his contribution. A great deal here depends on those entrusted with guiding the collective. The party organizations play a most important, a primary role. They blend the integrity of research groups, scientific laboratories, institutes and design and engineering institutions. Scientists who are party members must be front-rankers in the implementation of their obligations. They must set the example of a truly creative attitude toward the work and their entire behavior must be a model of high civic-mindedness and morality.

The positive experience of the majority of scientific research institutes and design bureaus proves that a unanimous understanding of the social significance of jointly resolved problems, the development of high responsibility by all for the common project and general interest in the results of the individual, comradely support and scientific principle-mindedness do not develop by themselves. They are the result of collective efforts, consciously organized and supported. If the moral climate is left to develop by itself, occasionally individualism and various types of antisocial phenomena which are the opposites of communist morality may grow on the field of human relations. Distorted and sterile offshoots begin to grow as parasites on the living tree of knowledge.

The significant social prestige of science and the relatively high material well-being of its workers are unwittingly an attractive factor not only for people motivated by creative surges but for all those whose motivations are not based in the least on lofty ideals but on low personal objectives.

Science is sickened by toadying, in which relations among colleagues are based on egotistical interests which have nothing to do with concern for the truth. At the all-union theoretical science conference on "The Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in the Building of Communism," which was held in Novosibirsk, in the summer of 1979, two scientists, one from Groznyy and another from Kiev, quite seriously described two Moscow specialists, who were attending the conference, as "mental giants." The first even compared them with Einstein. "Despite the reaction of irony among the public," we read in a letter to the editor, "said Muscovites, however, were not modest enough somehow to ease the embarrassment, while the audience was left with an unpleasant feeling."

It also happens that in books published by one institute or another, the director and his closest associates are zealously cited, while the works of other scientists who may have done even more in a given scientific direction, are deliberately ignored. These facts prove a low ethical standard which feeds the pitiful desire for self-advertising of some and the desire to gain favor of others.

It is no secret that people who seek an "easy way," who are motivated by unsatisfied vain arrogance, become scientists. They can falsify theoretical and experimental results, impose upon others their fictitious coauthorship or even directly plagiarize, discredit or do everything possible to "suppress" their colleagues (presumed or actual rivals, which is most frequently the case of the real searchers for the truth). They encourage socializing, favoritism and nepotism; they suppress open scientific discussions while encouraging underhanded intrigues; bureaucracy,

red tape, casuistry and demagogy become the allies of all such extremely negative phenomena, which are incompatible with the social tenor of our life and the principles of our moral consciousness.

Unfortunately, the first victims of such people are talented scientists whose entire mind and effort are involved in the solution of complex scientific problems. They find themselves simply helpless in ordinary rows and helpless in the face of the pressure exerted by militant consumerist aspirations.

For example, here is what happened to the talented mechanical theoretician K. S. Chobanyan, who discovered a way to ensure a drastic lowering of the concentration of stress (to the zero level) on the areas of welding, soldering or gluing heterogeneous structural materials. Possibilities for the use of this phenomenon in the national economy proved to be comprehensive and promised great economic results. Based on the principles of his discovery, K. S. Chobanyan offered a number of valuable inventions. In 1971 their established result was recorded in the USSR State Register of Discoveries. Immediately afterward, the scientist became the subject of intrigues which involved the management of the very institute in which he worked. The processing of the discoveries dragged on for years. Instead of developing and expanding these accomplishments, he was forced to prove his priority, defend his legitimate rights and ask for the opportunity to continue his research in a new direction.... Eventually, K. S. Chobanyan and several of his associates were dismissed. It was only thanks to the intervention of the AUCCTU that the scientist was rehired (true, nine months later!). However, research on an important scientific topic was actually abandoned at the institute.

Sooner or later truth prevails. In January 1978 the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries finally passed the decision granting K. S. Chobanyan his long-deserved diploma. One can easily estimate the losses suffered by the state as a result of the artificial obstruction created in the recognition of the discovery. However, a far greater loss is inestimable--the moral damage to the scientific collective, the severe psychological trauma experienced by the scientist, and the senseless waste of his physical and spiritual strength....

Such cases are the exception. However, they must not be ignored by the party organs. The CPSU insists on adopting a concerned attitude toward cadres, mindful of Lenin's behest that "talent is a rarity. It must be systematically and cautiously supported" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 48, p 182).

No single creative individual must be ignored by the party organizations, as the fate of each of them is socially significant. However, how could it happen that Ye. V. Vasil'yev, candidate of chemical sciences and former senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Agrochemistry and Soil Science, is working as a...night watchman for nondepartmental protection of the water collecting station in Pushchino, Moscow Oblast? He was fired three years ago because of his "premature reelection...in connection with improperly held position," and since then he has worked as loading worker, timber cutter, common laborer and guard. He has several authorship certificates for inventions and is the author of a number of publications. He is the bearer of the silver metal of the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy for work on improving the soil structure. His name is among the competition winners of the All-Union Chemical Society imeni

D. I. Mendeleev. His works have been exhibited internationally. There is a clear disparity between the current status of this scientist and his qualifications. This conflicting and totally unscientific disparity is a manifestation of imperfect moral relations which removed a capable worker from his beloved work.

The increased role of science in society objectively demands the high-level participation of all party members in upgrading not only the standard of the organization of research and development and the accelerated practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements but the necessary moral support. Any artificially created hindrances on the path of a new project must be considered a social evil, eliminated firmly and condemned publicly.

In the course of their daily guidance of science the party organizations must resolve not only political, ideological, organizational-practical and production-economic problems but strictly social problems as well, directly related to one or another research topic, plan and so on. It is quite difficult to find one's way in this complex live interaction where various influences are sometimes almost invisible while the consequences of events are not always predictable (the more so since purely human conflicts are added to everything else). Therefore, empirical experience alone is no longer sufficient in party work. A proper educational standard, a basic professional skill and high cultural development are required and necessary.

Generally speaking, the level of party cadres in Soviet science today is such as to enable them to consider with adequate competence, both by themselves and with the help of consultants, complex scientific and technical problems, after which, showing their initiative and taking creatively into consideration all aspects of spiritual production, pass authoritative judgments. This broadens the opportunities for party intervention in scientific relations, particularly where the ethical aspect is essential in a conflicting intertwining of interests.

In September 1968 the Committee on Inventions and Discoveries of the USSR Council of Ministers accepted the registration, under No 62, of a discovery made by Prof M. I. Volskiy. According to the regulation, one year later he should have been issued a diploma. This, however, did not happen. To this day a false attitude shown toward the scientist by a number of specialists prevails. The press carried views expressed by some of them. Some of the materials contained insulting objections such as "one more sensation," "the cost of amateurism," "pseudoscientist" and others (one article, although written on another occasion, read: "Professor, look at the alphabet!").

Strange documents which reveal the unconscientiousness of the opponents are the publications in IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR (Biological Series, No 4, 1972, pp 617-647), which prove the unreliability of the data submitted as a result of experimental examinations of the conclusions reached by M. I. Volskiy, and the subjective nature of the criticism. The answer to M. I. Volskiy contains gross errors, distortions and scientifically unsubstantiated view of the reviewer.

Almost 15 years have passed since by decision of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education a special scientific research laboratory on the absorption of nitrogen from the atmosphere by living organisms was set up at the Gor'kiy State University imeni N. I. Lobachevskiy. Within that time its collective,

headed by M. I. and Ye. M. Volskiy, has conducted interesting experiments the scientific value and comprehensive significance of which were convincing. Meanwhile, there is no official acknowledgement of the discovery. How is this to be interpreted?...

Let us particularly emphasize, however, that in this case the Gor'kovskaya Oblast party committee provided great moral and practical support to these works. It was precisely thanks to its daily attention to theoretical, personnel and material-technical problems facing the laboratory and the comprehensive assistance it received in surmounting the aggressive opposition of contentious specialists, that results were obtained which strengthened Soviet priority in this new and important scientific direction. In particular, they led the Soviet specialists to the creation of an atmosphere similar to that on earth in the cockpits of spaceships. The further development of such research opens substantially new horizons in biology, medicine and agriculture.

Here is another example. The support given by the Kemerovskaya Oblast party committee to the heliometeorological studies by A. V. D'yakov, an astronomer and a synoptician from the Temirtau settlement (Gornaya Shoriya), helped not only to create the necessary conditions for the work of this innovator but to surmount the conservative views of the personnel of the hydrometeorological service who criticized in the press the fact that the factor of solar activity was taken into consideration in forecasting meteorological phenomena. Everyone remembers the stormy discussion which developed on this matter at the beginning of the 1970s. This was followed by the first all-union conference on "Solar-Atmospheric Ties in the Theory of Climate and Weather Forecasting." The papers which were presented not only confirmed the great importance of this problem but the fact that true science does not recognize any "capital" or "suburb," and that the official "importance" of some opponents has little meaning in the face of truth supported by practical experience.

The Soviet people are awaiting ever more profound and daring studies, new discoveries, inventions, ideas, methods and active scientific contributions to the acceleration of scientific and technical and social progress, the thoughtful analysis of arising problems and responsible recommendations on the best means to resolve them.

Against this background occasional attempts to present as science any superficial playing at science, idle talk on farfetched totally useless topics, and drawing the attention to pseudoproblems, while truly vital problems await their solution, represents real irresponsibility. That is precisely the way we should assess the discussion which was started several years ago in a literary journal on the topic of "should we...publish...articles in which problems are obviously hypothetically formulated?" Mention was also made of a previous publication entitled "Three 'Prophets'," which was totally unrelated to science but which presented in a false light our great poets and the question was asked of the extent to which it was suitable to publish this article in the section dealing with "Hypotheses and Discussions."

The answers which were published contained thoughtful views on the right to life of a certain "familiar study of literature": "nonprofessional research should be given access to these pages.... It freshens and enlivens thinking;" "brilliant irony;" "the mystification of a talented literary worker...is preferable to pseudoscience;" "a hypothesis irritates and this alone makes it valuable;" "a double hypothetical

lining which protects them (i.e., the author's ideas--L. G.) from the judgment of "strict science;" such an article "should sting the specialists. However, even the stinging effect is valuable..." and so on.

In this connection, K. V. Pigarev, the famous Soviet literary expert and the great-grandson of F. I. Tyutchev wrote: "I can understand an obvious lie. I do not understand what an 'unquestionable' hypothesis is.... The article ("Three 'Prophets'" --L. G.) triggers...profound indignation both because of its essence and its form... The "findings" of the author offered no grounds for discussion, for there are no "findings." His "hypotheses" do not deserve to be taken seriously.... Ignorance of familiar fact is striking.... His tactlessness...is boundless.... The entire style of this article is repulsive with its unceremonious looseness and open narcissism."

Bearing in mind the respect with which the words of scientists are treated in our country, we must draw attention to the increased responsibility of the scientists for their public statements and their publications. Naturally, no one is ensured against errors in the discussion of entirely new problems, for example, for scientific discussions must be open, judgements must be frank and their only objective must be the reaching of objective truth. However, it is entirely inadmissible when works which contain gross errors or false information are published and republished because of the high scientific prestige of the author. Such was the case, for example, with the notorious textbook "Higher Mathematics for Beginners," on the subject of whose sixth edition the scientific council of the Mathematics Institute imeni V. A. Steklov of the USSR Academy of Sciences held a special discussion and noted in its resolution that "the book has been unprofessionally written, on an extremely low scientific and methodical level.... It cannot be efficiently used.... It cannot be used as a basis for any kind of revision which would make it suitable for use. The publication of this work was an extremely gross error."

The most important of the tasks set by the CPSU is to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of developed socialism. Let us note that one of its merits is the very essential moral potential embodied in the toiling masses as the subject of historical creativity, embodied in the new man. The preservation of this potential and its multiplication is the duty of every Soviet scientist.

Truth is born in the clash of opinions. This is inevitable. However, scientific struggle presumes a high level of morality and the common interest of the arguing parties in establishing the truth and accelerating the progress of knowledge and practical application. If a given principle is not to remain a beautiful phrase only it must be mandatorily supported by practical measures. One of them is the socially impartial supervision of the conditions under which creative activities are developed, the efficient atmosphere in scientific collectives and the ethics in relations among scientists. The party does not resolve their special arguments but its intervention in such arguments when the "rules of the game" are violated is necessary. Wherever the interests of the common project are given priority, where the norms of socialist relations are observed in science and where the party position is principle-minded the work is successful and the scientists gain pleasure from their work.

Let us note that the "inevitability" of the erection of a psychological barrier on the way to the acknowledgement of a discovery or invention, so frequently inflated

by the "students of science," is exaggerated. The close consideration of the various clashes and arguments in the history of science shows that most frequently it is less the psychological reaction than the imperfect moral awareness and the inadequate or improper ethical standards that played the decisive role. Conversely, true human ability can eliminate a rejection which may unwittingly appear in the mind and feelings of a scientist, remove the blinds from his eyes and neutralize his prejudice in the face of new facts.

Let us recall that at the beginning of the 1930s the outstanding radiophysicist M. V. Shuleykin (at that time USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and, subsequently, academician) showed a skeptical attitude toward an important technical innovation which was being demonstrated: a radar system invented by P. K. Oshchepkov. He even described it as "nonsense." However, satisfied with the strictness of the experiment and the accuracy of the conclusions, he publicly presented his apologies and from that moment on and for the rest of his life he comprehensively helped to develop a new direction. Many such examples are known. They are the moral guideline of the specialists.

In his quite interesting book "Vospominaniya i Mysli Istorika" [Recollections and Thoughts of an Historian] Academician N. M. Druzhinin, the outstanding Soviet scientist, writes that the creative work of scientists vitally demands that it be conducted jointly and that scientific differences never turn into personality conflicts: "Creative labor, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and a feeling of comradeship, is the best prerequisite for the success of the entire collective and of the individual scientist."

The most important objective of the CPSU's science policy is to raise the quality and effectiveness of research. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Improvement of the Certification of Scientific and Scientific-Pedagogical Cadres" was a major event. It contributed to improving the procedure for awarding scientific degrees and scientific titles and for raising the standards of creative developments and research. However, it would be unfair to say that this resolved all problems and that we have reached an ideal condition. Since the application of the new certification system the Higher Certification Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers has rejected thousands of dissertations. The rejected works were considered by expert councils and, as a rule, in the presence of the candidates. The main reasons were inadequate professional standards, descriptiveness, lack of innovation, necessary practical testing, and incomplete solution of problems. However, the candidates alone were not invariably to be blamed. There were cases of unsatisfactory advice to young specialists, lack of exigency on the part of the chair or the corresponding scientific subunit, or unjustified liberalism displayed by scientific councils.

Work on improving the system of certification of scientific cadres is continuing. Let us emphasize, however, that organizational changes by themselves do not resolve the entire problem. "Science," "progress," and "cadre certification system" are not abstract concepts. Specific living people stand behind them. It would be proper, to paraphrase the inspired statement by K. Marx and F. Engels (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 2, p 102), to say that science as well "fights no battles" or "has no infinite wealth;" it is not "science" but precisely man who is the true subject of creative work, is the one who accomplishes everything and

fighters for everything. Science is not some kind of separate "subject" which uses man as a means for achieving "its own" objectives. Like all history it is "nothing but the activities of man in pursuit of his objectives." Its functioning and development is subordinated not only to general sociohistorical laws but to its own specific and objectively necessary stable relations and ties. The logic of its progress develops not by itself or with the help of faceless and passive "factors," but by creatively thinking and purposefully acting people. All of them have different, clearly defined and sometimes unique individual features and characteristics, likes and dislikes, qualities and shortcomings, interests, attractions, passions, views on life and so on. In the course of his actions every one of them shows his nature, his social quality. The moral practice, moral awareness and totality of spiritual values which guide him in his daily life are embodied in this quality. In the final account, it is this quality which determines the level of the real virtues of even the best possible organizational system.

The main qualities of the experts, for example, must be exceptional conscientiousness, imbued with sincerity and frankness. A moral environment which would not allow manifestations of subjectivism must prevail in scientific councils.

Those in charge of approving a defended dissertation have sufficient opportunities for delaying and ensnaring the project in red tape. Obviously, it is not sufficient to rely here on moral responsibility exclusively. We must improve the system of assessment norms and criteria in various activities as well as the mechanism of public control over the process of decision-making in terms of the certification of higher scientific cadres.

It is worse if an author-innovator encounters the opposition of an old developed school whose views conflict with his conclusions. Thus, to this day a discussion is underway on the conclusion of the origin of petroleum, and woe to anyone who, in defending his works, faces the united "wall" of the supporters of the opposite concept. Should some departmentalist or even personal interests become involved, the struggle for the acceptance of something new may become dramatic.

In speaking of ethics in science, we must emphasize that under socialism anything which hinders the fullest possible determination of a scientific potential and the utilization of its achievements immorally conflicts with the nature of the society itself and should be publicly condemned. Science does not tolerate a prejudiced attitude on the part of some workers toward others, whimsical moods or vagaries which hinder fruitful creativity. External objectives and intentions which cause disturbances and distortions within it or violations of professional ethics hinder the national cause.

Conversely, a major factor for success not only in science but in all other areas of the economy and culture may be found in upgrading the moral responsibility for the enhancement of professional relations, the creation of a favorable moral climate in scientific collectives, in ensuring high returns from their work, accelerating the recognition and utilization of their positive results and strengthening relations with national economic practice. In this connection it would be difficult to overestimate the role of the party organizations of scientific establishments and of scientists-party members. The programmatic documents of the communist party and the Soviet Union mobilize them to develop even more adamantly in the moral

consciousness of the technical and scientific intelligentsia firm communist convictions, intolerance of bourgeois ideology, an active life stance and the aspiration to follow more daringly the virgin paths of scientific research, daring and accomplishments for the good of the homeland.

The economic, legal and political regulators of the socialist society are the more effective the more active the "internal" regulators of man become. A conscientious attitude toward one's duty, unity of word and action, reciprocal harmony between highly scientific principles and the norms of daily behavior are moral qualities particularly valued by our people. At the same time, "the higher our society rises in its development," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "the more intolerable become still encountered deviations from socialist morality norms."

Moral is that which contributes to the further strengthening of developed socialism and the building of communism. Anything which hinders them is immoral.

The conditions under which our national economy is developing today adamantly demand the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that the party is encouraging the further enhancement of the role and responsibility of Soviet science, improvements in the organization of the entire system of scientific research and making this system considerably more flexible and adaptable, intolerant of sterile laboratories and institutes. "The country extremely needs the efforts of "big science," together with the development of theoretical problems, to be focused more on the solution of key national economic problems and on discoveries which can make truly revolutionary changes in production," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress. These words are a concise expression of the social assignment to science. It is the moral duty of the scientists to contribute through all of their creative and civic activities to making science the "constant 'disturber of tranquillity,' pointing out the sectors which are stagnating or lagging, and areas where the contemporary level of knowledge makes it possible to move ahead faster and more successfully" (L. I. Brezhnev).

The constructive forces of developed socialism are tremendous. Ever broader possibilities open to the Soviet scientists and the conditions for their all-round development and manifestation of their creative capabilities become ever more favorable. As the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" indicates, in the new five-year plan the development of science and technology must be subordinated to an even greater extent to resolving the problem of the advancement of Soviet society, the accelerated conversion of the economy to intensive development and to upgrading public production effectiveness. It is a matter of honor for the scientific workers to organize and improve the strategy of their research, to focus their forces and means on key directions of knowledge and practice, to achieve new successes and to be intolerant of anything which prevents this. The moral climate in their midst must be entirely consistent with the high role of the scientist in the building of communism.

5003

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OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by Prof V. Medvedev, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress is the most important political event of the beginning of the 1980s. The comprehensive and profound analysis it provided of the results of the development of the country and the international situation, the assessments and conclusions on most topical problems of our time and the substantiation of the tasks of the party in the forthcoming five-year period and in the penultimate decade of our century, contained in the CC CPSU accountability report presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the other materials of the congress represent an outstanding contribution to Marxism-Leninism and to the theory and practice of the building of communism.

Unity of theory and practice is one of the cornerstone principles governing the activities of the revolutionary party of the working class. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the party can perform the role of the leading detachment of the working class only when it is armed with a progressive, i.e., a scientific theory. Without revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary movement, he emphasized. Scientific theory defines the laws of social development. It illuminates prospects and the means for progress. It thus expresses the basic interests of the progressive social forces, of the working class above all, which coincide with the line followed in the objective development of mankind. "The theoretical stipulations of the communists," K. Marx and F. Engels wrote, "are not based in the least on ideas or principles either fabricated or discovered by one or another renovator of the world. They are only the overall manifestation of the actual relations of the class struggle under way and the expression of an historical movement taking place in front of our own eyes" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 438).

The founders of Marxism-Leninism never considered theory merely a means for the study of the objective world. They always linked its cognitive function with its revolutionary-transforming role. "The purpose of our theoretical views," Lenin wrote, "is to guide us in our revolutionary activity. The best area for checking our theoretical views is the battlefield of activity. The true test for the communist is his understanding of (how), where and when to turn his Marxism into action" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII " [Leninist Collection XXXVII], p 249).

As the summarized reflection of social practice, in the course of its revolutionary-transforming function, theory goes back to practice and is comprehensively tested by it. It is here that we find the tremendous role which the party's policy plays as the binding link between theory and practice. It is precisely in politics, providing that it reflects vital social requirements and trends of historical development, that theory finds its practical application and assumes the shape of tasks and stipulations addressed to the masses and aimed at the solution of vitally important problems. Naturally, politics must thoroughly take into consideration the characteristics of the specific period, the level of consciousness of the masses and other specific historical conditions and factors. This precisely is the meaning of the familiar formula that the politics of the party is Marxism-Leninism in action.

Theory can play the part of the scientific foundation of party policy and of an instrument for the knowledge and revolutionary reorganization of the world only by always being in step with life, steadily enriching and renovating itself in accordance with changing circumstances. The dialectics of the relationship between theory and practice is such that a frozen, an ossified theory is no longer the accurate reflection of the laws and trends governing the development of reality. It could disorient the practical actions of people and give them a direction inconsistent with real needs, thus becoming an obstacle to social progress instead of its compass and active lever. This view was formulated and most strongly emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress. "The Marxist-Leninist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "cannot fulfill its role unless it pays proper attention to the interpretation of everything that takes place, sums up new phenomena in reality and promotes the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. We have always considered this an exceptionally important problem and in the period under review paid great attention to its solution."

V. I. Lenin and the party boldly undertook the revision of obsolete theoretical stipulations if they conflicted with changed historical conditions and with the requirements of revolutionary practice. Loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to its steady creative development is the strength of the CPSU and the source of the unfading novelty of communist ideology.

What is the criterion for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and for the level of the necessary and possible renovation of one or another of its conclusions? This is a question of tremendous methodological and ideological-political significance. Essentially it is a question of demarcation lines between scientific revolutionary theory and revisionism, on the one hand, and dogmatism, on the other. Under the pretext of loyalty to the doctrine dogmatism actually excludes the possibility of its development, thus alienating from life and dooming the revolutionary movement to sectarian isolation and separation from the masses; in politics it leads it to adventurism. Conversely, under the pretext of taking the demands of reality into consideration yet, actually, under the pressure of circumstances and bourgeois ideology, revisionism proclaims possible any changes, including major methodological conclusions which have been scientifically proven and confirmed through practical experience. It thus eliminates the line dividing bourgeois from proletarian ideology and leads the revolutionary movements to conciliation with the bourgeoisie, rejection of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and a reconciliation with it.

To repeat, in the final account social and historical practice is the criterion of the accuracy of theory. Twenty years ago Mao Zedong and his stooges claimed the role of being the only true followers of Marxism-Leninism and its sole interpreters. They raised a variety of severe charges against the CPSU from the positions of "sinicized" Marxism, which was a mixture of dogmatically interpreted Marxist concepts, taken out of historical context, with a petit bourgeois-chauvinistic great power ideology: abandonment of Marxism, "revisionism" and even "social imperialism," "restoration" of capitalist relations and so on. During that period, however, creatively applying the Leninist doctrine, the Soviet Union confidently advanced and is still advancing along the Leninist way, in the course of which it has achieved historical successes in the strengthening and improvement of socialism and the consolidation of its positions in the international arena. Under the influence of Maoist dogmas, however, China experienced the most severe trials of the "great leap" and the "cultural revolution," whose anti-Marxist and antihumane nature today's Chinese leadership has been forced to acknowledge despite itself.

Furthermore, how many different kinds of advice we received from the camp of the supporters of so-called "nondogmatic models of socialism," such as "integral democracy," "liberalization," the development of uncontrolled marketplace relations and so on. How often predictions of our failures were made if we ignored such advice. What happened? "Most of these people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at the closing of the 26th CPSU Congress, "have long been forgotten. Meanwhile socialism lives; it is developing. It is progressing steadfastly. We not only believe but firmly know that our supreme objective will be attained as well and that a communist society will be built!"

The results of social development are the best indicator of whether or not specific historical characteristics are properly taken into consideration in the various countries in the course of their transition to socialism. No one should impose on anyone else fixed standards and systems which ignore the specific conditions of a given country. This is the unquestionable truth. However, when under the pretext of taking national characteristics into consideration attempts are being made to revise views on basic processes which are the very essence of the transition from capitalism to socialism, such as the leading role of the working class and its party, the replacement of capitalist with socialist ownership, and so on, the question essentially shifts to another level: will there or will there not be socialism?

We must always recall that the cost of the substantiation (or nonsubstantiation) of theoretical and, therefore, of political conclusions and stipulations is quite high. They could accelerate social development but could also hold it back seriously. The Marxists-Leninists the world over have the duty and the right actively to look for accurate theoretical solutions and adamantly struggle for their acceptance in the course of unprejudiced comradely discussions. The experience of parties and countries which are in the vanguard of social progress and the close study of developing phenomena and trends provide the necessary data for such a search. The steadfast observance of the methodological principles developed within Marxism-Leninism helps us to reach a determine such political conclusions and stipulations. Unquestionably, however, the main condition for an objective study of reality is loyalty to the interests of the working class and the most progressive force of contemporary society and to the interests of socialism and communism.

In its assessment of the results of the party's theoretical activities, the 26th CPSU Congress singled out in particular the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism.

Indeed, such problems have been the focal point of our entire theoretical and ideological-political work in recent years. As we know, the conclusion that a developed socialist society had been built in the USSR was formulated for the first time by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech "Fifty Years of Great Socialist Victories," and was subsequently codified at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. The elaboration of the concept of developed socialism was given a particular impetus in connection with the preparations for and the discussions and adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the speeches and reports by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, on constitutional problems and in his well-known article "An Historical Milestone on the Road to Communism."

The materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee's accountability report above all, became a new outstanding contribution to the elaboration of this concept. Various aspects of developed socialism have been analyzed in scientific studies made in recent years as well.

The theory of developed socialism entirely reflects the spirit and the letter of Marxist-Leninism theory. At the same time it enriches, in particular the theory of socioeconomic systems and their phases and development stages. It is based on Lenin's direct statements on this matter and represents the further theoretical interpretation of the process of the creation of a new society, the fullest possible summation of historical experience and the expression of the contemporary stage of our progress toward communism. In the same way that developed socialism is the highest achievement of mankind's social progress today the concept of developed socialism is the outstanding achievement of Marxist-Leninist theory.

"On the basis of this concept," the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress states, "the party refined and concretized the ways and time periods for the implementation of our programmatic objectives. It defined our strategy and tactics for a long historical period."

Lenin himself emphasized the importance of "strictly distinguishing among stages of different nature, and soberly studying the conditions in which they occur..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 9, p 131). This is a mandatory prerequisite for formulation of an active and realistic policy which would allow neither any anticipation or the formulation of unsubstantiated and unrealistic assignments nor any lagging behind the requirements of rapidly developing reality. It was in connection with the processes related to completing the reorganization of socialist social relations in the USSR on a new, collectivistic basis and the laying of the foundations of socialism in other countries that precisely such a situation developed in entering the new stage of social development, the scientific interpretation of which assumed primary theoretical and practical significance.

A lively discussion of the problems of the breakdown of the communist socioeconomic system into periods, of the level reached and the prospects for the further development of socialism was initiated. It did not fail to take its toll. For a while, simplistic and unrealistic concepts concerning the scale and time needed for the

solution of the problems of the building of communism gained a certain popularity. They were manifested in the formulation of insufficiently-weighted problems of economic and social development in terms of time and means for their solution, the underestimating of the complexity of a number of problems, attempts at premature abandonment of the use of one or another transitional economic method and the erroneous extensive use of strictly communist concepts and categories. Similar moods and concepts occurred in a number of countries to one or another extent. Conversely, concepts of socialism as an autonomous production method or even a separate socio-economic system appeared as a reaction to such a formulation of the problem of transition to communism, which had no grounds in reality. Therefore, the problems of the growth of socialism into communism were thus either actually deleted from the agenda or postponed for the indefinite future. However, neither of these viewpoints was consistent with the quality characteristics of the existing stage of social development and with the nature of the conversion of socialism into communism.

The concept of developed socialism clearly determines the historical place of the contemporary stage of our progress. It gives clarity to the problem of the breakdown into periods of the establishment of a communist society and of the transition from its first to its superior stage. Developed socialism, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is a necessary, legitimate and historically lengthy period in the establishment of a communist system." What follows from this formulation is that, on the one hand, socialism is not a hasty, a short period but a relatively lengthy stage in the development of the new society, with its own quantitative and qualitative specifics. On the other hand, it is a society within which problems of the building of communism are directly resolved, the material and technical foundations for communism are created, and communist social relations and communist individuals are shaped, i.e., a society which is growing into a communist one.

The concept of developed socialism must become the linchpin in the formulation of the new draft of the party's program. This task was set by the 26th congress. The current program, which was adopted 20 years ago, reflects as a whole accurately the laws governing global social developments and the objectives and basic tasks of the struggle waged by the party and the Soviet people for communism. However, a great deal has changed during that time. When the program was drafted some features of mature socialism were merely becoming visible. This applies to the single national economic complex, the turn to intensive economic management methods, the rapprochement between the forms of socialist ownership, the growing social homogeneity of society and so on.

Already then the search for theoretical summations yielded certain results consisting of conclusions regarding the full and final victory of socialism, the growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into the state of the whole people and some others. However, they neither obtained nor could obtain at that time a summarized theoretical expression represented by the concept of the developed socialist society.

The new edition of the CPSU program will proceed from the Leninist stipulation that "the program merely stipulates the basic principles," and the inappropriateness and impossibility of including specifics in the program (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 24, p 141). The program is the concentrated expression of the party's theoretical

views on basic problems of contemporary social development and earmarks the most important long-term objectives.

Naturally, the new edition of the CPSU program will also reflect the profound changes which have taken place throughout the world over the past 20 years. This includes the rapprochement among the fraternal socialist countries, the development of economic integration, the elimination of the imperialist colonial system, the grown political role of dozens of young countries in the world arena, many of which have set as their goal a development in a socialist direction, the characteristics of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism, the sharp increase in the role of the military-industrial complex, the multinational corporations and the experience acquired in the struggle for peace and detente, which enriches both the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence.

"In the period of developed socialism," the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress states, "the reorganization of all social relations on the basis of collective principles inherent in the new system is completed." This basic stipulation, which repeats definitions already expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and which thus emphasizes their significance, includes the idea of the integrity of developed socialism as a social system. It is based on Marx' familiar statement that the development of a system "in the direction of integrity means precisely that it must subordinate to itself all the elements within society or create from society the organs which it still needs. This way, in the course of its historical development, the system becomes integral" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part I, p 229). The integrity of developed socialism as a system is a manifestation of the high level of maturity reached by its various aspects--economics, social and political relations and spiritual culture--and their reciprocal consistency. Powerful and comprehensively developed production forces and mature socialist production relations offer broad scope for the implementation of the economic laws of socialism. In the social area the mature socialist society is characterized by a rapprochement among classes and social groups, fast progress on the way to social homogeneity, equalization of social disparities on the territorial level, and all-round development of and rapprochement among nations and nationalities. The progress achieved in the rapprochement between the working class and the peasantry in terms of production forces, nature of labor, degree of socialization of production, forms of distribution and level of income, education, culture and social activeness, enabled the 26th CPSU Congress to draw a conclusion of major theoretical and practical significance: the conclusion that "the establishment of a classless structure of society will take place in its main and essential features within the historical framework of mature socialism." This concept enriches and concretizes our views on one of the most important problems of scientific communism. In the spiritual-ideological area developed socialism presumes a high level of education of the working people and of science and culture, and the consolidation of communist ideology and morality in the minds of the majority of citizens.

The political system of developed socialism is represented by the sum total of state and public organizations which makes possible the effective administration of all aspects of social life and the maximum involvement of the working people in this process. The adoption of the new USSR Constitution in 1977 was an historical landmark in the development of our political system. It inaugurated essentially a new stage in the work of the soviets of people's deputies and in the improvement of

Soviet legislation and socialist democracy as a whole. "Interest in the common project and the development of production, a comparison of views and open and principled criticism and self-criticism as well as the enhanced sociopolitical activeness of every citizen are the essence of Soviet democracy, a working, an acting democracy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out.

In this area the trade unions, which encompass today virtually all working people in the USSR, play a great role. They are concerned with protecting the interests of the working people, participate in the solution of economic, social and cultural problems and do a great deal to enhance the socialist competition, inventions and rationalizations. However, as was pointed out at the congress, occasionally the trade unions still lack initiative in the exercise of their broad rights. "...The control by trade unions and labor collectives in resolving all problems of working and living conditions must be intensified further. Their participation must be expanded in production planning and management, selection and placement of cadres and effective utilization of enterprise and organization funds" (L. I. Brezhnev). The all-round development of creative initiative and activity of the masses and the expansion of their participation in management represent the basic direction in the improvement of socialist democracy.

Socialist democracy is expressed not only through the formula of "society for man" but of "man for society" as well. It includes unlimited opportunities for the social activity of the individual at work and in sociopolitical life and management. These aspects of socialist democracy are inseparably interrelated. Its development is a clear direction. It serves the cause of upgrading the role of the masses in the building of communism. It has nothing in common with the unleashing of elements or anarchic willfulness. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the stipulation of the 26th CPSU Congress on the further strengthening of the guiding role of the party organizations at all levels and of their increased influence on the process of sociopolitical development. The party is the leading and guiding force of socialist society. It is the nucleus of its political system and the state and social organizations.

The integrity of developed socialism and the high level of maturity of the various aspects of social life intensify their interaction. "Under mature socialist conditions," the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress states, "the interconnection between economic and sociopolitical and spiritual progress becomes ever closer." The basic problems of development of the economic system, the social class structure and national relations, the strengthening of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the molding of the new man, and the further development of the Soviet political system were considered at the congress on a closely coordinated basis.

Proceeding from the fact that it is precisely in the field of economics that the foundation is laid for the solution of social problems and for strengthening the defense capability of the country and of an active foreign policy, and that it is precisely here that the necessary prerequisites are created for a successful progress on the part of Soviet society toward communism, the congress paid prime attention to problems of economic policy and national economic management. In turn, social problems, problems of education and socialist democracy, were considered in accordance with the tremendous impact which their solution has on the development of socialist production.

A number of major economic problems of equally important social significance were raised at the congress. These included, for example, the problem of elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor. Millions of people are still engaged in such work. This holds back the enhancement of labor productivity and production effectiveness. It is an obstacle on the way to the conversion of labor into everyone's prime vital need.

Manual labor is extensively used in auxiliary production processes and loading and unloading operations. However, it is extensively used also in some new sectors which use the conveyor belt system, such as radioengineering, instrument manufacturing, electronics and microelectronics. A rather paradoxical situation has developed: sectors at the front end of scientific and technical progress are themselves absorbing a large quantity of unskilled labor. To a certain extent this situation reminds us of the initial stage of the industrial revolution when machines were being produced by artisans.

Conveyor belt labor is a topical problem from the social viewpoint as well. Its monotonous and simple nature makes it tiresome to the workers and unpromising in terms of their professional growth. That is why, in most cases, it is looked down upon. This is the reason for the high turnover among workers and manpower recruiting difficulties. In order to ease such difficulties methods are used such as switching operations so that the workers may master the entire production cycle, improvements in labor conditions, higher bonuses and so on. A radical solution can be achieved, however, only through comprehensive mechanization and automation of assembling operations and the extensive use of manipulators and industrial robots. The development of machine building for electronics and microelectronics is very promising. This radically changes the nature of production processes in such sectors. An entire range of economic, social and demographic problems is related to the regulating of living and working conditions on the territorial level. The solution of the problem of the faster development of the northern and eastern parts of the country is countered by some population migration trends. This makes housing and cultural construction in the eastern and northern parts of the country and improved procurements of consumer goods in these areas particularly topical. The program for the development of the Nonchernozem zone in the RSFSR has a profound sociopolitical meaning.

The systematic implementation of the economic law of distribution according to labor and the objective assessment of the individual labor contribution to public production are most important factors for the establishment of healthy sociopsychological relations among people, which would exclude both equalization and the possibility of leading a comfortable life by dishonest and negligent people or of the desire to obtain and even extract unearned income from socialist property.

The upbringing of the people and the shaping of their minds are closely related to the entire set of economic and sociopolitical processes. It is difficult to influence a person profoundly through purely propaganda means, not to mention admonitions. The party is always concerned with blending its policy with the activities of the masses and for theoretical training and party education to be related more closely to the solution of topical social and production problems which affect the people. In order to achieve this, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "We must achieve actual unity in the ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work of the party."

The interconnection between the upbringing of the members of the socialist society and the development of democracy, the involvement of the working people in management, is particularly important. This is the main factor in developing the feeling of owner of the production process and of the country, and of a conscientious and creative attitude toward labor, responsibility to society for the fulfillment of one's duty and self-discipline. This is also a mandatory prerequisite for the successful struggle against negative phenomena still encountered in our life, such as lack of discipline, slackness, drunkenness, greed, desire to become rich at the expense of society, bribery and bureaucracy.

The increased interaction among the various aspects of social life at the developed socialist stage makes the strictly scientific comprehensive approach to management particularly important. The need for taking more fully into consideration social factors and consequences of production development was repeated at the 26th party congress. The congress condemned as erroneous and harmful the position of managers who consider the problems related to the working and living conditions of the people as something secondary. It emphasized that "problems of economic management are not merely economic but also political and party as well."

The integrity of socialism as a system is a basic feature of the developed socialist society. However, we must clearly see that this integrity does not represent the entire system but merely its initial stage. The stable qualitative condition of the society at the mature socialist stage is combined with dynamic changes and the development of all sides and forms of social life in a communist direction. The strengthening and advancement of developed socialism also means progress toward a communist future. These are two sides, two aspects of the same process. In this case the general communist foundations of socialism play a determining role. This role will grow in the process of transition to communism. Also important under socialism, however, are relations inherent only in the first phase of communism (such as distribution according to labor) as well as commodity-monetary relations which developed long before socialism and capitalism, and which gained a new content in a socialist economy.

At the present stage both must be made better use of in the interest of the development of socialist production. However, their use in some areas is limited. For example, the satisfaction of a number of important spiritual and social needs (education, health care, housing) is virtually no longer related to distribution according to labor at the socialist stage of development. Manpower, the land and the distribution of productive capital and labor among sectors have been either entirely or mostly eliminated from the realm of commodity-monetary relations. Following the organization of production associations and the consolidation of production units the commodity-monetary relations find themselves restricted to another level of the economic organism.

It would be an oversimplification to raise to the level of laws governing developed socialism some, including quite important currently existing social phenomena such as, for example, the existence of two forms of socialist ownership and, respectively, of two classes. The conclusion drawn at the 26th CPSU Congress on the possibility of creating a classless social structure within the framework of developed socialism shows this quite clearly. A specific approach is required in terms of the stage aspects of social relations under the conditions of the growth of socialism into communism: the historical boundaries of their existence are determined by economic and

social expediency, i.e., by the extent to which they contribute to meeting the requirements of a socialist society and contribute to its progress.

The attitude toward private auxiliary farms could be accurately defined from such positions. At the present stage such farms are necessary and useful although, naturally, it would be wrong to idealize them. They will disappear in the course of time but not as a result of artificial restrictions but once their economic expediency has been exhausted. For the time being, the private auxiliary farm is necessary and the socialist society must support and use it.

The concept of developed socialism is an integral theoretical reflection of the current stage of development of our country. What is its transforming and mobilizing significance? On the one hand, it records our accomplishments, i.e., it represents the implemented, the materialized idea. On the other, it clarifies the means for the further progress toward communism. Once again this question is answered in the party documents and the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The fact that a developed socialist society has been created does not mean that the theory of developed socialism has become totally identified with the real condition of society in the entire variety and specific nature of its areas and facets. In determining the qualitative condition of the society we consider the main, the most essential characteristics of the basic areas of social life. They neither can nor should conceal unresolved problems or difficulties. Conversely, they must contribute to their exposure and solution. Such "residual" phenomena as the still high share of manual labor, the shortage of some consumer goods and housing, territorial disparities in living conditions, cases of wage equalization and of obtaining unearned income, speculations in commodities in short supply, philistinism and acquisitiveness, as mentioned in the congress, are in sharp conflict with the entire way of life of the developed socialist society. The surmounting of such shortcomings is one of the important tasks of the party's entire political and practical activities.

Under such circumstances, the concept of developed socialism assumes an important normative-moral function. The social assessment of one or another aspect of social life and the activities of collectives at different levels and of individuals can and must be structured in accordance with their consistency with the lofty criteria of developed socialism.

Furthermore, the country's entry into this stage means a considerable broadening of opportunities for bringing up the advantages of the socialist system. However, this cannot be accomplished automatically. It requires extensive, purposeful and conscientious work on the part of society and its ruling systems represented by the party and state, economic and public organizations. "The full utilization of the possibilities of developed socialism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "is, if you wish, the spirit of our days. It is this that determines the extent of the responsibility which history has assigned to us today."

Finally, we must also take into consideration that mature socialism is a live, a dynamically developing organism. Fixed formulas are inapplicable here. The purpose of the anticipating theoretical reflection of this process, expressed as a scientific prediction and as a forecast of quantitative and qualitative changes which will occur in various aspects of social life and in their interconnection, is the steady

enrichment of the concept of developed socialism. An example of this enrichment is found in the conclusion which was drawn several years ago on the single national economic complex of the USSR, a concept which was developed further at the 26th CPSU Congress, particularly in the stipulation on the forthcoming creation of a national economic structure which will "embody the integration of science with production and the unbreakable alliance between creative thinking and creative labor." Another example is the conclusion that a transition to a classless society is possible within the framework of developed socialism. Thanks to steady enrichment and development, based on the anticipatory theoretical reflection of the process of transition from socialism to communism, the concept of the developed socialist society will preserve and reproduce its mobilizing and transforming function.

5003

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LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE STRENGTHENING OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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[Article by V. Kudryavtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress earmarked the specific and scientifically substantiated prospects of our social development for the immediate and more distant future. The starting point of the party's social and economic policy "is found in the permanent programmatic requirement of doing everything for the sake of man and for the good of man" (L. I. Brezhnev). The implementation of this requirement presumes a decisive conversion to intensive factors of economic growth in all economic sectors and the implementation of measures for the enhancement of the people's well-being, for strengthening the socialist way of life and for the shaping of the new man.

The legal system of socialism is one of the instruments for the solution of the vast problems of the building of communism. It can be considered as the expression and codification of universally significant, permanent and mandatory rules of behavior and norms governing the activities of institutions and officials. The legal system is a part of the normative system of social management which, in addition to the law, includes the norms of morality, politics, aesthetics, the variety of customs and traditions and so on. Unlike other social norms and relations, the law is characterized not only by the generally mandatory, very precise and clearly defined norms and stipulations but, above all, by the fact that their implementation is guaranteed and protected by the state. The indivisible link between the law and the state is the cornerstone of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of the law as the expression of the will of the ruling class and, in the developed socialist society, of the whole people.

One of the distinguishing features of the law is its stability, related through the long-term effect of established behavioral norm, to ensuring standardization in the solution of similar problems and stability in social relations and ties. In exploiting socioeconomic systems this organic characteristic of any legal system turns the law into a sluggish, a conservative force which opposes even the slightest progressive change. According to the West German jurist W. Kaupen, "Whereas one of the reasons for disrespect for the law is its imperfection, one of the reasons for the crisis in justice is the fact that it is based on a law which, being formal, unclear and alienated from life, does not enjoy the necessary respect." Naturally, this conservatism is based not only on the professional characteristics of bourgeois jurisprudence but, above all, on its class function which is related to the defense of the old and obsolete social system.

The fact that this is precisely the case is confirmed by the dynamic nature of the legal systems of the socialist countries, where the very content of the law reflects progressive social trends. Socialist law is consistently developing along with the development of society, adopting and codifying in its norms and institutions the new economic, political and social phenomena and actively contributing to the implementation of the plans for the building of communism. This can be clearly seen in our country's life in the past 10 to 15 years. The updating of civil, labor and family legislation and the drafting of new major all-union laws on problems of health care, public education and environmental protection are merely part of the process of the improvement of the Soviet legal system which, after 1977, is based on the new USSR Constitution.

As our country entered the period of mature socialism the entire social production system became considerably more complex and broader. This demands an efficient legal regulation of production, distribution and trade and the strengthening of state discipline. On the political level, the improvement of socialist democracy under mature socialist conditions becomes equally impossible without the strict observance of law and order. Ideologically, the progressive development of legal relations is based on the further enhancement of the level of the citizens' consciousness and standards.

The development of the legal system follows several main directions. First, changes in legislative branches and individual norms, making them consistent with changes in the social relations system. New sectors such as economic and environmental protection legislation arose literally under our own eyes; legislative acts in the areas of scientific creativity, demography and urban construction developed into independent areas; outer space law turned from fiction to reality. The process of the differentiation among legal norms and of their integration, on the basis of different grounds, represents an essential reorganization not only of the legal material such as codes and individual laws, but changes and improvements in the activities of institutions which must apply such norms. It also requires changes in the methods of legal regulation of social relations.

The restructuring of the methods used by the legal system in influencing human behavior is the second direction taken in the improvement of Soviet law. Bourgeois jurisprudence, which is set against the people, has a limited selection of "traditional" means, the main among which is coercion, the exercise of force against the individual, the use of which is increasing. "The danger of the concentration of police power in America today has become greater than ever before," notes R. Clark who was attorney general in President Johnson's administration (R. Clark, "Prestupnost' v SShA" [Crime in the United States], Progress, Moscow, 1975, p 162).

Entirely different processes are taking place in the socialist society. The changes in the Soviet social structure led to a radical rapprochement among all classes and social groups. The state of the whole people and the law reflect the interests of the entire society and the will of workers, peasants, intellectuals and working people of all nations and nationalities in the country. While retaining in its arsenal measures for state coercion, Soviet law in the period of mature socialism is also using ever more extensively methods of persuasion and prevention of erroneous actions--prophylactic measures. Many recent legislative acts call for a variety of benefits, supplements and other types of incentives for conscientious work and for active production and social efforts. From an apparatus of coercion

the legal system is turning increasingly into an apparatus of organization, management and control, using on a differentiated basis the variety of means stipulated by the law.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the important role of incentives and bonuses and the need to combine various forms of worker incentives. "...We must remember," he said, "that another method of influence of a different kind is added to the production propaganda which we have firmly decided to carry out: bonuses in kind" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 150). The importance of incentives is based on the correlation between persuasion and coercion in the methods used by the state in the management of society, assigning a primary role to persuasion. The role of persuasion and encouragement grows with the development of socialist social relations and the rising cultural standards and consciousness of the people. It must be strengthened through legal means as well.

The third direction in the development of the Soviet legal system is related to the changed correlation between the laws, which are the supreme legal acts of the governmental system, and the other legal acts passed by administrative organs such as ministries and departments. The role of laws in the country's social life is rising. The Central Committee's accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress noted that "The activities of the higher power organs--the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the republics--have become noticeably energized. In combining legislation, management and control, the supreme soviets are actively guiding the work of the councils of ministers, ministries and departments. This contributes to the prompt identification and elimination of shortcomings and improves the overall tonality of governmental life."

The advantage of the all-union or republic law over the departmental act is that it has a "higher" juridical power and, consequently, is mandatory for all institutions, officials and citizens. The law is passed by the highest representative forum of the country or republic--the supreme soviet--and encompasses the experience and interests of all social strata. The strict observance of the laws ensures the standardization of state policy in various fields of life, guarantees the consistent exercise of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and contributes to the elimination of phenomena such as parochialism and departmentalism.

Changes in legislation areas, legal control methods and normative means for their expression may contribute to social development only if they are consistent in both form and content with the objective trends of this development. This can be clearly noted in the legal system of mature socialism. The main content of the changes occurring within it coincides with the development lines characteristic of our entire political system and are related to the further development of socialist democracy, such as the increasing participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs, improvements in the governmental apparatus, increased activeness of social organizations, intensified people's control, strengthened legal foundation of governmental and social life, greater publicity and constant consideration of public opinion (USSR Constitution, Article 9).

The new USSR Constitution summed up the legislative experience acquired throughout Soviet history and enriched it with a new content consistent with contemporary requirements. Like the other legislative acts, the USSR Fundamental Law was developed

on the basis of proper practical and theoretical foundations. State and public leaders, noted scientists, jurisprudence specialists and scientists in other fields of knowledge actively participated in the drafting of these acts. Their scientific recommendations were fully embodied in the laws which were passed.

After the adoption of the USSR Constitution a new powerful impetus was given to the advancement of Soviet legislation. The constitutions of all union and autonomous republics and a number of new union laws regulating the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Supreme Court, prosecutor's office, the bar and the USSR people's control organs were adopted on the basis of the constitutional provisions and their development in previous years. The Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics on Administrative Offenses and laws on the protection of clean air and the protection and utilization of the animal world were adopted in 1980; draft Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics was published. This entire legislative activity is aimed at improving the work of the state apparatus further, upgrading its effectiveness, strengthening socialist legality and protecting and guaranteeing the rights and interests of the citizens.

The 26th CPSU Congress earmarked ways for the subsequent development of the legal system and of Soviet juridical science and practice. "Work on the improvement of legislation will continue," L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress. "Here three directions assume priority: management of the national economy, exercise of the constitutional rights of citizens and of public organizations and completion of the publication of an all-union code of laws."

A characteristic feature of the development of legislation, after the adoption of the new constitution, was the fact that it was based on the plan for the organization of work on making USSR legislation consistent with the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in December 1977. The planning of lawmaking activities is an important feature of our governmental and legal system dating back to the Leninist stage of the creation and initial codification of Soviet legislation in the 1920s.

Since legislation is one of the effective instruments in the management of social processes, its creation and improvement must be closely coordinated with the plans for the country's economic and social development. This, precisely, is the purpose of the long-term plans for legislative work. Now, after the approval by the 26th CPSU Congress of the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," the need has risen for the formulation of a new plan for legislative work which would stipulate the passing of laws required for the effective implementation of the communist party's stipulations for the forthcoming years.

Let us illustrate this with several examples. The 26th CPSU Congress deemed it expedient that a new system of measures be implemented in the 11th Five-Year Plan and in subsequent years for improving the living conditions of mothers and the growing generation, for which purpose state aid to families with children and the newlywed will be increased. Starting with 1981 mothers will receive half-paid leave for the care of children under one and additional unpaid leave until the child becomes 18 months of age. These stipulations have been given a mandatory legal status with

the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Measures To Increase State Aid to Families with Children" and "On Measures for Further Improvements of the Population's Social Insurance." Let us consider the stipulation in the "Basic Directions" on the need to improve the organization and methods of procurement of agricultural commodities. Here again we must have legal documents which will stipulate the rights and obligations of the parties, levels of purchase prices, structure of the purchasing organs and so on.

The study of the need for legislative regulation of social relations in connection with the implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan leads to the conclusion that the implementation of these assignments will require the passing of other laws of all-union validity. Thus, the time has come to formulate laws on the foundations of governmental planning, the procedure for the utilization of fuel and energy resources, capital construction, protection of selection achievements in plant growing and animal husbandry, regulations on territorial-production complexes and so on. The bylaws of railroads and of internal waterway transportation must be updated; amendments must be made to the regulation on discoveries, inventions and rationalization suggestions and a new law must be drafted on the organization and support of scientific research. This extensive enumeration of legal acts required for the solution of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan could be described as a plan for its legislative support. Suggestions on this problem are being drafted by juridical scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Legislative improvements are a complex process which is impossible without extensive scientific research, some of it basic. K. Marx said that "...The law must be based on society. It must be the expression of its general interests and needs stemming from a specific material production method..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 6, p 259). The formulation and adoption of a new law requires sufficient grounds, for an unnecessarily adopted legal norm, not to speak of a law which conflicts with the requirements of social development, may cause nothing but harm.

The scientific substantiation of a new legal act presumes, first of all, the determination of the range of social relations which must be regulated by law; secondly, the definition of the objectives of the new (planned) law; and thirdly the determination of legal regulation methods through which this objective can be achieved. In each specific case the drafting of a new bill must be such as to resolve these three problems. However, juridical science has not as yet developed the common theoretical grounds adequately. In particular, the question of the overall boundaries of the legal regulation of social relations is insufficiently clear. Yet this problem is not only of scientific but of strictly practical importance. Any excessive growth of legal regulations leads to petty supervision and unnecessary amounts of "regulating" the activities of economic organizations or the behavior of officials and private citizens. Equally bad, however, are gaps in the legislation, which lead to confusion and the creation of loopholes.

The problem of the so-called local (local and departmental) lawmaking must be developed further as well. Whereas the passing of all-union and republic laws is organized on a firm scientific basis, planned and drafted by skilled specialists and usually submitted for extensive public discussion, the laws passed by local power and management organs, particularly the legal acts of ministries and departments, are not carefully drafted in the majority of cases. Occasionally we still find the

unjustified belief that the mere fact of issuing one or another law may resolve an economic or social problem. The result is that such laws are occasionally promulgated in excessively large numbers. Thus, over a 10-year period (1965-1974) the USSR Ministry of Agriculture promulgated more than 6,000 legal regulations, many of which have already either become obsolete or are conflicting with others. Yet, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, "The art of leadership does not consist of issuing an ever-increasing number of directival instructions for all occasions." An even larger number of legal acts may be found in the area of economic legislation, the need for the improvement of which has been repeatedly pointed out in party decisions.

The 26th CPSU Congress called for a profound study of public opinion. This is an important source of information extensively used in Soviet legislative practice. We know that more than four-fifths of the country's adult population participated in the discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution in 1977. In 1980 more than 16,000 remarks were received following the discussion of the draft Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics. However, the draft rulings of local power and management organs are submitted quite rarely to the population for discussion. Matters are even worse in the case of departmental legal acts. Yet it is precisely such local legal acts that sometimes affect most of all the population, as they pertain to the property, labor and daily interests of the citizens. In our view, the situation must be changed radically. We must ensure the extensive participation of the population in the drafting and discussion of acts by the local power organs and of departmental decisions which directly affect the working and living conditions of the Soviet people (transportation, health care, public education, consumer services and communal economy).

One of the main problems of basic scientific significance is to define the prospects for the further development of the entire socialist legal superstructure. Naturally, in itself this is not a new problem. Soviet jurists--both scientists and practical workers--have been steadily working on improving the legislation and the practice of its application, upgrading the effectiveness of the work of legal institutions and developing the legal awareness of the population. Under contemporary conditions, however, this is a long-term comprehensive and many-sided problem.

Its solution presumes preliminary work on a number of complex problems such as determining the range of social relations which will need legal regulation between 1990 and 2000; forecasting changes in their forms and methods; defining specific problems requiring a legal solution and elaborating measures for providing it; defining the line between the area of the law and that of moral, social and technical norms. We can easily see that this broad range of new scientific problems is such that its study requires the closest possible cooperation among jurists, philosophers, sociologists, economists, psychologists and specialists in many other fields. In noting the importance of the improvement of legislation, in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev also emphasized that "Comrades, we have many good laws. Now it is a question mainly of their precise and strict implementation." The implementation of legal stipulations by the state and its organs is as important as the promulgation of laws. The process of our social development and strengthening demands further improvement in this work.

In the socialist society the activities of state organs, social organizations and officials, related to the application of legal norms, is aimed at ensuring the

fullest and most effective implementation of the party's and government's policy expressed in the legal documents. Lawmaking cannot be an uncontrolled process. In its full dimension it represents a complex process which consists of the following basic entities: informing citizens and officials in state institutions and public organizations of the content of the new legal act (law, ukase, decree and so on); the decisions which the latter make on the basis of this fact; the implementation of the decisions made; and verification of their execution. To improve the legal system presumes to optimize the process in each of its entities, to improve the interconnection among the individual entities and to eliminate hindrances which obstruct the effective application of the law.

Such hindrances do exist. The comparison between the level at which the laws are applied and the strict requirements codified in the new USSR constitution and the legislation based on it would make it clear that in practice the implementation of the laws falls somewhat short. In many cases improper decisions are made in violation of existing legislation. Legal stipulations are not always observed in the work of some executive committees, ministries, departments or juridical organs. The level of state and labor discipline remains low.

We know that the one-sided development of any system, of its individual elements even when so, poorly contributes to the enhancement of its overall effectiveness. This theoretical stipulation is applicable in this case. In order to strengthen the legal system we must not only improve the legislation but the application of the law as well which, in this case, is the weaker link in the legal system. "Any law is valid only when obeyed, when it is obeyed by everyone and everywhere" (L. I. Brezhnev). The promulgation of laws which are not fully implemented weakens the overall effect of the legal system and lowers its authority.

One of the main shortcomings in the exercise of the current legislation is the imperfect way of informing private citizens and officials of the content of the laws. Scientific studies have indicated that a considerable percentage of the population (as many as 20 percent) acquires its ideas on this matter not from official sources but from conversations with acquaintances and family members, as well as from popular articles which do not always present the essence of legal stipulations accurately. Meanwhile, however, there is a great desire to gain legal knowledge. Asked whether they would like to know more about our laws, about 80 percent of the surveyed associates at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law answered positively.

We believe that the better information of the population regarding newly-passed legal acts must be ensured, on the union, republic, local and departmental levels. Meanwhile, far from all such legal acts, directly affecting the citizens, are publicized properly. How could one hope for a strict observance of an unknown law?

The purpose for the drafting of the legal code of the USSR and, subsequently, the legal codes of union republics, is to enable our private citizens and officials to become more familiar with legal stipulations and to raise the level of their awareness and knowledge of the law. However, legal codes are permanent and durable documents. More operative information is needed alongside them. The question of the expediency of the publication of a weekly legal newspaper for the population, which would contain all the newly-passed legal acts, explain legal norms and provide

legal advice and consultations has been raised in our publications. This suggestion should be considered.

Proper information regarding the law and high level legal awareness strengthen legality and state and labor discipline in the country. This is an urgent demand of the present. Waste and absenteeism at work, violation of plan assignments, production of substandard goods, careless attitudes toward the work or the making of improper administrative decisions substantially harm the national economy and hinder the solution of problems related to the building of communism. As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress every manager and rank-and-file worker must feel high responsibility for his assignments. "It is a responsibility for making full use of the tremendous potential created by the Soviet people," L. I. Brezhnev said.

What are the ways and means for upgrading discipline and responsibility? What should the contribution of juridical science and practice be in this matter? Answers to such questions must be provided in scientific studies and applied practical works aimed at the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

State discipline means the strict observance of legal norms and specific organizational regulations; from the juridical viewpoint it could be considered as the observance of socialist law and order in the area of governmental administration and labor relations. A responsible attitude toward one's work presumes the conscious observance of all discipline requirements and an understanding of the need to maintain discipline in order to implement the set tasks. Discipline and responsibility are the most important elements in organization and management. They are also links within the system of social control, aimed at the development, support and protection of socialist social relations in economic, social, political and cultural life.

Making the specific worker personally responsible for his assignment is a mandatory prerequisite for state discipline. In turn, this presumes a number of requirements: first, a clear definition of the range of official duties of the worker (of the official), and his range of competence in the corresponding area of activity. Second, thorough familiarity with all legal materials pertaining to this area. Third, supporting his activities organizationally and materially-technically, i.e., creating all the necessary conditions for achieving the set objective. The just assessment of results and attention to the needs and interests of the worker are of major importance. "Everyone understands," L. I. Brezhnev noted at the congress, "that people work better and more willingly wherever they feel that constant concern is shown for improving their working and living conditions."

These are objective conditions. As to the subjective ones, upgrading responsibility for assignments presumes a growth of consciousness, development of the political and legal knowledge of officials and private citizens, and teaching a communist attitude toward labor.

The most important requirement facing the entire personnel of the Soviet governmental apparatus is the strict observance of socialist laws. At the 26th CPSU Congress this stipulation was directly addressed to economic managers and workers in the legal organs--justice, the courts, the prosecutor's office and the Soviet militia. "The professional knowledge of the personnel in such organs must be

combined with civic courage, incorruptibility and justice.... The Soviet people have the right to demand that the work of such officials be maximally effective...." (L. I. Brezhnev).

Studies of the reasons for which some state officials violate the stipulations of the law and state discipline reveal that, as a rule, they are related to the violation of the objective and subjective conditions we mentioned. Personnel of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law studied in several union republics and RSFSR oblasts the reasons for violations of legislative stipulations on environmental protection by many enterprises and associations of economic ministries. According to a survey by specialists-inspectors, the reason for which officials at such enterprises and departments violate the law is the insufficient knowledge of their obligations in the area of environmental protection or else, although familiar with them, failure to heed them properly. Violations of ecological discipline on the part of the latter category is based on a number of circumstances: something which we could describe as "ecological ignorance," unwillingness to increase the volume of daily work and confidence of impunity. In a number of cases the implementation of ecological requirements was hindered by economic and organizational circumstances, improper planning, lack of necessary resources, errors in the design of treatment systems and so on. Understandably, the elimination of such objective reasons is a necessary prerequisite for the implementation of the stipulations of the law.

The study of shortcomings and errors in the work of governmental employees and officials reveals that many such shortcomings could be prevented by improving the organization of the work, ensuring the efficient utilization of the working time and upgrading the material and moral interest in the work. Here is an example: a study of the reasons for legal violations on the part of people's judges showed that the number of such violations is directly related to the work load of the justices. In a group of judges trying 7 to 10 cases per month, there was an average of 1.04 repealed and 1.74 amended sentences per year; with a load of 20 or more cases the respective figures rose to 2.31 and 12.96. Poor organization of the work is one of the main reasons for many official and economic violations of the law.

Preventive work must be developed more energetically. Let us point out that no new legal or organizational regulations are necessary for the prevention of many violations. As far as violations of discipline at work are concerned, the power of the enterprise administration, the proper initiative of public organizations and the activity of the voluntary organs suffice. All that is required is for these authorities to make full use of their legal rights. At the same time, we must ensure in this area the implementation of the general prevention principles which have been quite clearly formulated in juridical science of late. They include, in particular, the following:

The development of a system for the identification and accountability of noncriminal delinquencies, including the status of and reasons for violations of state and labor discipline on the level of the enterprise (association) or within the sector (department);

Planning preventive work on the scale of the region, city or labor collective and including such measures in the social development plan. Good experience has been acquired in this respect in Leningrad and L'vovskaya Oblast;

Making use of the preventive measures of social, economic, organizational and educational nature, including dissemination and interpretation of legislative norms and principles of socialist morality (particularly in the case of young people);

Daily supervision of the implementation of preventive measures suggested to the administration of the enterprise (establishment) or public organization, or else formulated on the latter's initiative;

Study of the effectiveness of such measures. A control which the party organization of the enterprise (establishment) exercises over the work of the administration must be extended to this area of activity as well.

On the scientific level, research on prevention must be extended to labor, kolkhoz and civil law, and economic and environmental protection legislation, in addition to the area of criminology where such research has already been organized.

Properly organized social control in labor collectives makes it possible not only to expose the violators of state and labor discipline and prevent delinquencies but to single out those who are successfully fulfilling their obligations and deserve encouragement. The use of stimulating measures is one of the important instruments for improving discipline and organization.

Unfortunately, many legal and psychological aspects of rewards have still not been properly studied from the scientific viewpoint. For example, it is obvious that a legal incentive is a reward for a specific merit. This concept, however, has not been developed or given a specific legal and psychological meaning. Most generally speaking, we can only say that a merit is an action which goes over and above the call of duty and which expresses a responsible attitude toward said duty. It is obvious, therefore, that by the same token that a punishment must not be imposed for actions which were not the fault of the individual, no reward should be given to individuals who have no merit in the achievement of a useful result. A reward or a punishment without proper subjective elements can weaken rather than strengthen discipline. However, this approach is far from always adopted in the course of practical work.

In emphasizing the need for a decisive struggle against encroachments on socialist property and other crimes, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the accountability report that loopholes leading to such abnormal phenomena must be blocked "with all available organizational, financial and juridical means." Legal sociological studies indicate that the most effective means for maintaining law and order and discipline is creating an interest in the observance of corresponding norms. In terms of labor discipline this is achieved, above all, by developing an interest in meaningful and interesting work and providing adequate labor conditions. Bearing in mind the future drop in the growth of labor resources, the legal mechanisms for strengthening such interest in labor, preserving cadre stability and upgrading the feeling of responsibility for results require further study and improvements. As was pointed out at the 24th Moscow City Party Conference, the use of the brigade contracting method and of the cost-effectiveness system plays a very positive role in this respect. Workers V. D. Naumkin, V. S. Chicherov and A. M. Surovtsev and other delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress spoke on the role of the brigade in developing an attitude of intolerance toward violators of labor discipline. The

delegates pointed out also unresolved problems in the brigade form of labor organization, which included some legal aspects as well.

The further expansion of the rights of the labor collective in production management, as stipulated in Article 8 of the USSR Constitution, and which will be codified in the currently drafted legislative act on this problem, will be of major importance in upgrading responsibility and discipline.

The ultimate means for influencing a delinquent is his prosecution: the imposition of a disciplinary, administrative or material penalty or a criminal sentence. The latter is imposed when the crime has already been committed; because less severe measures proved to be impotent (or were not applied); and because the state does not have in its "legal arsenal" other, stricter measures. The use of governmental coercion is a forced measure, although useful and necessary in many cases.

The effectiveness of coercive measures applied against those who violate governmental and labor discipline has not been sufficiently studied as yet. However, the already available legal data prove that not increasing the strictness of the penalty but consistency and inevitability of punishment have the biggest preventive and educational impact. This is understandable, for upbringing based on fear, threats and so on represents the past of human society and the coarsest possible means for influencing people. This method has no future under socialism.

Naturally, this does not mean any lowering of the role of strict punishment when it is necessary and may prove to be an effective restraining and educational factor. It is also unquestionable, however, that punishment is not a panacea and cannot compensate for the lack of organizational, socioeconomic or cultural and educational measures which frequently are of decisive significance. Juridical responsibility itself cannot be reduced to punishment; it presumes choosing among a broad spectrum of various legal consequences which will affect the delinquent.

The effectiveness of the efforts to strengthen discipline and upgrade responsibility depends largely on the comprehensive use of a variety of measures and on the level of the overall standard of the legal system. In submitting recommendations for improving various aspects of governmental administration, the Soviet jurists--scientists and practical workers--must, in our view, considerably improve their own area of activity directly related to their field, the legal system, by including in their work not only legislation and the practice of its application but the organization and activities of all legal institutions. This will contribute to the implementation of our common task: the further strengthening and development of the socialist society.

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TOPICALITY OF LENIN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences R. Konyushaya]

[Text] V. I. Lenin's entire political life and creative activity proved that the struggle against revisionism and all types of opportunism was considered by the leader of the international proletariat and like-thinking people an exceptionally important sector in the grave class-ideological struggle which developed at the turn of the century for a revolutionary proletarian theory, for the strengthening of the proletarian party on the basis of this theory and, in the final account, for securing the cause of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

As a young man Lenin was a contemporary of the famous Herostratic statement by Eduard Bernstein, the German social democrat, who stated that the further development and advancement of Marxism must begin with its critique and who called for a revision of all basic concepts of the doctrine of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Bernstein himself undertook such a revision immediately after Engels' death, particularly of Engels' additions to the book by the then-famous socialist Heritier on the history of the 1848 revolution in France. In 1898 Bernstein sent a letter to the social democratic congress in Stuttgart in which he hypocritically claimed that he did not oppose Marxism in general but Marxism of the 1848 period. However, his "Prerequisites for Socialism and the Tasks of the Social Democrats," as well as other works, proved that it was a question of a radical revision of the philosophy, political economy and socialism of Marx and Engels. The revolutionary essence of Marxism was removed purely and simply.

The ideological-political line followed by Bernstein and his supporters gradually became the guiding line of the Second International. This became particularly clear at the outbreak of the 1914-1918 war, when the opportunistic nature of this leadership openly grew into social chauvinism and when the Second International collapsed shamefully. Together with other social democrats Bernstein voted in favor of military credits for a predatory war. He called for an "honest peace" and did everything possible to keep the proletariat away from the revolutionary struggle. He considered as his main enemies the German left, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In his fundamental work "Marxism and Revisionism," Lenin pointed out that the proletariat can achieve its great objective only by mandatorily waging a systematic

struggle against attempts to revise Marxism and against opportunism, in all its varieties, against revisionists and opportunists, who were actually carrying out the assignment of the bourgeoisie, since they promoted the bourgeois class interests within the labor movement.

The truly great struggle which Lenin and, before him, Marx and Engels waged against opportunism is not in the least a thing of the past, found in historical archives. The heirs and perpetuators of Bernstein's treacherous work are still operating within the labor movement, praising his name, promoting the ideas of this "systematizer" of revisionist doctrine.¹ The Bernsteinians of today continue to poison the minds of the working people in the capitalist countries with all kinds of illusions regarding the nature of the ruling exploiting system and their ways and means for the struggle for socialism. Are they not frightening the masses with the "horrors of proletarian dictatorship," speculating with the suffering and privations which the Russian working class and peasantry were forced to experience in the struggle for the preservation of their system and against the domestic and international counterrevolution? Does the opportunistic activity of Bernsteinians the world over not hinder the social liberation of the working people today? Suffice it to raise this question, to realize the political, the vitally important need for the study and understanding of the struggle which Marx, Engels and Lenin waged against opportunism in the international labor movement, the struggle against opportunistic deviations, currents and factions both within their own countries and internationally, the struggle which was waged by the CPSU.

Throughout his revolutionary activities Lenin steadily exposed the unscientific and antirevolutionary nature of revisionism and its hostility to Marxism and to the interests of the proletariat.

The cynical aphorism ascribed to Bernstein that "the final objective is nothing with the movement is everything" expresses better than many lengthy mental speculations the very nature of revisionist policy. Lenin described it as follows: "Defining one's behavior from one occasion to another, adapting oneself to current events and to the variations of petty political developments, forgetting the basic interests of the proletariat and the essential features of the entire capitalist system and capitalist development, and sacrificing such basic interests for actual or presumed temporary advantages..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 17, p 24). Immediately following this assessment, which captured the very essence of the matter, Lenin cautioned that by its very nature such a policy may assume an infinite variety of shapes. Furthermore, the appearance of ever-new forms of revisionism and of revisionist policy will become a pattern, as it were. "...Any somewhat 'new' problem," Lenin wrote, "and any unexpected or unpredictable turn of events which would change the basic line of development even though very slightly and for a very short time, will inevitably create one or another variety of revisionism" (Ibid.).

What is the reason for the inevitable appearance of revisionism? Lenin asked. He began with the shortest possible answer: Its class roots in contemporary society. Lenin, like Marx and Engels, considered absolutely mandatory the paying of the closest possible attention to the social roots of differences in the labor movement, whenever such differences went beyond isolated errors and deviations, turning into a system of views and consequent policies conflicting with Marxism, and when this

system of views and policies acquires followers. The great teachers and leaders of the international proletariat considered knowledge of the social roots of opportunism a necessary component in the study of the class enemy and his maneuvers and sallies against proletarian theory and organization.

Lenin's theory of imperialism, which considers monopoly as the basic, the initial feature of imperialism, made it possible to prove that imperialism in particular increases and aggravates uneven capitalist development. "This leads to the appearance of supporters of the workers movement who accept only a few aspects of Marxism and individual features of the new philosophy or individual slogans and requirements, and who are unable to make a firm break with all the traditions of the bourgeois philosophy in general and bourgeois-democratic philosophy in particular" ("Poln. Sobr. s h.," Vol 20, p 65). Directly related to this process is a reason for differences in the labor movement, frequently noted and studied by Lenin, which is the acceptance of new "recruits." This is "inevitably accompanied by theoretical and tactical vacillations" (Ibid.). "It is perfectly natural that the petit bourgeois outlook penetrates again and again the ranks of the broad workers parties," he wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 25).

The general historical and social-class conditions which create deviation from the scientific revolutionary theory of the working class, studied by Lenin, provide a key to understanding the thesis he formulated: "Revisionism is an international phenomenon" (Ibid., p 24). In considering the conflicting currents within the workers parties of many countries, Lenin said that their attitude (the attitude of the currents) toward each other "is everywhere and essentially the same, regardless of the tremendous variety of national conditions and historical features" (Ibid.). This applies to the attitude of the revolutionaries and the opportunists. Since revisionism has become an international phenomenon, the struggle against it must be necessarily taken up by each revolutionary proletarian party which stands firmly on Marxist positions.

Let us remember that the situation which developed toward the end of the 19th century among the leadership of the Second International was such that the leadership did not call for a struggle against a clear danger. It was quite unwillingly under the pressure of left-wing forces that Karl Kautsky opposed Bernstein. "Anti-Bernstein," the work he wrote, reflected as in a mirror the character of the leader of the Second International, who was conciliatory toward opportunism. In his answer to the direct statements that the idea of proletarian dictatorship, formulated and scientifically substantiated by Marx and Engels, had "outlived its usefulness," Kautsky objected that one should not tie one's hands by any specific solution and that "we can quite peacefully let the future resolve the problem of proletarian dictatorship." According to Lenin, this was "not a polemic against Bernstein but, essentially, a concession to Bernstein, a surrender of positions to opportunism, for the opportunists want nothing more than 'letting the future take care' of all basic problems related to the tasks of the proletarian revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 106).

The fast spreading of revisionism, like a malignant tumor, found ever new manifestations in the theoretical writings and political practices of the social democratic parties. The famous "rubber" resolution, passed at the Paris congress of the Second International in 1900, submitted by Kautsky, interpreted the seizure of

power by the proletariat actually only in terms of the gradual winning of seats in municipal organs and the parliament. Such was the line of the leadership of the Second International toward Bernsteinianism. It was only Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he created that gave a proper answer, as fitting for real Marxists, to such an open revisionist challenger.

In the course of this principled struggle, from its very appearance Bolshevism acted as an international force, as the organizer of the best, leading and most combat-capable representatives of the international proletariat. The reasons for this fact are found in a number of specific historical, economic, social, political and spiritual prerequisites which created the necessary and favorable conditions for the appearance of a consistently revolutionary and truly Marxist party in Russia. For it developed and grew in a country where the greatest power of the democratic revolution was ripening. A great deal had been written and said about it on the basis of the special study of its socioeconomic and political origins made by Marx and Engels who believed that this would be the "greatest of all social revolutions" and who, as Lenin said, deeply believed in its "powerful universal significance."

Russia's entry into the stage of imperialist development, the concentration within Russian reality of the basic contradictions of global imperialism and, by virtue of this, the increased potential and international significance of the Russian revolution contributed to the fact that the center of the global revolutionary movement shifted to Russia. The appearance of the Bolshevik party, the party of a new type, was the subjective factor which decisively supplemented and completed the existing social reality.

Let us recall Lenin's description, filled with such great zeal, of the way revolutionary Russia experienced Marxism. Yet anything that has been experienced turns into a firm foundation and the supporters of such a cause firmly hold onto this experience. Furthermore, revolutionary Russia, as Lenin emphasized, "was unmatched by any other country in the world in terms of the wealth of international relations and excellent knowledge of worldwide forms and theories of revolutionary movement" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 8). Their own political experience and the experience of the Western European working class and its organizations trained the bolsheviks-Leninists to reject falsified Marxism, a "Marxism" deprived of its living revolutionary soul and scientifically proved and historically developed essence. Lenin and the bolsheviks did not merely preserve Marx' and Engels' theoretical legacy. Under the new conditions and the new historical circumstances, this legacy was raised to a higher level. It was enriched with Lenin's thinking and the systematic revolutionary practice of the party he led, which led the proletariat, making it the most revolutionary force in the world.

Let us note the basic stages in Lenin's struggle for the purity, purposefulness and effectiveness of Marxism and against the distortions and debasement of it. It was a struggle waged by Lenin in the course of the further elaboration of revolutionary theory, the building and strengthening of the party and the party's solution of the basic problems of the liberation of the working people, the lessons of which, therefore, are of profound international significance.

Lenin began his struggle against revisionism in his speeches and literary works of the 1890s. He perspicaciously saw the connection between western revisionism and "legal Marxism" in Russia. Unlike Plekhanov, Lenin took his criticism of Struve and Bulgakov to the point of a break with the revisionists in philosophy. He also proved that "economism" was an attempt to extend to Russia the revisionist views of the Western European founders of the "critical direction in Marxism." The "Protest of the Russian Social Democrats" (written in 1899 in Siberia and soon afterward published abroad) was a rebuff not only of the Russian but of all other Bernsteinians. The ideologs of Russian economism (who subsequently "graced" the Cadet Party with their membership), such as Prokopovich and Kuskov, were zealous supporters of Bernstein and praised his writings. In their "credo" they called for substituting "democratic Marxism" for "the Marxism of intolerance, the Marxism of rejection, primitive Marxism"....

Lenin proved most convincingly that all general basic problems were as valid then as they had been when formulated by Marx and Engels. Following Marxism, Lenin wrote, "The proletariat must try to found autonomous workers parties, whose main objective must be the seizure of political power by the proletariat for the sake of the establishment of a socialist society." The Bernsteinians tried to "suppress the class nature of the struggle of the proletariat and to make this struggle impotent" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 172). They launched a general attempt "to narrow the theory of Marxism," and to "convert the revolutionary workers party into a reformist party," dooming it to engage not in preparing the masses for a revolution but, in Lenin's metaphorical expression, "in social mending" (Ibid., pp 170,172).

Lenin's work "What is To Be Done?" which has retained its priceless significance to the communist and workers parties, was directly aimed at international Bernsteinianism. It contains an expanded theoretical and political substantiation of the entire danger of revisionism and of its practices and of the need to wage an uncompromising struggle against them.

In all of his speeches on the formulation of a Marxist party program and on defending it against the revisionists (both Russian and Western European), Lenin comprehensively substantiated and clarified the need for and importance of including in it the main political idea of Marxism: the concept of the power of the working people, which must be established following the revolutionary overthrow of the political domination of the exploiters. This was based on the need for the preservation and the strengthening of the gains of the revolution and for achieving the final objectives of the liberation struggle waged by all oppressed and exploited people. The adoption of a program which contained an extremely clear expression of this thought at the Second Congress of the RSDWP was the greatest victory won by Lenin and revolutionary Marxism over opportunism and international Bernsteinianism.

At the onset of the first Russian revolution the Bolshevik party faced a new situation and new problems which arose on an almost daily basis. Everything had to be assessed properly; a proper position had to be assumed on every occasion; the ways and means of action had to be defined, together with the masses and while leading the masses. In addition to the already formulated scientific program of the bolsheviks, the definition of the basic tactical directions under the specific circumstances of the revolution under way was of tremendous importance. Lenin emphasized that this was absolutely necessary "for a party which wants to guide the proletariat

in the spirit of consistent Marxist principles, rather than merely follow the course of events" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 11, p 6).

Lenin, who had a most profound faith in the revolution and the revolutionary masses, studied with passionate interest the current history of the revolution, interpreted day by day in his articles the situation within the party and the country, studied the changing circumstances and shed the light of revolutionary Marxist theory on all the various and specific problems of the struggle. Let us name these problems as they appear in Lenin's works: "The Russian Revolution and the Tasks of the Proletariat," "The Proletariat and the Peasantry," "The Army and the Revolution," "Army and People," "Parties in Combat Actions," "Armed Uprising," "On a Provisional Revolutionary Government," "Attitude Toward National Social Democratic Parties," "The Trade Unions," "Attitude Toward the Bourgeois Parties," "Party Organization and Party Literature," "Socialism and Anarchism," "Socialism and Religion," and many others.

Lenin considered as a most vital matter for the party and for the success of the entire revolutionary cause the steady and tireless interpretation to all the members of the party organizations and, through them, the entire toiling mass, of the immediate and final tasks of the revolution and, consequently, the danger of opportunistic deviations from the truly revolutionary approach to their solution and the principles of revolutionary Marxist theory. Here are a few of the titles of Lenin's articles on this subject: "The Struggle for Power and the 'Struggle' for Tips," "On the Tactics of Opportunism," "The Political Crisis and the Failure of Opportunistic Tactics," "How Plekhanov and Company Defend Revisionism," and others.

Lenin headed the struggle of the party against the mensheviks, who were distorting the nature and the motive forces of the revolution and erecting a "wall of China" between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Lenin's work "Two Tactics of the Social Democrats in the Democratic Revolution," which provided a classical analysis of political behavior, at a most important and decisive period, of revolutionaries and opportunists, and a summation of the experience of the first people's revolution of the imperialist epoch, when the Marxist-Leninist idea of proletarian hegemony was implemented in practice for the first time, was a tremendous step forward in the development of Marxism. The entire course of this revolution, which immediately assumed an international nature, confirmed the accuracy of the Bolshevik strategy and tactics applied in it. They were inspired by the heroism of the Russian proletariat which ground into dust the "stepping pessimism" (Lenin's definition) of the mensheviks the world over concerning the role of the working class in the revolution. If there is a truly revolutionary party which knows where and how to lead the oppressed masses, Lenin always insisted, the proletariat will be suitable to it. "In the spring of 1905," he wrote, "our party represented an alliance of clandestine circles; in the autumn it became the party of millions of proletarians," a party which was truly able to lead the classes ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 145). The mass Bolshevik party acted as the real heir of Marx' and Engels' cause and theory, as the leading detachment of the international workers movement.

In the reactionary period which followed the revolutionary years, Menshevism developed into liquidationism, which represented the "destruction of the Marxist organization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 24, p 4), an organization which had been

created under incredibly difficult clandestine conditions, had become tempered in the struggle against autocracy and had experienced the trials of time and revolution, and had gained the trust of the proletarian masses.

Along with the struggle against liquidationism, as the main danger facing the workers movement at that stage, Lenin and the bolsheviks waged an irreconcilable struggle against Trotskyites and "leftist" opportunistic elements such as anarchists, boycottists, otzovists and ultimatists ("the heroes of the revolutionary 'squeal'"). All of them are in Lenin's words "inside out liquidationists," because of their "lack of political education and narrowness of outlook" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 144).

In the period dominated by reactionary rule, temporary ebb of the workers and peasant movements, decline in the spirit and confusion among the intelligentsia, "when depression seizes," Lenin noted, "quite frequently even decent people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 14, p 221), he showed greatest concern for protecting Marxist theory from all possible distortions. In his work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," Lenin philosophically summed up all the important and essential features which science had acquired after Engels. This represented the further development of dialectical and historical materialism. It was a development and a powerful defense of the theoretical foundations of Marxism. As it was at the time it was written, Lenin's philosophical work remains in the arsenal of the communist and workers parties in their struggle against bourgeois philosophy and contemporary revisionism.

In the course of their irreconcilable principled struggle against right-wing and left-wing opportunism, Lenin and the bolsheviks carried high the banner of scientific communism, the banner of proletarian party-mindedness. They proved this with particular clarity to the entire international workers movement, by decisively breaking with the opportunists on the eve of the forthcoming new great revolutionary events. "The social revolution of the proletariat cannot even be imagined," Lenin wrote, "without this struggle, without a clear principled line separating the socialist 'mountain' from the socialist 'Gironde' before the outbreak of this revolution...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 306).

Lenin powerfully opposed centrism in the international social democratic movement, which acted secretly, concealed behind Marxist phraseology. The centrists (Kautsky-anists), Lenin explained in his work "Imperialism and the Division of Socialism," are trying to reconcile the proletariat with the "bourgeois workers party," i.e., with naked opportunism, with the help of Marxist (verbal) references (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, pp 176-177).

The scientific analysis of the imperialist stage in the development of capitalism, found in Lenin's book "Imperialism as the Higher Stage of Capitalism," was of invaluable aid to the entire global proletariat and the entire socialist movement. This work of universal-historical significance was written from the positions of passionate party-mindedness. It sharply criticizes not only the apologetic political-economic theories of bourgeois authors but the opportunistic theories of Hilferding, Kautsky and other revisionists. In his scientific study Lenin proved that imperialism is not only the latest and higher stage of capitalism but its final phase as well, and that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

Lenin's conclusion inspired great energy in the fighters for the cause of this revolution. On the basis of his study of imperialism Lenin formulated a new theoretical stipulation, that of the possibility of a socialist victory "initially in a few countries or even in a single separate capitalist country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch., Vol 26, p 354), and of the impossibility of a simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries. Thus he gave the entire international proletariat the only accurate ideological and political guideline under the then-prevailing conditions.

Having exposed in the eyes of the international proletariat the complete political bankruptcy of the Second International, in which opportunism had won its monstrously disgusting victory over the labor movement, displaying exceptional consistency, purposefulness and energy, Lenin promoted the idea of proletarian internationalism and of the creation of a Third International, which would be truly Marxist, revolutionary and communist. The task of creating the Third International, which would be free from overt and covert Bernsteinians, and would struggle against overt and covert social chauvinists, was sent to the international proletariat in the November 1914 RSDWP Central Committee Manifesto. The appeal was followed by action: Lenin and the bolsheviks rallied around them the best revolutionary elements of the international workers movement. Such was the case at the first (Zimmerwald), 1915, and second (Quintal), 1916, international conferences of socialists-internationalists.

Lenin's major work "The State and Revolution," written on the eve of the October Revolution, which was a creative study of all basic problems, was also aimed at the exposure of the groundlessness of revisionism and of the danger it represented to the liberation struggle of the proletariat.

The events of 1917, which shook up the entire world, took place. The cause of Marx and Engels, the cause of Lenin and the bolsheviks, won. The Great October Socialist Revolution became the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the fiery revolutionaries, who watched day by day the socialist revolution in Russia with a feeling of tremendous spiritual uplift, rated exceptionally highly the strategy, tactics, policies and organization of bolshevism. In her unfinished work on the Russian revolution P. Luxemburg wrote that to any thoughtful observer the development of events in Russia "is a murderous argument against the doctrinaire theories shared by Kautsky and the party of 'government socialists,' according to which Russia, as an economically backward and primarily agrarian country, had allegedly not become sufficiently mature for a socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship" (see KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1979, p 67). Bringing down her just revolutionary anger on the opportunists who were endangering the revolution, Rosa Luxemburg stated: "The Russian revolution is the result of international development." "It is not Russia's immaturity but the immaturity of the German proletariat and its inability to carry out historical assignments that were proven in the course of the war, and the Russian revolution proves this most clearly. Such is the first task when we undertake a critical analysis of the Russian revolution" (Ibid., p 68).

In that critical period for the ruling classes of the time, the tragedy of the Western European proletariat was that the workers had no class battle headquarters. They had no systematically revolutionary party, a party which arises, develops and strengthens in the struggle against opportunism and under the banner of revolutionary theory. Proletarian uprisings were suppressed and hundreds of thousands of

revolutionary workers paid for this with their lives. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the great revolutionaries, perished. This blood is on the hands of the Bernsteinians who, as the proletarians said, took the role of "bloody dogs" of the reaction, the role of executioners of the best part of the working class, doing everything possible to help the bourgeoisie defeat the rebellious proletariat.

The attitude of international revisionism toward the struggle for a proletarian revolution was expressed in Kautsky's 1918 pamphlet "Proletarian Dictatorship," in which he described Marx' and Engels' theory of proletarian dictatorship as too "casual" words, "two small words" mentioned only once. Kautsky forcefully tried to prove the advantages of democracy in general compared with dictatorship in general, outside of the specific historical context of these concepts or of their links with the class struggle. "Nearly one-third of the pamphlet..." Lenin wrote, "consists of blatherings which please the bourgeoisie a great deal, for it is the equivalent of touching up bourgeois democracy and suppressing the question of the proletarian revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 241). In terms of the opportunistic distortion of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels, Kautsky, as Lenin said, "set a world record. The renegade Bernstein looks like a puppy compared to the renegade Kautsky" (Ibid., p 250).

Lenin's work "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," written on the eve of the first anniversary of the October Revolution, presenting with inordinate clarity and emphasis the very core of Marxism, was the answer to this falsifying work. Another answer was the adoption of Lenin's famous theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, adopted at the first congress of the Communist International. Another answer to international Bernsteinianism and Kautskyanism was the creation of communist parties wherever the proletariat lived, suffered and struggled. Yet another revolutionary answer was the upsurge of the antiimperialist movement in many colonies and of the national liberation struggle.

The most crushing blow at international opportunism and revisionism was dealt by the fact that, despite incredibly difficult "hellish" conditions, economic dislocation, hunger and epidemics, the proletarian revolution in Russia prevailed on one-sixth of the globe, proudly emerging as the winner from the struggle against the domestic and the entire united foreign counterrevolution which fought to the death.

Lenin's further development of Marxist theory under the Soviet system continued, as before, in the course of an irreconcilable ideological-political struggle against a variety of opportunistic factions. The essence of their distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory was reduced to mistrust in the ability of the working class in the Soviet Union to build a socialist society. Based on Marxist revolutionary theory, led by Lenin, the party firmly rebuffed the opportunists and steadfastly marched forth, strengthening its ranks and the socialist state of workers and peasants.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism, which began as a result of its victory and of the unparalleled revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, and the struggle waged by the international proletariat and by all oppressed against imperialism, inspired by the October Revolution, gave Lenin tremendous data for making another contribution to the treasury of Marxist theory. Lenin's brilliant work "The Infant Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism" may be considered the biggest pearl in this treasury.

In a concentrated fashion Lenin's work expresses the theory, strategy and tactics followed by the bolsheviks as a party of a new type, enriched at the beginning of the 20th century with the most valuable experience of three revolutions, whose power rocked the democratic masses of western and eastern countries. With his entire powerful mind and heart Lenin, the greatest of all revolutionaries, showed to the young fraternal parties how to find the proper way for the revolutionary struggle, and how to use the experience of revolutionary Russia and of the Soviet system gained after a long, complex and difficult yet victorious struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party, in accordance with their national characteristics.

The victories which are transforming the world, won by the working people headed by the working class under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and the groundlessness of the attempts on the part of the global imperialist bourgeoisie to destroy socialism militarily force it to wage its war on the ideological front, on an ever-broader scale and with ever-rising intensiveness. Side by side with bourgeois "Marxologists," "Sovietologists" and "Kremlinologists," who staff the numerous "centers" and institutes in the United States, the FRG and other western countries, the revisionists as well, operating within the labor movement, are mounting fierce attacks on Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Contemporary international revisionism, which defends the multiplicity of "models" of socialism as a theory, under the banner of "intellectual innovation," is in fact pursuing the old line of class-political support of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Through the entire variety of "theories" and "models," of its fabricated "socialism" ("democratic," "humane," "with a human face," and so on) it is trying to weaken the attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, to undermine in the eyes of the working people the prestige of communist and workers parties and to separate them from the masses by all possible means. The revisionists and opportunists, who are bemoaning the socialist way of life in all possible ways, are unable to conceal the unseemly picture of capitalism, with its economic crises, political cataclysms, class and national oppression, chronic and ever-growing unemployment and lack of confidence in the future, which tortures the working people.

The development of topical Marxist-Leninist problems and the closely related struggle against the theories and concepts of right and left revisionism are reflected in the documents of the international communist movement and the decisions of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Marxist-Leninist theory is enriched by the new conclusions and provisions they contain. The communists of all countries proceed from the fact that the interpretation of revolutionary experience and the further enrichment of the theory of scientific communism are their common concern. As Lenin emphasized, revolutionary theory grows "from the totality of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking throughout the world" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 11).

Some differences are bound to occur in the international workers movement by virtue of the objective reasons and the complexity of the tempestuously developing global revolutionary process. Frequently differences in views arise among communists of different countries. However, there is an old and tried practical way to surmount them: comradely discussions, business contacts, exchange of experience and strengthening of cooperation in the course of the joint struggle against the common enemy in the international arena. However, in the case of differences in principle, when revolutionaries are opposed by convinced reformists and opponents of real socialism,

there can be no more compromise today than in Lenin's time, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress.

The contemporary ideological adversaries of the communists are raising Bernsteinianism not because they lead such a good life. It has long been condemned by history. Historical truth is on the side of the great teachers of scientific communism and their loyal followers.

The basic laws of the revolution, discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, were confirmed by the course of history. Marxism-Leninism, as a truly scientific revolutionary theory, is credited with the victorious revolution of the Russian proletariat--the Great October Revolution--which laid the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, the building of a developed socialist society in Lenin's homeland, the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, the stormtroop of world imperialism, the greatest of victories in terms of significance and consequences, the appearance, growth and strengthening of the world socialist system, the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, the national liberation revolutions and the growing unity of the working people on earth in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

FOOTNOTE

1. In 1977 one H. Heimann, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, published in the FRG an anthology of revisionist articles by E. Bernstein with an apologetic preface by the publisher who tried to prove the exceptional "pertinence of Eduard Bernstein" (see "Eduard Bernstein. Texte Zum Revisionismus" [Eduard Bernstein. Writings on Revisionism]. Bonn-Bad-Godesberg, 1977). The following year, the same entrepreneur published in the "International Library" series, together with Th. Meyer, a 578-page volume entitled "Bernstein and Democratic Socialism," in which, along with other writings, we find materials on a "scientific congress" which dealt with "substantiating" the "historical success and topical significance" of Bernstein's works. "Bernstein's pertinence," it was claimed at the "congress," "is an unreserved orientation toward socialist reformist strategy and its consequences." It was also stated that "the social democrats in the FRG and the other Western European countries have no alternative other than this strategy" (H. Heimann, Th. Meyer. "Bernstein und der Demokratische Socialismus" [Bernstein and Democratic Socialism]. Berlin-Bonn, 1978, p 123).

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ON THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 90-101

[Text] The Communist Party of China turns sixty this July. It has traveled a long and hard road, and its record is one of notable achievements and serious failures.

To review some of the basic trends in the Communist Party of China, bring out the causes behind its successes and setbacks, and show the lessons to be learned from its evolution is an urgent and important task facing the entire international communist movement.

I

The Communist Party of China was born at the time of the sweeping rise of the national liberation and working class movements in Eastern countries under the direct impact of the Great October Revolution. One of the party's founders, Li Dazhao, once said this about the significance the experience of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union had for China: "We must proudly hail the Russian Revolution as the light of a new world civilization. We must closely follow the tidings from the new Russia which is being built on the principles of freedom and humanism. Only then will we be keeping pace with world progress."

Right from the outset, the communist party put itself at the head of the struggle for China's national and social liberation. It proved capable of becoming a national force in the vanguard of the revolution because it was guided by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and expressed the aspirations and yearnings of the people.

Soviet Russia's appeal to the Chinese people to stand up united against imperialist oppression and develop a real friendly and equal relationship struck an answering chord. As the great revolutionary democrat Sun Yatsen pointed out, Moscow prompted the genuine Chinese patriots to "tend towards the revolutionary policy of alliance with the USSR and alliance with the communist party."

Lenin paid tremendous attention to working out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of colonial nations. His speech before the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 was one of abiding significance. Summing up the experience of the worldwide revolutionary movement, he drew the historic conclusion that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward

countries can convert to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism without having to go through the capitalist stage" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 246). At the same time Lenin pointed out that such a possibility could be translated into reality only in the context of a close alliance and mutual assistance between Eastern countries and Soviet Russia, for after the victory of the October Revolution relations between states were determined "by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia" (Ibid., p 242).

Addressing the Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, Lenin said: "In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world: relying on the general theory and the practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval vestiges rather than against capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 329).

Lenin and after his death the Comintern and the Bolshevik Party gave all-round support and assistance to the CPC. They helped it work out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle to meet the historical conditions of semi-colonial and semifeudal China. The Chinese communists themselves have on many occasions underscored the inestimable value of the recommendations and advice contained in the material produced by the Comintern and our party, notably in the pronouncements by Soviet leaders, including Stalin, about the Chinese revolution. Those documents, proceeding from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism, provided objective assessments of the character of the driving force and objectives of the Chinese revolution and of its specific features and fundamental targets at different stages, and, in particular, formulated the argument that what was going on in China was a struggle between an armed revolution and an armed counterrevolution, referred to the need to organize a Chinese Red Army and revolutionary bases in the countryside, and expressed the confidence that the people's democratic revolution would inevitably develop into a socialist revolution.

Lenin, the Comintern and the Soviet communists gave practical support to the CPC in building the party itself, framing the underlying principles of its ideology and organization and bringing it into contact with the working class and other revolutionary forces. Under Lenin's direct instructions, Soviet communists assisted the early Marxist study groups in Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou, and participated in organizing the first congress of the CPC. The meetings of Comintern officials with the first propagandist of Marxism in China, Li Dazhao, and other foremost representatives of the Chinese intellectuals played an important part in building the party. Consequently, the CPC was shaping up as a working class party. It was admitted to the Comintern in 1922.

The determined actions of the working people of town and country showed that the Chinese working class could become the vanguard of the revolution, and the peasantry--its reliable ally, with the CPC as their leader. Frightened by the mounting revolutionary movement, the right-wing sections of the national bourgeoisie, cooperating with reactionary forces under Chiang Kaishek, set about plotting a counterrevolutionary coup.

The Comintern and our party, which were watching closely the situation in China and maintaining close contact with CPC organizations in various regions, warned its leadership in good time about the looming danger. The present member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee Hu Qiaomu emphasized in his book "Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China," that if on the eve of the coup plotted by Chiang Kaishek, the CPC leadership had taken into account the advice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Comintern, "the enemy would by no means have been able to defeat the revolution with a single stroke." Following the counterrevolutionary coup in April 1927, the CPC fell victim to the cruellest ever reign of terror launched against hundreds of thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people, the cream of the Communist Party of China. The extermination of the core of the proletarian, Marxist elements of the party had the effect of strengthening the positions of the petit bourgeois and nationalist elements in the CPC, with Mao Zedong at their head. They set out to gain control of the Chinese Red Army and the communist party.

The counterrevolutionary coup in China and Chiang Kaishekites' white terror brought in their train an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign and armed provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border. Imperialism was prodding China's right-wing forces towards straining Soviet-Chinese relations still further. The Kuomintang chieftains, having trampled upon Sun Yatsen's behests, sought to curry favor with imperialists to win their support and assistance. Kuomintang men spuriously accused the Soviet Union of "red imperialism."

Those events entailed very grave consequences for the Chinese people because anti-communism inside the country and anti-Sovietism in the area of foreign policy brought about the drastic enfeeblement of the Chinese state and its international positions which the Japanese militarists lost no time in exploiting to launch their aggression against China. Only after the country found itself on the brink of national disaster did the Kuomintang rulers agree to improve Soviet-Chinese relations and subsequently accepted the appeal from the Communist Party of China to set up a common anti-Japan front in keeping with the Comintern's strategy. A worldwide movement for the "utmost support of the Chinese revolution" was launched on the initiative of the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The expansion of the Japanese aggression against China brought into focus the issue of national salvation, which caused the political forces inside the country to regroup. Georgi Dimitrov, who was one of the Comintern leaders at the time, emphasized that the task facing the Chinese communists was to "rally the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders." Wang Ming, the CPC representative in the Comintern, played an important part in elaborating strategic and tactical questions on the common anti-Japan front in China. Basing itself on the material supplied by the Comintern and on Wang Ming's reports, the Communist Party of China Central Committee worked out some specific proposals to be addressed to the Kuomintang, which fetched a widespread response from all Chinese patriots. The Kuomintang had to negotiate with the communist party.

There was fierce infighting in the Communist Party of China and its leadership during that period. The petit bourgeois and nationalist wing headed by Mao Zedong captured key positions in the leadership, violating the CPC Charter and relying on their followers in the army. Mao Zedong and his supporters, hard at work to implant a militarist scheme of things in the party, snubbed the Comintern's repeated

recommendations for putting party life on a sound footing and holding the next CPC congress (there were no congresses from 1928 to 1945).

From 1933 on the Maoists were striving to replace Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by homegrown petit bourgeois and nationalist concepts, choosing to deny the common Marxist international doctrine and dividing it instead into "general" and "particular" truths. Under the pretext of combining the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice, the Maoists began to implant nationalism and preach the "Sinicization" of Marxism. "Mao Zedong's ideas" were proclaimed to be "Chinese communism."

Taking advantage of the fact that in the early 1940s, the world communist movement and our party were busy, wholly and entirely, organizing resistance to Hitlerite Nazism and Japanese militarism, the petit bourgeois and nationalist forces in the Communist Party of China drastically stepped up their activities. They rejected the Comintern's call for coordinated action with the Soviet Union in opposing Japanese aggression in China. Moreover, the forces under CPC control wound up their combat operations against the Japanese invaders on Mao Zedong's initiative.

It was at about the same time that a campaign of physical and moral terror, misnamed "the movement for the rectification of style," was launched in 1941 against the Marxist and internationalist sections of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong and with the most active participation of Kang Sheng, who earned the shameful title of the "hangman of the party." Its object was to push the Communist Party of China off the ideological and political platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism onto the platform of "Mao Zedong's ideas" and nationalism.

The Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), closely following as they did the state of things in the CPC, had more than once advised the Chinese leadership to do everything possible to strengthen the party's unity. They pointed in that context to Kang Sheng's ominous role in the "movement for the rectification of style" and noted that all he was doing by claiming to purge the party from hostile elements was to sow the seeds of mutual suspicion, incurring the strong resentment of the CPC rank and file and helping the enemy in its effort to erode the party. However, Mao Zedong, far from heeding that advice, went on to make Kang Sheng his closest associate. Kang Sheng's role in eliminating fulltime party workers, in conducting subversive activities in the international communist movement and in provoking the deterioration and severance of relations between the CPC and the CPSU was extremely harmful in the subsequent period of CPC history as well. It is worthwhile recalling this fact of the history of the Communist Party of China and its leadership's attitude to the Comintern's advice at this juncture, above all, when the Chinese leaders are crediting themselves with having exposed Kang Sheng's crimes.

Mao Zedong's attention was called there and then to the politically erroneous course towards winding up the struggle against the Japanese invaders and abandoning the policy of a united national front as well as to the harm that was bound to be done by spreading nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiment among fulltime party workers. Mao and his followers totally ignored that advice of comrades, prompted though it was by concern for the unity of the Communist Party of China and for its correct political line.

The defeat of the Japanese aggressors in Manchuria by the Soviet Army in co-operation with the Armed Forces of the Mongolian People's Republic not only played a decisive part in ending the Second World War, but signified a fundamental turning point in the development of the Chinese revolution. The liberation of Manchuria by the Soviet Army insured the most important international conditions for the triumph of People's China in 1949 and for the transformation of the CPC into the ruling party. In liberated Manchuria, Chinese communists, led by such prominent CPC leaders as Gao Gang, created a dependable military-strategic bridgehead to operate as the center of the Chinese revolutionary movement. Relying on the military, political and economic strength of the Manchurian base and on assistance from the Soviet Union, the Chinese people, with the communist party in the lead, put up a hard fight against the Kuomintang.

In recent years Mao Zedong, his supporters, and later his heirs spread the lie that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Union as such "banned" the CPC from pressing for the victory of the Chinese revolution. The facts, however, disprove this spurious assertion. In 1946-1947 our party recommended to the CPC leadership to take advantage, first and foremost, of the favorable circumstances for a concentration of forces, and for the creation, through diplomatic and political struggles, of the necessary premises for the strategic, decisive military offensive to liberate the entire land. However, in those days Mao Zedong, underestimating the enemy forces, showed "revolutionary impatience." His ill-considered rash acts provided the Chiang Kaishekites with an excuse for starting the civil war. In 1947 the Kuomintang forces captured the town of Yanan, which had been until then the mainstay of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong, who had "itched to fight" shortly before that, was overtaken by a defeatist mood that made him doubt the dependability and strength of the Manchurian bridgehead. Even with the 1949 victory in the offing, he was still mistrusting the strength of the Chinese working class and that of the entire revolutionary people.

Early in 1949 our party brought a series of recommendations to the knowledge of the CPC leadership. These dealt with action to speed up the final victory over the antipopular Kuomintang regime, accelerate the liberation of China's major industrial and cultural centers, intensify the work of attracting the working class in the cities to the CPC and admitting large numbers of foremost representatives of the proletariat to the party, raising the role of the trade unions, democratic organizations, youth and women's federations, etc. The Soviet Union declared its solidarity with the struggle of the Chinese communists and stressed that the USSR was ready and willing to offer large-scale economic and military assistance to the Communist Party of China and to send Soviet specialists and advisers to China.

Contrary to the Maoist and imperialist falsifiers of the history of relations between the USSR and China, and to all their attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union the intention to "subjugate China," it was our country that took the initiative of establishing a genuinely equal and fraternal type of relationship with people's China. That was demonstrated, in particular, by the willingness expressed by the USSR even in those days to turn over the naval base of Port Arthur to the people's government of China and to withdraw the Soviet forces from it, without waiting for the peace treaty with Japan to be signed. But it was Mao Zedong who insisted on the Soviet forces being kept in Port Arthur. He declared that their presence would safeguard China from an attack by the United States and

the Kuomintang. It may be recalled that Port Arthur was turned over to China in 1955, on the Soviet Union's initiative, and that the Soviet forces were pulled out.

Relying on strong support from all progressive mankind and large-scale assistance from the USSR, the People's Liberation Army of China (PLA) launched a frontwide offensive in 1948-1949. Its fighting men, communists, first and foremost, displayed mass heroism and self-sacrifice. The action of the PLA, led by the CPC, was broadly supported by the working people of town and country. That was what assured it its final victory.

II

The proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, crowned the long-lasting struggle of the Chinese people. At every stage of the national democratic, antifeudal and anti-imperialist revolution, the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, received support and assistance from the Soviet Union, which was the first to announce its official recognition of the newborn state of the Chinese working people.

The signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in Moscow on 14 February 1950 was a major political act insuring the consolidation of China's international positions and safeguarding it from imperialist intervention. In 1979, the Beijing leadership, to please international imperialism and the Japanese revenge-seekers, declared that they did not intend to extend the treaty. They thus shouldered historical responsibility for terminating that treaty, which satisfied the basic interests of the Chinese people, the cause of socialism in that country and international security.

The constitution of the People's Republic of China, enacted in 1954, and the resolutions of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in September 1956, opened up a prospect for China to advance with confidence towards socialism in close, mutually advantageous and equal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China stressed the point that the party was guided by Marxism-Leninism in all of its activities. It reaffirmed the policy of progressively making socialist reforms in town and country and eliminating the plurality of economic structures in China. Taking into account the party's social composition and the fact that the absolute majority of its membership was made up of peasants and smallholders in town and country, with the working class accounting for less than 14 percent of the total, the congress put stress on the danger of petit bourgeois and nationalist elements gaining the upper hand in the party and on the need to fight most firmly against great-Han chauvinism and nationalism. The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China was a major victory for the genuinely socialist and Marxist-Leninist forces in the party.

However, the nationalist forces, led by Mao Zedong, having regrouped their ranks, launched an offensive against the resolutions of the Eighth CPC Congress. They put forward their own "general line" of carrying through a "Great Leap Forward" in the national economy and setting up "people's communes" in the countryside. That policy, disguised by pseudorevolutionary phrasemongering, had the effect of heavily damaging the incipient effort of building a socialist society in China and caused severe hardships for the Chinese working people--hunger, unemployment and anarchy.

The Mao Zedong-headed CPC leadership, ignoring the documents of the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of communist and workers parties, which had been signed by the Chinese leaders as well, started subversive activity within the international communist movement. They had their divisive tactics expounded in full in a document pompously called "Proposal for the General Line of the International Communist Movement." It should be noted that that was an unprecedented case of so arrogant an ambition by the leadership of one party to lay down a "general line" of its own for the entire movement to follow, and to impose it on all other parties.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties were persistently working for normalizing relations and restoring unity with the Communist Party of China. The Maoist leadership reacted to it by calling on the CPSU to abandon its own program and its foreign and domestic policies as formulated at the 20th and subsequent congresses. It declared on 7 January 1966: "In all the basic issues of our time, we hold diametrically opposite positions. Between ourselves and them (the CPSU--Ed.) there is something that disunites us, and there is nothing that unites us, there is something that sets us against one another and nothing that we could have in common."

The treacherous substance of the policies of Mao Zedong and his supporters was particularly apparent at the time of the wanton aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam. The CPSU and other fraternal parties more than once offered to Beijing to undertake joint action to assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the American invaders. What was the reaction of the Chinese leadership to that offer? In March 1965, the CPC leadership rejected the suggestion for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and other socialist countries to issue a joint statement exposing the violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements by the United States. Beijing flatly refused to cooperate with the Soviet Union in taking specific action to defend the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against piratic American air raids. The Chinese leadership also declined the proposal for summit meetings between representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR and the People's Republic of China to consider resistance to the American aggressors. The Maoists peremptorily declared: "Joint action by the CPC and the CPSU is impossible." At the same time Beijing informed Washington that it would not come out in defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unless the United States invaded China. This was nothing short of encouragement for American imperialism to expand its aggression against Vietnam and a demonstration of Beijing's readiness to fight with the United States to the last Vietnamese.

By their divisive activities, fierce struggle against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, resolute refusal to cooperate with them and normalize relations, Mao Zedong and his supporters ruptured ties with the international communist movement.

The anti-Leninist "general line" of Mao Zedong gave rise to a profound crisis in the party and the country. The further growth of this crisis could have become disastrous for Mao Zedong's nationalist group which, to fortify its stand, started an all-out campaign for doing away with genuine communists and supporters of socialism and friendship with the countries of the socialist comity. This campaign led to the notorious "cultural revolution" which turned the life of China's working people into a nightmare.

The CPSU saw through the genuine counterrevolutionary essence of the "cultural revolution" from its very beginning. In March 1967, in discussing the causes and essence of the "cultural revolution," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "It is absolutely clear now that these events which started under the banner of the 'cultural revolution' were generated by a profound crisis of the party and state leadership of Mao Zedong and his group. It is not accidental that their current political stances started after the bankruptcy of Mao Zedong's adventurous economic policy at home and after the failure of his sallies on the international arena where he presented claims to ideological and political hegemony in the world. The powers that be in Beijing did not draw a lesson from their setbacks. On the contrary, failures pushed them to new adventures at home and abroad."

During the "cultural revolution" the Maoists actually smashed the Communist Party of China and the organs of the people's democratic government, the trade unions and other public organizations, and the professional associations of intellectuals. In April 1969 the Ninth CPC Congress legalized, as a matter of fact, the establishment of the military-bureaucratic Maoist dictatorship in the People's Republic of China. Two congresses and two plenary meetings of the CPC Central Committee, which took place in 1973 and 1977, were in reality trials of new "gangs" as they qualified the Maoist leaders who were defeated in the struggle for power inside the Beijing ruling clique and who were made responsible for the political setbacks of Mao Zedong. Thus, the 10th CPC Congress in 1973 fully centered on exposing Lin Biao. The 11th CPC Congress in August 1977 boiled down to condemning the "gang of four" led by Jiang Qing, widow of Mao Zedong who died in September 1976. The CPC rules were revised again. The "ideas of Mao Zedong" and anti-Sovietism were endorsed as the guiding ideology of the party and the state.

III

What was the state of the CPC at its 60th anniversary? What was the situation in the party? According to official statistics, the CPC numbers 38 million members. It is not accidental that data on its social composition have not been available for a quarter of a century. Although the Chinese leadership calls the CPC the "vanguard of the working class," workers are the absolute minority of its members. The Chinese press paints a very discouraging picture of the current situation in the party. It is reported that "a considerable percentage of the party members have absolutely nothing in common with the notion 'communist'." It is indicated that "more than half the members of the party have no idea about the meaning of a communist party and communism." Nearly 20 million party members are former activists in the "cultural revolution," who, according to Deng Xiaoping, would like to start another campaign of this kind. RENMIN RIBAO admitted that "the party has lost much of its prestige among the masses."

From what one hears from Chinese leaders and reads in the Beijing press, which now and then give dramatic appraisals of the situation in the party and the country, one may get the impression that today's CPC leaders, while recognizing the ideological and political crisis in the party, are really looking for ways to overcome it. However, such an opinion would be perfunctory and, essentially, wrong. The matter is that, remaining on the general positions of Maoism, the Chinese leaders clutch firmly to the Maoist guidelines on specific questions relating to party construction and ideological and political work. The CPC leaders say that the ideas

of Mao Zedong are the "greatest asset he left us" and that they will continue to be "the guiding ideology of the party and the state" because, it is alleged, scrapping Maoism would "confuse the party and the people ideologically."

The growing crisis of Maoism, acute infighting in the ruling clique and disputes around the ideological and political legacy of Mao Zedong have led to a widespread "crisis of faith" and ideological mishmash in the country. This was used by the leadership's right-wing nationalist and pragmatist forces, led by Deng Xiaoping, which started another battle for power in the country. Under the pretext of "shifting the center of gravity of the activity of the party and the entire people to carrying out modernization in four fields" (industry, agriculture, the military field and science and technology), they took the course toward encouraging capitalist trends and small commodity production and opened China to foreign investors.

In the field of foreign policy, Mao Zedong's successors fully adopted his line toward forging an alliance with imperialism on the common platform of hostility to peace and detente and national liberation movements, and the struggle against the world socialist comity, against the Soviet Union in the first place. The report delivered in behalf of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress states that "the social and economic development of the PRC over the past 20 years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism and of domestic and foreign policy leads to."

At present changes are under way in China. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will use the Maoist legacy to its advantage and to what extent it will be able to overcome it. This is the crucial pivotal question and the character of the CPC's domestic and foreign policy and the future of the PRC depend on its solution. At present, however, facts show that modified Maoism with its "sinicized" Marxism, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism being its main components, remains the foundation of Beijing's policy.

A campaign for the restoration of Maoism is being stepped up in China now that the country is looking forward to the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Those who recently criticized Mao defend him today. The discussion on the role of his personality and ideas has actually been stopped. Films and plays exposing Mao are being removed from the screen and the stage. The "cultural revolution" is recognized ideologically correct. It is alleged that it was distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The propaganda of Maoist ideas as a sinicized "model" of socialism is being intensified.

Ignoring the instructive tragic lessons of the past, the CPC leadership says that only "the ideas of Mao can save the situation." The history of the CPC is falsified to ground this assertion. It is alleged that only Mao and his ideas always "showed us the correct way" and that without them the Chinese people "would have lost their way in darkness." Apparently Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders are not dismayed by revising their own recent pronouncements to the effect that Mao Zedong's erroneous line has caused untold suffering to the Chinese people and that because of the "cultural revolution," unleashed by Mao Zedong, the country has lost some 20 years in its development.

The Chinese press admits that having become convinced of the failure of "Mao Zedong's ideas," some party members demand that they be completely rejected. These people say, with every reason, that "the CPC is gravely ill" and that "it has become degenerate and should be reformed." They see the cause behind the current crisis in the country in the party having "left the Marxist-Leninist road." They see in Deng Xiaoping's line a "turn to the right" and "preparations for the restoration of capitalism," which is also correct. They say this despite the fact that Deng and his supporters, who try to put the party, the state apparatus and the army under their full control, declare that such views are "leftist" or "counterrevolutionary."

Admitting, at least partially, the mistakes Mao Zedong made in the closing period of his life, the CPC leadership is going out of its way to hush up the anti-Marxist, antisocialist, and antipopular character of Mao Zedong's ideological-political legacy as a whole. More than that, it is working to shift Mao Zedong's mistakes to the party in general.

IV

One of the main features of the development of the CPC and its history and political life is that since the mid-20s the party has witnessed an unceasing struggle between two trends, the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist, on the one hand, and the petit bourgeois and nationalist, on the other.

When the CPC leadership was adhering to Marxist-Leninist teachings, creatively applying them to the specific conditions of its country and taking into consideration the aggregate experience of the international communist movement, the revolutionary process and the very development of the party were proceeding on a healthy basis and were marked by major victories. Thanks to that the Chinese revolution was triumphantly completed in 1949 and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. The same can be said about the first post-1949 period which even the present Chinese leaders call the "most successful" one. When the CPC was firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism, leaning on the experience of real socialism and closely cooperating with socialist nations, China was successfully overcoming the influence of feudalism and imperialism, laying the foundations of the socialist system, industrializing, transforming the life of the multimillion-strong peasantry and overcoming centuries-old backwardness in culture, education, science and technology.

The CPC's experience confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion on the possibility of transition to tackling the tasks of socialist revolution, following the solution of the problems of a bourgeois-democratic national revolution in a country such as China. Contrary to the allegations of the Maoists and other nationalists and opportunists, Lenin by no means ignored the specific features of individual countries and the specificities of the revolutionary process in such countries. On the contrary, Lenin demanded such an "application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as to correctly modify these principles in certain particulars ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 77). Following K. Marx and F. Engels, Lenin firmly insisted on the internationalist character of the communist movement and the inadmissibility of replacing scientific socialism with opportunism under any pretext.

Due to China's economic backwardness and the underdevelopment of its industry, the Chinese working class was rather small numerically and the peasantry and other social strata constituted the bulk of the participants in the struggle. The striving of internal reaction, the ruling classes, feudal lords and the big bourgeoisie to firmly establish their domination with the backing of imperialism resulted in China's becoming a semicolony. That is why the national democratic aspect rather than the social one was in the forefront of the Chinese revolution. This circumstance for its part turned nationalism into a major component of the ideology of the masses which participated in the liberation movement. Only the proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party, only Marxism-Leninism could make the Chinese revolution, its strategy and program develop a constructively creative character. This is what did happen with the powerful support of the world's first socialist nation, the Soviet Union, and the solidarity of the international communist and the entire revolutionary movement. This factor played an exceptionally big role in the Chinese revolution. It made up for the comparative weakness of the Chinese working class, and as a result the Communist Party of China could fulfill the role of leader in the revolution and advance the task of socialist construction in the country.

Simultaneously, historical experience, above all the harsh lessons of the past two decades, show that as soon as the CPC weakened internationalist ties, petit bourgeois and nationalist forces gained the upper hand in it and distorted its aims, strategy and tactic.

These conclusions are of principled importance for the correct understanding of the CPC's history in general and its individual periods in particular, as well as the current situation in the party. It is indicative that after the seizure of the leadership in the CPC by the Maoists the party was unable to cope with one of the most important tasks--the education of the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the merger of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory with the activities of the masses, above all with those of the working class. Marxism-Leninism was replaced by the ideology of Maoism.

Maoism is the ideological product of the petit bourgeois pseudorevolutionary forces which had always been fellow travellers of the working class at the bourgeois democratic stage of the Chinese revolution and which did their utmost to gain strong positions in that revolution by advancing their own nationalist ideology and poisoning the working class and the communist party with that ideology. The tragedy of the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China is that these forces managed to impose Maoism on the party and the working class.

It so happened that the Chinese working class proved unable to live up to the historical task of the proletariat which Lenin defined as follows in his time: "The historical task of the proletariat is to assimilate, retrain, reeducate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petite bourgeoisie. But the proletariat must reeducate these newcomers and influence them rather than be influenced by them." Lenin also stressed that the proletariat must put up a strong resistance to the attempts of petit bourgeois ideologists to "foist their 'theories,' their world outlook, i.e., their short-sighted views, on the workers party..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, p 107).

Lessons from the history of the Communist Party of China show the ugly form in which petit bourgeois nationalist tendencies may be manifested if a resolute struggle is not waged for the purity of proletarian ideology. The tragedy which befell the lot of China and the CPC in the years of the notorious "cultural revolution" vividly shows where connivance at pseudorevolutionary-chauvinist sentiments leads. It is also worth noting that the grave consequences of a conciliatory attitude toward the petit bourgeois spirit and nationalism concern not China alone. Suffice it to recall Kampuchea under Pol Pot.

It goes without saying that the distortion of proletarian ideology, the onslaught of petit bourgeois and nationalistic forces and deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction in China were by no means fatally inevitable. The correctness of this conclusion is borne out by the experience of the first stage in the development of the People's Republic of China. At that time, the Chinese working class and its communist vanguard were capable of successfully resisting the pressure of primordial forces, heading nonproletarian sections of the population and leading them. All this, however, does not occur by itself but calls for the exact and a clear-cut nature of the party's policy and exceptionally painstaking and patient work in the field of the education of the masses.

It goes without saying that the building of a socialist society in the People's Republic of China is an extremely complicated and difficult task. Lenin's conclusion to the effect that a "backward country can easily begin because its adversary has become rotten, because its bourgeoisie is not organized, but for it to continue demands of that country a hundred thousand times more circumspection, caution and endurance," are all the more true with regard to China than even with respect to Russia ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 252).

The lessons of the Communist Party of China of the period when the Maoists seized leadership in it show that it failed to summon precisely that "circumspection, caution and endurance." Mao Zedong condemned as "erroneous" the above-mentioned conclusion of Lenin and described the poverty and low educational level of a considerable part of the Chinese working masses as a "great advantage" allegedly making it possible to make the revolution at an accelerated rate.

Despite numerous objective and subjective difficulties, China could successfully go ahead with the building of a new society. The generalization of the lessons of the CPC's development prompts a natural question: wherein lies the main reason why China disembarked from the road of scientific socialism and embarked on the road of confrontation with the world socialist comity and of teaming up with imperialism and reaction? The answer to this question should be sought above all in the subjective factor, i.e., the fact that opportunists of a hegemonistic and social-militarist hue seized leadership in the CPC.

The Soviet communists and their comrades-in-arms and allies in other countries as well as the progressive public at large continue to believe that in the Communist Party of China, which covered a harsh road and led the country to the victory of the revolution in exceptionally difficult conditions, there have always been healthy forces adhering to correct, Marxist-Leninist positions and coming out in favor of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations.

The historical doom of Maoism as ideology and policy and China's return to the track of truly socialist development will be determined by the following factors:

The numerical growth of the industrial working class in China, the enhancement of its consciousness and educational level and of its influence on the peasant masses and petty ownership urban elements, and the intensification of the activities of proletarian elements which remain in the Communist Party of China;

A change in the position and objective interests of the broad peasant masses because of the fact that the hegemonistic goals of Maoism and the barrack-coercive means of achieving them increasingly come into conflict with the requirements of the working people;

An active impact of the successes and example of the socialist comity and the world communist and workers movements on socioeconomic, political and ideological processes in present-day China;

The increased influence of the forces of socialism and peace on the entire international situation in the interests of detente, the buildup of mutual trust among countries and the prevention of a new worldwide military catastrophe.

So, there remains a real possibility for an alternative development of China. Only by following such a way of development can China put an end to its continued backwardness in the shortest possible time and build a prospering socialist society which would insure the peaceful work and well-being of the Chinese people.

In his report on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "The Chinese communists have what to defend and what to fight for. The general line of the Chinese communists is that of building socialism, the line charted by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1959. This is the line of planned balanced economic development and 'maximal satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements.' This is the line of 'developing a democratic life.' This, the congress' decisions stressed, is the line of 'eternal and unbreakable friendship with the great Soviet Union and all the people's democracies.'

"We believe that the present events in China are a historically transient stage of its development. We believe that despite all difficulties the cause of socialism will triumph in the People's Republic of China."

In the days when the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of China is being observed the Soviet people warmly honor the memory of thousands upon thousands of China's heroic sons and daughters and foreign fighter-internationalists who gave up their lives in the struggle for the liberation of China from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and reaction and for its bright socialist future. They also honor the memory of the courageous communists--Chinese patriots who fell victim of Maoist terror but to the end remained true to the great cause of communism, proletarian internationalism and Sino-Soviet friendship.

The Soviet people are convinced, stressed the 26th CPSU Congress, that a policy of peace would meet the genuine aspirations of the Chinese people. The restoration of good-neighborly relations between the USSR and China corresponds to the vital interests of the two nations and the interests of strengthening peace and socialism.

THE CARAVAN MOVES ON!

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 102-111

[Review by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Melikyan of the book "Ideyno-Politicheskiy Krakh Partii-Dashnaktsutyun" [The Ideological and Political Failure of the Dashnaktsutyun Party] by B. Ananikyan. Yerevan, 1979, 300 pp]

[Text] After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the economic and social policy of the Leninist party was formulated in such a way as to enable the former national outlying areas of Russia to rise as rapidly as possible to the level of development reached by the center of the country. This objective was reached within a very short period. Backward national outlying areas no longer exist in the Soviet Union. The fraternal friendship among all the peoples of our great multinational homeland is strengthening steadily. This is convincingly confirmed by the history of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Thanks to the selfless and comprehensive aid of the Russian and other fraternal peoples and the voluntary unification with them within the powerful USSR, as well as the wise CPSU leadership, Soviet Armenia was able not only to heal age-old bleeding wounds, surmount an incredible dislocation, hunger and disease and rebuild and develop its economy, but to ensure physical and spiritual rebirth of a people on the brink of total dispersion and extinction.

Vitally important and grave problems were resolved in the republic such as securing conditions for the peaceful and safe life of the people, for the first time in hundreds of years; an end to emigration; concentration of the majority of the nation on native soil; elimination of cultural backwardness in the toiling masses, which was a direct consequence of centuries of foreign oppression and class rightlessness; tempestuous development of culture and education in the native language; return to and concentration in the homeland of cultural values plundered by conquerors or taken abroad by expatriates, and so on.

All of this determined the exceptional role which Soviet Armenia plays today in the life of Armenians who, by virtue of tragic historical circumstances, were forced to leave their homeland and settle in more than 60 different countries. Let us recall that there are today six million Armenians, four million of which live in the Soviet Union. There are significant Armenian colonies in Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, the United States, Argentina, Canada, France, Bulgaria, Greece, Australia and other countries.

It would be no exaggeration to state that Armenian working people who live abroad are brimming with national pride in their reborn and flourishing homeland. The only exception is a handful of renegades who hate to see the successes which Soviet Armenia has achieved in all fields of life. These renegades did not leave their homeland under the pressure of foreign oppression, running for their lives, as did hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people, particularly after the terrible genocide committed by Turkish reaction since 1915; they were thrown out of Armenia by its people.

Who are they? They are pitiful remnants of the Dashnaktsutyun, the notorious Armenian bourgeois-nationalist party. Following its appearance in the Caucasus at the end of the 19th century, at the height of the national liberation struggle, the "Dashnaktsutyun Armenian Revolutionary Party" ("Dashnaktsutyun" means federation, association) initially set as its goal the liberation of Western Armenia which was ruled by the Turkey of the Sultans. The party also claimed the role of leading political organization among the Armenians. It did everything possible to separate the working people from the all-Russian and global revolutionary liberation struggle. It actively opposed the revolutionary social democratic movement. The Dashnaktsutyun played a strictly negative role among its compatriots and, after the victory of the Soviet system in Armenia, turned into an ordinary appendage to the anti-Soviet imperialist organizations and espionage organs.

The noted leaders of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the Caucasus S. G. Shaumyan, S. S. Spandaryan, A. F. Myasnikov (Myasnikyan) and others waged an irreconcilable struggle against this counterrevolutionary current. They proved the pharisaic nature of the ideas and the adventurism of the Dashnaktsutyun party; with the help of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the theoretical and sociopolitical concept of this group they exposed its bourgeois-nationalistic nature and narrow-class anti-national character of its actions.

The antinational line and ideology of the dashnaks were exposed not only by the progressive organizations but by former members of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, who had broken with it. They exposed many unseemly actions committed by the party and its leaders, the betrayal of national interests by them and cases of espionage and subversive activities in favor of the imperialist circles and to the detriment of their people and homeland (see in particular: Ye. Nadzharyan. "Dashnakskoye Rukovodstvo na Sluzhbe u Inostrantsev" [The Dashnak Leadership in the Service of Foreigners]. Aleppo, 1958 (in Armenian); Khosrov Tyutyundzhyan. "Bankrotstvo Byuro i Deystvitel'nyy Put' Partii Dashnaktsutyun" [The Bankruptcy of the Bureau and the Actual Way of the Dashnaktsutyun Party]. Beirut, 1959 (in Armenian)).

From the very first days of the Soviet system the Armenian communists intensified their scientific study of the activities of the Dashnaktsutyun Party. They subjected to crushing criticism the increasingly reactionary ideology of its leaders. They rebuffed the leaders' falsification of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine and Soviet reality, and exposed the dashnaks as the direct accomplices of imperialism.

Many new serious studies have been published in recent decades,¹ which knowledgeably exposed the true role of the Dashnaktsutyun Party.

The book "Ideyno-Politicheskiy Krakh Partii-Dashnaktsutyun" by B. G. Ananikyan came out in the Russian language in 1979. It sums up the studies conducted in the field

of Marxist-Leninist historiography and philosophy on this problem. The book is based on tremendous factual data. Its value lies in the fact that the theoretical stipulations, sociophilosophical views and tactics of the Dashnaktsutyun Party are studied by the author as closely interlinked. He convincingly proves that its political adventurism and the shameless way it falsified the ideas of its political opponents are no accidental phenomena or the result of the whims of some of its leaders but the inevitable consequence of the bourgeois-nationalistic nature of the party itself. "...One should not believe words," Lenin taught. "One must study... not only that which the parties say about themselves but what they do, the way they act in the solution of various political problems and their behavior in matters affecting the vital interests of various social classes such as landowners, capitalists, peasants, workers and so on" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 21, p 276).

Proceeding from the Leninist understanding of the class nature of political parties, the author has subjected to a thorough scientific study the activities of the Dashnaktsutyun Party at the various stages in the historical development of society and the sociopolitical struggle. "For nearly 90 years of existence," he writes, "this party revived the most reactionary theories which had been defeated and buried. It accepted many antiscientific theories and revisionism, while always remaining a fierce and frenzied enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Deprived of a scientific base, its shortsighted policy, which was built on a subjective-idealistic outlook, caused extremely great harm to the Armenian people" (p 4).

The leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun Party frequently resorted to pseudosocialist phraseology in an effort to create the appearance of participation in the struggle waged by the people for social liberation and in defense of its rights. However, this was merely a trap for winning the masses over, with a view to separating them from the general social struggle and directing their actions into the channel of a separate national movement in the interest of "their own" bourgeoisie. As S. G. Shaumyan, the outstanding Marxist and loyal fellow worker of Lenin pointed out, "the Caucasian Armenian bourgeoisie, naturally, considered the Dashnaktsutyun Party its own offspring, its ally, the best spokesman for and defender of its interests, for which reason it supported this party materially and morally with all its forces" ("Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works]. In two volumes. Vol 1, Moscow, 1978, p 214).

Let us note that the call of the Dashnaktsutyun Party leadership for the liberation of Western Armenia from Turkish yoke initially brought into its ranks members of the broad population strata such as peasants, artisans and some intellectuals who were trying to ease the fate of their compatriots and who were fully resolved to struggle for national and social liberation. Having believed the dashnak propaganda, these people turned into the blind tools of the party leaders and, on the latter's assignments, engaged in senseless and useless sacrifices.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Dashnaktsutyun Party abandoned completely the appearance of "revolutionism" and "socialism" and joined the struggle against the victorious Russian proletariat and the toiling Armenians, entering into a close alliance with the imperialists of the Entente and even the Turkish military. In 1918 as a result of exceptional circumstances it became the ruling party in a puppet "free" and "independent" Armenian republic and led with its policy the country and the people to the brink of extinction.

A popular uprising, which proclaimed a Soviet regime in many areas, broke out in Armenia in May 1920. This heroic action was fiercely suppressed by the dashnak leadership and its leaders were savagely murdered. However, these sacrifices were not lost. The sun of freedom rose over suffering Armenia in November 1920. The people overthrew the hated system and expelled from the country the bankrupt politicians. However, this did not stop their mean and egotistical antinational activity. The dashnaks did not accept the defeat. In February 1921 they organized a counterrevolutionary mutiny. Aware of the weakness of their positions, the rebels entered into an open conspiracy with the Turkish military in a bid for their support by conceding to them some Armenian territory. However, this antipeople's adventure as well failed.

Thrown out of Armenia once and for all, the dashnaks mounted a fierce struggle against socialism, the land of the soviets and Soviet Armenia. As one of their former leaders frankly acknowledged, in order to remain alive and justify its future existence, the only means left to the Dashnaktsutyun Party is the struggle against Bolshevism, the active and fierce struggle inside the country, a struggle using all available weapons and possible means, indiscriminately (Ov. Kadzhaznuni. "U A. R. Partii Dashnaktsutyun Net Bol'she Del" [Nothing Is Left for the Dashnaktsutyun Party in the Armenian Republic]. Tiflis, 1927, p 72 (in Armenian)).

While aware of the bankruptcy of his party, the former prime minister of "independent" Armenia could not foresee that once the remnants of the exploiting classes had been eliminated, the struggle within the country would have no longer any class grounds, that the overwhelming majority of Armenians abroad would not support the dashnaks and that even the Armenian petit bourgeois parties, the Ramkavar and Gchakis, would turn away from them.

Following their expulsion from Soviet Armenia, the remnants of the Dashnaktsutyun moved to other countries and tried to bring under their influence the biggest Armenian colonies in the United States, France, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. Its henchmen tried to expand their subversive activities in those countries by setting up their own sections and publications. The sheets they publish shamelessly falsify socialist reality and Marxist-Leninist ideology. They reprint any anti-Soviet material published in the bourgeois press and the slanderous fabrications of traitors to the homeland.

The Dashnaktsutyun Party has allied itself with the most sinister forces. Characteristically, many of its top leaders established direct relations with fascist Germany in World War II, hoping, with Hitlerite help, to return to the homeland and to restore the bourgeois order in it. After the defeat of the fascist hordes, the Dashnaktsutyun Party leaders went on to serve American imperialism.

Having begun with an appeal for the liberation of Western Armenia from foreign yoke, the Dashnaktsutyun ended with mounting a struggle against the already free homeland from the outside, together with foreign imperialists--with overt racists and oppressors of nations. This was a natural development which was based on the bourgeois-nationalistic nature of the party whose objectives have always been the separation of the Armenian proletariat from the proletariat of other nations and its subordination to its "own" bourgeoisie, regardless of where Armenian working people may be living, and close cooperation with imperialist circles.

The book convincingly shows the hypocrisy and demagogy of the party leaders who have tried to adapt to Russian revolutionary reality at the beginning of the 20th century and to ensnarl in their nets the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses. The Dashnaktsutyun program which included statements on the class struggle, the defense of the interests of the working people, and so on, under the influence of a latter-day populism, did not reflect the party's policy. In their practical activities its leaders promoted bourgeois nationalism. They tried to separate the Armenian toiling masses from their class brothers in the country and abroad, thus rejecting a basic condition for national and social liberation in the imperialist epoch. They rejected the need for action by the proletariat against "its own" bourgeoisie and preached the "unity" of interests of all classes within the nation.

The study of the class nature of the Dashnaktsutyun Party led the author to the conclusion that it expressed the interest of the Armenian bourgeoisie (the Caucasian Armenian bourgeoisie, which met with strong opposition on the part of the developing bourgeoisie of other nations). The party consisted of members of different strata, petit bourgeois in particular. Its leaders were the puppets of Armenian capitalists, merchants and kulaks. Actually, the Dashnaktsutyun Party always obeyed the orders of its true masters. Its political turns to the left at some moments in history, particularly during the first Russian revolution, did not essentially change the content of its policy. As the author points out, subsequently the reactionary nature of the party increased. Today it is the loyal servant of the most frenzied imperialist circles. "Ever since it was founded, the Dashnaktsutyun was a bourgeois-nationalist party and its evolution was marked only by the intensification of its bourgeois and reactionary nature" (p 19).

The party's ideology is neither original nor consistent nor logical. It is merely a conglomerate of diverse ideas and different social currents, occasionally diametrically opposed to each other. It clearly displays facets such as subjective idealism, voluntarism, militant nationalism and irreconcilable struggle against Marxism-Leninism. The worship of different theoretical "gods," the author concludes, pursued "one and the same objective: to satisfy the class which supported it and to represent in every possible way its interests as being those of the entire nation" (p 72).

The study of the reactionary nature of the nationalism of the Dashnaktsutyun Party and of the voluntarism and subjectivism which were expressed in the excessively exaggerated role of "critically thinking" individuals and the denial of the decisive role played by the people's masses in social development, is of great interest.

History has preserved a number of proofs of the tremendous harm which the implementation of the stipulations of the party leadership caused the Armenian people. In the initial period of its activities the Dashnaktsutyun tried to promote strictly the insane idea which it elevated to a principle: the more sacrifices made by the struggling people, the greater the chances of its salvation will be. At this price the party leaders hoped to earn the benevolent attention of tsarism and the western powers to whose military intervention they linked their hopes for the liberation of the Western Armenians. They struggled to achieve their narrow class objectives by stepping on the bones of the working people. Today they cynically boast that their advent to power in 1918 was the direct result of...the

genocide organized in 1915 by the Turkish reaction, i.e., the elimination of more than 1.5 million Armenians or more than one-half of the native population of Western Armenia. We repeat and will keep repeating, admits one of the official party organs, that the butchery of the Armenians was triggered by the Republic of Armenia (see USABER ("Hope"), 3 February 1968). "Do the authors of these lines consider," the author asks, "who needed an almost deserted and impoverished 'republic,' which was to be born at the cost of millions of corpses, tears and suffering?" (p 296, see also pp 57-68).

The author quite justifiably concludes that "This party never hesitated between socialism and capitalism. It was always in the camp of the latter. It professed and preached many dead and living ideologies. From the first day of its existence, however, it assumed a hostile position toward Marxism. In the course of its more than 50 years of activity in the Diaspora it has served all imperialist groups, including German fascism, but has never cooperated with democratic and revolutionary forces abroad. The Dashnaktsutyun Party was the offspring of the Armenian bourgeoisie and, in the course of its development, reached the status of an agent of international imperialism" (p 70).

Using a sharp polemical style the author exposes the view or, rather, the false assertions of the contemporary dashnak ideologs. They shamelessly misrepresent Soviet reality, repeat in all possible ways the statements of militant anticommunists and do everything possible to counter, day after day, the widening and strengthening ties between Soviet Armenia and Armenians abroad. As K. S. Demirchyan, Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee first secretary, noted at the party's 27th congress, "The dashnak ideology is aimed at stupefying the minds of the people with nationalistic ideas, while the policy of the leaders of the party is aimed at actively supporting the anti-Soviet actions of imperialism and its ideological diversions. We shall always wage an irreconcilable struggle against the ideology and policy of such reactionary forces and expose any attempts to create mistrust in Soviet Armenia on the part of Armenians living abroad and to alienate them from the home country."

Every single thesis in the conjectures of the dashnak leaders has already been subjected to crushing scientific criticism in our philosophical and historiographic publications. The leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun frenziedly opposed the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Their writings are imbued with bitter hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. They present a coarse and distorted picture of class and economic relations in Soviet society. However, "no single matter holds the attention of or enrages the dashnak theoreticians," the author justifiably points, "as the way the national question has been formulated in the USSR. In distorting reality even on this matter, the dashnak scribblers are not only following in the footsteps of their teachers but are in the vanguard and frequently outdo even themselves in abuses and fabrications" (p 280).

The dashnak ringleaders aim their attacks at the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU policy on the national problem. They claim that Marxism-Leninism rejects the concept of nations and nationalities and that, allegedly, the purpose of the CPSU is to Russify all nations and nationalities.

Are the dasnak ideologs familiar with the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts and CPSU programmatic views on national relations such as, for example, the stipulation that the exploitation of one nation by another will be eliminated with the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, that under socialism full equality also includes recognition of the right to self-determination of all nations and the elimination of privileged status of any language and that the development of nations under socialism is achieved by strengthening their fraternal friendship, prosperity and rapprochement? Or else, are they familiar with the view stipulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress that "in our country the national feelings, the national dignity of every person are respected. The CPSU has struggled and will always decisively struggle against manifestations alien to the nature of socialism such as chauvinism or nationalism, or nationalistic quirks such as, let us say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against any trend of artificial elimination of national characteristics. However, we consider their artificial exaggeration equally inadmissible. It is the party's sacred duty to raise the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and of the proud feeling of belonging to one great Soviet homeland."

Naturally, the dashnaks are familiar with these and many similar Marxist-Leninist conclusion. However, they pretend that such conclusions do not exist, for they find them unsuitable. They are unsuitable because socialism links the true liberation of the nations and their full equality with the elimination of the bourgeois system, of private ownership and the domination of one nation by another and because the most important prerequisite for this equality is the international unity of working people of all nationalities, their fraternal mutual aid and unity of social-economic, political and spiritual interests and a common moral-political character.

The ideologs of the Dashnaktsutyun Party cannot accept at all the fact that the great accomplishments of dozens of nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union, including the Armenian SSR (a fact which, grinding their teeth, they are occasionally forced to acknowledge) became possible thanks to the fraternal cooperation and friendship among the peoples created by socialism. Unable to dispute universally known facts, they claim that the Armenian SSR is, allegedly, not a country but a "state in the USSR." However, even the Encyclopedia Britannica accepts that, unlike Turkish Armenia, Soviet Armenia has the right to political self-determination (see "Encyclopedia Britannica," Vol 2, 1965, p 419). Dozens of foreign countries welcome the official and unofficial representatives of the Soviet Armenian state, while the Dashnaktsutyun Party which claims to be the "defender of and spokesman for the interests" of the Armenian people, stubbornly tries to confuse the issue.

The author proves that Soviet Armenia not only exists but is successfully resolving many complex problems. To begin with, it has achieved a dynamic economic growth in accordance with union-wide plans. Currently, the daily output of Soviet Armenia is bigger than its entire 1913 output. Compared with 1928, its 1980 industrial output is higher by a factor of almost 400. A powerful energy base has been created here with the help of all Soviet republics (Armenia produced more than 13 billion kilowatt hours of electric power in 1980, which, on a per capita basis, almost equals the level of a country such as France). The republic has more than 660 enterprises and associations in the machine building, machine tool manufacturing, electronics, radioelectronics, instrument making, automation, nonferrous metallurgy, chemicals,

construction and light and food industrial sectors. Today the republic produces modern machine tools and precise electronic instruments, computers, automobiles, electric machines and compressors. Goods manufactured by enterprises on its territory are exported to more than 70 foreign countries.

As a result of such basic economic and social changes, the Armenian nation has changed from a backward peasant nation into a highly developed socialist one, consisting of a modern working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, the distinctions among which are increasingly disappearing. It is a nation of highly educated workers and peasants, a nation of scientists, painters, writers and composers who, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, are distinguished by their high cultural standards at home, in public and at work, highly inspired scientific thinking and outstanding artistic originality. "...It is a nation of patriots who love their native land--Soviet Socialist Armenia--warmly." "They perfectly combine the spirit of patriotism with another no less valuable quality of the Soviet person, internationalism."

According to the narrowminded view of the ideologs of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, national feelings cannot be combined with internationalism. However, the entire point is that such a combination is possible on the national scale but only in a society where class antagonisms have been eliminated, i.e., where there is no longer any bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes. The Dashnaktsutyun leaders cannot conceive of a nation without bourgeoisie and to them internationalism and friendship among the peoples are equivalent to the loss of patriotism and of nationhood. Therefore, they do everything possible to belittle the innovative role of socialism, the role of the USSR as an equal association of Soviet peoples, and the role which the CPSU and the Soviet system play in the republic's great accomplishments.

Unquestionably, every nation makes its own history and life and creates its own values. However, the constructive toil of any nation needs favorable sociopolitical conditions of which the Armenian people were deprived for many centuries. The Soviet system and the union of liberated peoples gave them these conditions and emancipated the creative spirit of the Armenian nation.

The "party-savior" of the Armenian people has sounded the alarm: "Help, the nation is being lost," "assimilated," and "dying."...Fortunately, in addition to the subjective logic of the Dashnaktsutyun Party there is a more powerful logic of things, circumstances and objective reality, which this party has never wanted to take into account" (p 285). Convincing proof exists to this effect. The overall number of Armenians in our country, based on the population census, rose from 1,568,000 in 1926 to 4,151,000 in 1979, i.e., by a factor of 2.6. A steady concentration and growth of the Armenian population are taking place in its native land. Thus, there were 743,600 Armenians living in the Armenian SSR in 1976 and 2,725,000 in 1979, i.e., an increase factor of 3.7! Furthermore, the 1979 census indicated that 90.7 percent of Armenians living in the Soviet Union named Armenian as their mother tongue, while several hundred thousands of Armenians who had lived a long time among other peoples in the USSR gave as their mother tongue the native languages of these peoples. Virtually all of them, however, speak Armenian to some extent. The dashnak ideologs shamelessly ignore the fact that in the "American paradise," where they operate, the overwhelming majority of Armenians not only do not know their native language, but cannot be educated in it, for official education there

is in English only, while existing Armenian schools (about 16) teach no more than a few thousand children in their native language. Despite a natural partial international integration (mixed marriages and so on), taking place under the conditions of the total equality among nations, the number of Armenians in the USSR is rising steadily. Abroad, over the past 60 years, it has not increased although under normal circumstances it should have at least doubled within that time. What happened to natural growth? The Armenians have become entirely assimilated. These are the facts.

The empty talk of the Dashnaktsutyun ideologs on alleged restrictions on the use of the Armenian language in the USSR and in Soviet Armenia and the "domination" of the Russian language is refuted by reality itself. As we know, in the Soviet Union the question of using one's native or any other language is a matter of individual choice. The USSR does not have a universal mandatory state language. Each nation and nationality has the full right to make free use of its national language in all realms of life. Thus, the Armenian SSR Constitution (Article 72) stipulates that the Armenian language is the state language of the republic. At the same time, the free use of Russian and other languages used by the population is guaranteed.

The Dashnaktsutyun Party ideologs are "concerned" about the fact that in the USSR a considerable percentage of Armenians speak Russian freely. As they see it, this restricts the use of the Armenian language and helps to "weaken" national spirit and national culture. However, the voluntary study of Russian, along with one's native tongue, is of positive significance, for it contributes to the reciprocal exchange of experience and the involvement of each nation and nationality with the all-Soviet and global culture. The Russian language became the language of international communication and cooperation among all nations in the USSR naturally.

Anniversary dates of outstanding Armenians celebrated on a national and all-union scale, such as the 1,600th anniversary of Mesrop Mashtots, the creator of the Armenian alphabet, the 250th anniversary of the birth of the poet Sayat-Novy, the 1,500th anniversary of the birth of the great philosopher David Anakht (The Invincible), and the birthdays of composer Komitas, painter M. Sar'yan, writer O. Tumanyan, poets A. Isaakyan and Ye. Charents and many others. The translation and publication of the works of these and dozens of other outstanding representatives of Armenian culture into Russian made their works accessible to all peoples in the USSR and throughout the world.

Today the republic's population is not simply entirely literate. According to statistical data, 71.3 percent of the population 10 years old or older are graduates of higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) schools. This is a high indicator among all USSR union republics. In terms of university students per 10,000 population, Armenia has long outstripped countries such as Great Britain, France and Japan (see p 283). Soviet Armenia has become a center of higher education in Armenian for thousands of young men and women from many foreign Armenian colonies. This country, which had no single scientific center in the past, has now become a country of science. Today Soviet Armenia has more than 100 scientific research institutions, fruitfully employing 19,000 scientific workers. "The accomplishments of Armenian scientists in astrophysics, mathematics, mechanics, physics, computers, the atomic nucleus, space rays, archeology, history, and many other branches of science have been widely recognized not only in the Soviet Union but abroad" (p 284).

The Dashnaktsutyun and its ideologs, the author points out, are still unable to see that under socialist conditions, on the basis of the essentially new relations which have become established among nations, their past mistrust and hostility have disappeared, a strong fraternal alliance has been established and on this basis the peoples of our country have achieved a tremendous upsurge in all realms of social life. As Lenin said, in our multinational homeland "A model of national peace unparalleled under the bourgeoisie and impossible in a bourgeois system" has been created ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 198).

In the initial decades after November 1920, when the new truly popular system was making heroic efforts to restore the thoroughly destroyed economy and to heal the terrible wounds inflicted by the imperialist war, the Turkish aggressors and the infamous rule of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, the republic was particularly needful of considerable all-round aid. This aid was provided mainly by Soviet Russia. The broad toiling masses of Armenians abroad provided certain material support to the reborn homeland through the Armenian Aid Committee. During the Great Patriotic War Armenians abroad helped the heroic Soviet people by collecting funds for the building of tanks for the Red Army and fought in the ranks of the armed forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Relations between the native land and foreign Armenians intensified with the building of socialism in the USSR. Henceforth the already developed and increasingly prosperous socialist republic began to help its compatriots scattered throughout the world. Before and after the Patriotic War it helped more than 250,000 Armenians return to the homeland. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Committee on the Acceptance and Resettlement of Armenians Returning from Abroad and a public organization, the Committee for Cultural Relations with Armenians Abroad, were created. They organized the publication of textbooks in Armenian for foreign Armenian schools, the training of foreign Armenian youth in higher and secondary specialized schools in the homeland, the presentation of special radio broadcasts and the publication of a special newspaper and periodical. They assist reciprocal visits by cultural and tourist groups, relatives and so on.

In the postwar period, when the great victory of the Soviet Union over fascism enhanced its prestige throughout the world immeasurably and, consequently, the prestige of Soviet Armenia, as a participant in this historical battle waged by progressive mankind against the forces of the most frenzied imperialist reaction, the toiling foreign Armenian masses strengthened even more closely their ties with their socialist homeland. As K. S. Demirchyan confirmed at the 27th congress of the republic's communist party, "Soviet Armenia has always been concerned with toiling Armenians who are in foreign countries by the will of destiny. The continuing repatriation of Armenians is a vivid confirmation of this concern. As full citizens of the Soviet Union, they are making their proper contribution to the development of the republic's economy, culture and science."

Soviet Armenia achieved outstanding successes in all fields of life. Its existence and all-round progress are a guarantee of the further steady development of the Armenian people.

The 26th CPSU Congress, which stipulated in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," effective

measures in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the peace offers Soviet Armenia new bright prospects.

The remnants of the pitiful renegades are still fighting. Meanwhile, the caravan goes forth, it goes forth irrepressibly! The Armenian people, whose historical past began thousands of years ago, is continuing its march. There is no power in the world which can stop the confident ascension of the peoples of the Soviet Union to the bright peaks of the communist future.

FOOTNOTE

1. Ts. Agayan. "Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Osvobozhdeniye Armyanskogo Naroda" [The October Revolution and the Liberation of the Armenian People]. Yerevan, 1957 (in Armenian); G. Galoyan. "Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya v Zakavkaz'ye v Osveshcheniye Burzhuaznoy Istoriografii" [The Socialist Revolution in the Transcaucasus as Interpreted in Bourgeois Historiography]. Moscow, 1960; Dzh. Kirakosyan and A. Akopyan. "Dashnaks--Agenty Imperializma v Stranakh Blizhnego Vostoka" [Dashnaks--Imperialist Agents in the Middle East]. Yerevan, 1960 (in Armenian); K. Dallakyan. "Zarubezhnyye Armyanskiye Progressivnyye Organizatsii v Bor'be za Mir i Demokratiyu" [Progressive Armenian Organizations Abroad in the Struggle for Peace and Democracy]. Yerevan, 1962 (in Armenian); L. Khurshudyan. "Zarubezhnyye Armyanskiye Partii na Sovremennom Etape" [Armenian Parties Abroad at the Present Stage]. Yerevan, 1964 (in Armenian); Gr. Simonyan. "Zarubezhnyye Armyane na Putyakh Sotsial'no-Politicheskoy Bor'by" [Armenians Abroad on the Road to Sociopolitical Struggle]. Yerevan, 1968 (in Armenian); G. Gabriyelyan. "Sovremennaya Zarubezhnaya Armyanskaya Burzhuaznaya Reaktsionnaya Filosofiya" [Contemporary Foreign Armenian Bourgeois Reactionary Philosophy]. Yerevan, 1960 (in Armenian); Idem. "Istoriya Armyanskoy Filosofskoy Mysli" [History of Armenian Philosophical Thought]. Vol 4, Yerevan, 1968; V. Sevyan. "Kriticheskiy Analiz Armyanskoy Burzhuaznoy Filosofii" [Critical Analysis of Armenian Bourgeois Philosophy]. Yerevan, 1972; Kh. Barsetyan. "Rasprostraneniye Marksizma v Armenii" [The Spreading of Marxism in Armenia]. Books 1-2. Yerevan, 1967-1975 (in Armenian).

5003

CSO: 1802/16

THOUGHTS ON A BOOK BY LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 112-117

[Review by Genrikn Volkov of the book "Leninskaya Dialektika i Metafizika Pozitivizma. Razmyshleniya Nad Knigoy V. I. Lenina 'Materializm i Empiriokrititsizm'" [Lenin's Dialectics and the Metaphysics of Positivism. Thoughts on V. I. Lenin's book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism"] by E. V. Il'yenkov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 176 pp]

[Text] The author focuses his attention on Lenin's classical work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," which was published more than 70 years ago. Could anything new be said about it?

Yes, naturally, for like any great work, Lenin's book is one of the eternally living phenomena of spiritual culture still at the end of the 20th century as it was at its beginning. It continues to be the hottest area of philosophical and ideological confrontation.

It is precisely this that E. V. Il'yenkov plainly states. In past decades ideological battles have become neither less tense nor less significant to the fate of the people rallied within the same parties fighting in the philosophical field as at the beginning of the century. Names and titles, words and symbols may change, and the strategy and tactic of the struggle may become increasingly refined and improved but the essence remains unchanged. Actually, the question remained the same as it was posed in 1908 by V. I. Lenin: either consistent (dialectical) materialism or one or another variety of idealism and metaphysics dressed in fashionable verbal clothing and pseudoscientific terms.

Empiriocriticism, empiriomonism and empiriosymbolism have long been sent to the dump of history. As before, however, positivism and its "logical" variety remain in different aspects of scientism, cyberphilosophy, socioengineering and the "philosophy of science."

To this day, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" makes the mouths of various types of revisionists and positivists foam. They are unable to refute the logic of Lenin's thinking and try to belittle his work by claiming that it is of no serious scientific value and that it expresses merely the basics of Marxism. Unfortunately, the works of philosophers who sometimes sincerely try to "update" Lenin's work with their homegrown conclusions such as, for example, by "adding" to the Leninist definition of matter (as being allegedly strictly gnosiological) a so-called ontological aspect pour grist into this mill.

Finally, the revolution in the natural sciences (physics in particular) which "led" some philosophers to idealism in Lenin's time, is continuing to this day, creating ever new "crazy" theories which lead to philosophical misinterpretations. All this leads us to turn to Lenin's analysis with particular interest, again and again. However, one cannot understand the core and significance of Lenin's argument against Russian and foreign Machists in their entire depth without understanding the circumstances which surrounded the writing of this book and the reasons which led Lenin to set aside all other important party matters for months on end for the solution of seemingly rather abstract philosophical problems. The author skillfully recreates precisely that spiritual, ideological and political atmosphere in which Lenin's book was born, with its entire passion and anger, polemic sharpness and intolerance of even the slightest, seemingly "innocent" (let us recall Plekhanov's word "hieroglyph") distortions and deviations from strictly consistent, i.e., dialectical materialism.

On the surface the situation seemed quite puzzling. The year 1908 was approaching. The revolution had been defeated, drowned in a sea of blood. The time was critical. It was necessary to understand the reasons for the defeat and determine how to fight in the future. The question of a drastic change in tactics was on the agenda. The differences between the two basic lines within the RSDWP--the bolshevik and the menshevik--had reached a breaking point. It was precisely then that Lenin decided to declare real war on his fellow party members--the bolsheviks Bogdanov, Lunacharsky and Bazarov--for their support of the position held by the menshevik Plekhanov! And all of this was not because of some important political problem but on a question of philosophy.

What had happened? In the immediate aftermath of the 1905 revolution, the winds of the latest positivism whose fathers Ernst Mach and the philosopher Richard Avenarius were considered to be, began to blow and spread like an epidemic among the Russian social democrats. The bolsheviks A. Bogdanov and A. Lunacharskiy became its fierce supporters. They proclaimed Machism to be the true philosophy of the proletariat and a theory which, allegedly, was consistent with the objectives and tasks of the revolutionary struggle. The philosophy of dialectical materialism was considered obsolete and conflicting with the new currents of the period and discoveries in the natural sciences. Furthermore, Lunacharskiy believed that a kind of pantheism with its cult of god as dissolved in nature, should replace atheism.

It was with this conceptual and philosophical baggage that Bogdanov and company approached the proletariat and these were the arms they intended to give to the leading revolutionary class on the eve of the new and decisive battles with autocracy, reaction and religion. Furthermore, they presented this religious superstition, modernized into a theory, as the "philosophy of bolshevism" as opposed to menshevism.

G. V. Plekhanov quickly realized the political benefit which this situation offered. Launching a sharp and essentially entirely correct criticism of Machism in general and of its Russian variety in particular, as an updated subjective idealism, he missed no opportunity to depict bolshevism as a current which had originated not in the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels but in the confused philosophy of Mach, Bogdanov and Lunacharskiy.

V. I. Lenin noticed this danger immediately after the Russian Machists published their first articles. He began by writing Bogdanov a letter in which he proved the erroneousness of the latter's positions. The third volume of Bogdanov's "Empirio-monism" was published in 1906. Lenin studied it and, in his own words, "became enraged and unusually angry." He wrote an extensive letter to the author, covering three notebooks (!), in which he tried to tell him in a friendly and calm manner where, why and how he was deviating from the main path of revolutionary Marxism. It was no use! An entire flood of Machist literature followed, such as "Essays on Marxist Philosophy" and the stupid booklets by Berman and Shulyatikov.

This could be tolerated no longer. Lenin decided to wage open battle. "It was necessary to tell the party, the country and the entire international movement effectively, clearly and unequivocally, that it was precisely bolshevism, as a strategic and tactical line in the revolution, that has its theoretical grounds in the philosophy of Marx and Engels, for which reason it is Bolshevism rather than Plekhanov's faction, that is the direct heir of the work of the founders of Marxism in the areas of politics, political economy and philosophy, philosophy above all" (p 14).

E. V. Il'yenkov then emphasizes quite accurately that "the special philosophical views" which the Russian Machists professed and zealously disseminated among the workers made it absolutely impossible for those who believed them to engage in the scientific, the Marxist interpretation of the lessons of the defeated revolution. It was a question not of details but of the deepest foundations of Marxist thinking, of the logic of the study of reality.

V. I. Lenin then wrote that "the current situation in Russia is precisely such that the entire objective situation in the country calls for the intensification and expansion of Marxist theoretical work. When the masses have digested the new and incredibly rich experience of direct revolutionary struggle, the theoretical struggle for a revolutionary outlook, i.e., for revolutionary Marxism, will become the slogan of the day" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 17, p 294).

Many people, even very perspicacious ones, were puzzled by Lenin's irreconcilability and merciless "maximalism." As we know, Maksim Gor'kiy was among them. The book describes vividly and impressively the unsuccessful conciliatory activity of the great writer.

Gor'kiy was puzzled. Why start trouble? For a few petty philosophical words? "Substance," "matter," "element complexes"... Gentlemen--comrades, what is the matter with you? Was it worth breaking up friendships over this? What about this search for God...Is Anatoliy Vasil'yevich building up the old god? Like Benedict Spinoza this is nothing but a word....Is this not all in vain, Vladimir Il'ich? What a nuisance....

A lengthy correspondence developed between Lenin and Gor'kiy. The latter insistently asked Lenin to visit him in Capri, where Bogdanov and Lunacharskiy were at that time, in the hope that everything would become clear in a face-to-face meeting. Lenin arrived in April 1908, played chess with Bogdanov, argued with him extensively and left tougher, very annoyed and fully resolved to put an end to all this nonsense: enough sentimentalism, "total break and more bitter war than against the

mensheviks" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 203). Such a war would quickly teach those who had "not understood."

"What kind of 'armistice' could there be, dear Aleksey Maksimych? I beg of you, this is ridiculous. A battle is absolutely inevitable...."

"This is no longer a misfortune, it is a tragedy. When even you, a great artist, a clever man, has still not realized the swamp into which they, all of these god-builders, empiriocritics, empiriomonists and empiriosymbolists are dragging themselves and others with them! Is it so difficult to realize that, in fact, behind all of their highfaluting phrases we see, in its full dimension, the terrible figure of international philistinism with its 'complex of ideas' born of the dull suppression of man and nature and of class oppression? Is it not clear that whatever beautiful words are used to describe this "complex of ideas," it was and remains an unutterable baseness, a disgusting ideological corpse, the most dangerous abomination the most disgusting 'contamination'?!"

"And with all this you wish to talk me into cooperating with people who preach such things. I would rather let myself be quartered...."

"This is no longer innocuous literary entertainment but something worse, far worse. ... Now they have set up an entire literary factory on Capri, openly claiming the role of brain center of the entire revolutionary social democratic movement, the role of a philosophical-theoretical headquarters of the bolshevik faction!" (pp 17-18).

V. I. Lenin demanded of Bogdanov a direct and uncompromising answer in the course of the discussion of his paper:

Does the reader acknowledge that Marxist philosophy is dialectical materialism?

Does the reader acknowledge that the theory of the knowledge of dialectical materialism is based on the acknowledgement of the outside world and its reflection in the human mind?

However, a "battle" had to be fought not only in debates but in the public press. Lenin plunged into Machist literature and books on the latest problems in physics. He studied hundreds of sources in German, French, English and Russian.

Work on the book went extremely rapidly: Lenin completed it in a few months. By October 1908 the entire manuscript was lying on his desk and in May 1909 the book came out.

After describing the political and ideological circumstances in which Lenin's work was created, the author asks the following question: what is it that attracted to Machism such highly intelligent people as Bogdanov and Lunacharskiy, people who were impeccably honest and loyal to the cause of the proletariat? Where did they see the "advantage" of the Machist method of thinking compared with dialectical materialism, what "led them astray" into Machism? Generally speaking, how could Marxists, revolutionaries be attracted by Machism?

The turn of the 20th century was marked by the appearance of revisionism in the social democratic movement. Revisionism in politics needed philosophical backing. This need was felt by the already notorious E. Bernstein as he mounted his attacks on the economic and political aspects of Marxism and on dialectics.

It was this circumstance that Lenin noted: "In philosophy revisionism is following bourgeois professorial 'science.' The professors went 'back to Kant,' and revisionism latched onto neo-Kantianism. The professors repeated thousands of times the vulgarities of the priests opposing philosophical materialism and the revisionists, smiling condescendingly, mumbled (repeating word for word what was in the latest handbook) that materialism had been long 'refuted;' the professors considered Hegel a 'dead dog' and, while preaching idealism themselves, although a thousand times more petty and vulgar than Hegel's, scornfully shrugged their shoulders on the subject of dialectics, and the revisionists followed them into the swamp of philosophical vulgarization of science, as they replaced the 'clever' (and revolutionary) dialectics with a 'simple' (and peaceful) 'evolution'...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 19).

At the turn of the century, in the course of its attacks against materialism and dialectics, "professorial science" obtained what seemed to it a powerful natural scientific substantiation. Mach, the great natural scientist but poor philosopher, turned no longer merely to Kant but back to Berkeley and Hume.

He conceived of the world as a "complex of sensations" of the cognitive subject; thinking was "soundless speech;" contradictions were errors of our mind which were to be avoided in order to "think economically."

This was simple, clear and "scientifically substantiated"! How suitably all of this was different from Hegel's intricate dialectics which had confused even Marx! That is what the Russian Machists thought. E. V. Il'yenkov cites the thoughts of Ya. Berman, the supporter of Bogdanov and Lunacharskiy, who openly demanded a "capital repair" of the "obsolete parts" of the streamlined structure of "Das Kapital." This included "mainly and above all the entire philosophical substantiation of Marxism and, in particular, of its famous dialectics" (p 45).

Like his confederates, Berman sincerely wondered why the revolutionaries needed the "trinkets of Hegelian verbiage," when there was a clear "truly scientific" thinking such as that of Mach. It is with Mach's help that the revolutionary was to get cured of the sickness of Hegelian dialectics and of the pale helplessness of dialectical categories. Bogdanov proclaimed Mach's philosophy "the philosophy of the contemporary natural sciences."

Therefore, for the sake of that philosophy one could and should join the mensheviks which supported it (Valentinov, Yushkevich). Therefore, one could and should discredit a dialectics which prevented the people from mastering the "most revolutionary" way of thinking of Ernst Mach and Richard Avenarius. This is the basic spirit of the collective work "Essays on Marxist philosophy" which Lenin renamed "Essays Against Marxist Philosophy."

What was it that the Machists disliked in dialectics? Above all, it was the recognition of the existence of contradictions in the real, the material world. In

their view, mental contradictions were merely proof of our errors. It was an "uncomfortable" condition which the body should discard quickly. A contradiction is admissible only as a clash between words. With his usual directness, Berman wrote that a contradiction has a place only in the field of ideas "and not in the least in objects," and even in the mental area he proclaimed the contradiction a basic principle equivalent to an "act of spiritual suicide" (pp 51-52).

And all of this was being said with aplomb, when the situation in Russia demanded a scientific analysis of a mass of class and social contradictions in order to formulate the party's proper political position.

With what did the Machists counter dialectics? Logic, which in objective reality reflects nothing but provides merely a body of rules which regulate matters through all kinds of symbolism. The main purpose of logic is to struggle against contradictions for the sake of the adaptation of the organism to the environment and for preserving the balance in the organism. The superior principle of thinking is not contradiction but balance as a condition needed by the organism.

This way of thinking "according to Mach" is convincingly described by E. V. Il'yenkov as perfectly consistent with the feelings of the petit bourgeois philistine worried by the revolution and concerned with one thing only: how to protect the inner balance of his petty world or to restore this balance should it be disturbed, how to restore his lost comfort, whether material or spiritual, by eliminating from it all conflicting and alarming elements.

The author emphasizes that this characterization is inapplicable to Bogdanov and Lunacharskiy. Objectively, however, the position they assumed was precisely that.

The principle of balance is the "whale No 1" of Russian Marxism. The other two "whales" are the principles of economy of thinking and organization. The purpose of the principle of economy of thinking is to replace the dialectical-materialistic understanding of reality as we know it. What is real is not that which is consistent with reality but that about which one can think economically. The author cites Lenin's annihilating description of this principle: "...The principle of economy of thinking, if it is truly used as a 'basis of the theory of knowledge,' can lead to nothing other than subjective idealism. The most 'economical' way of 'thinking' is that only I and my sensations exist...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, pp 175-176). The author also draws attention to the tenacity of this principle in the work of modern positivists such as, for example, K. Popper, in which it appears as the "principle of simplicity" and "falsifiability." This is a dead, a sterile tenacity!

The author points out quite accurately and precisely the consistency between Bogdanov's general concept of "organization" and the contemporary technocratic "socio-engineering" way of thinking. It is at this point that he interprets from an unexpected viewpoint the method used by the Russian Machists to gain knowledge. What are their views of a society where the proletarian revolution triumphed, of a classless society?

The author turns to Bogdanov's science fiction novels "Red Star" and "Engineer Manny." The first is about an ideal classless society on Mars. Totally consistent

with his philosophy, here all contradictions have been resolved. People live in a "sterile" social environment. Their work is easy and not burdensome, and almost everything is done by machines. There is total balance in relations among people. All of them have the same external appearance. "The effect is very curious. The harder A. Bogdanov tries to defend the socialist ideal, the more beautiful and noble it becomes in his eyes as a writer and the more and more (this is his trouble) he begins to resemble a dry, sterile and anemic icon which a living man would find quite unattractive" (pp 61-62).

The pivotal conflict in the novel is quite indicative of Bogdanov's philosophy. Natural resources on Mars are almost exhausted and the question of colonizing Earth arises. However, what to do with its native population which is so backward? What is more economical: to kill (naturally, painlessly) this population or to reeducate it?

In the novel "Engineer Manny" the author considers a situation similar to the one Russia found itself in on the eve of the proletarian revolution. How to balance, how to reconcile contradictions between bourgeois and proletarians? How to lead the country to mutual prosperity of both classes? Here the "socioengineering" genius of a superorganizer comes to the rescue. Let the political system remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. "What matters" remains in the hands of the organizers, the engineers; it is thanks to them that society progresses to an ever-optimal (balanced) condition. Let it be restructured as a highly organized capitalist enterprise considered "especially from the side of its labor technology" (p 101).

Such precisely was the position of the Russian Machists in the period between February and October 1917. The main thing was their fear of an explosion of class antagonisms--a proletarian revolution. Their hope was the slow, the civilized influence of technical and economic progress. Their hatred was directed at the rebellious workers....

Such precisely was the position also of many real Russian prototypes of "Engineer Manny." Lenin had a conversation with one of them shortly before the July events. The engineer had been a revolutionary at one point and a member of the Social Democratic and even the Bolshevik Party. Now he feared, he disliked the indomitableness of the proletariat. Lenin said that "he was ready to accept the social revolution had history led us to it as peacefully, smoothly and precisely as a German passenger train approaches a station. The decorous conductor opens the doors of the car and announces: 'Social revolution station. Alle aussteigen (Everyone out)!' In such a case, why not switch from the position held by an engineer under Tit Titych to the position of an engineer under a workers organization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 321).

The principle which governed the thinking of this engineer, as that of A. Bogdanov and of the characters in his novels, is "a development alien to inner conflicts," "liberation of development processes from related contradictions." In this connection, socialism as well is conceived of not as an historically ripe method for the solution of actual class contradictions but as a mathematical nonconflicting system imposed from the outside, by a power, a will, upon the "chaos" of actual human relations.

Understandably, dialectical materialism cannot rest on such a philosophical foundation. That is precisely why materialism and dialectics have no place for Machists in their outlook and wage a decisive war against them.

The Machists here resort to the "substantive" argument that dialectics and materialism, it seems, are anachronistic, inconsistent with the latest developments in the modern natural sciences. The advantage of the empiriocritics and empiriomonists lies precisely in the fact that they profess the "philosophy of 20th century natural sciences," and that this philosophy is distinguished by the "power of strictly natural scientific methods," the "calm, steady thinking and strict objectivism of the method" and the "merciless elimination of all mental idols."

The Russian Machists showed little concern with Plekhanov's refined philosophical criticism. They felt they stood on firm ground with the achievements of the modern natural sciences. Yet, it was Plekhanov who remained totally silent on this matter. Therefore, he looked like a reactionary who was obstructing the "enrichment" of Marxism through precise scientific methods. The Russian Machists noisily raised the banners of "innovation," asking for an alliance between Marxism and the natural sciences and for the following of a revolutionary active line in philosophy and politics.

V. I. Lenin realized the entire significance of this situation. He saw clearly that the crux of the matter was precisely the attitude of Marxist philosophers toward the events taking place in the natural sciences, precisely in terms of the close ties between Machist philosophy and the "new physics." "To understand Machism," Lenin wrote, "while ignoring this tie, as Plekhanov does, means to mock the spirit of dialectical materialism...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, p 265).

After describing the positions held by Plekhanov and Lenin in terms of their criticism of the Machists precisely and clearly, the author analyzes the course of the "battle" which Lenin gave the Machists on their own "firm grounds"--in the area of the latest achievements in the natural sciences and the "revolution in physics."

He convincingly proves that the wish of the Machists to present themselves as representing the spirit of the contemporary natural sciences was, naturally, an illusion, a self-deception. However, this illusion was far from groundless. Not only philosophizing Machists but some major natural scientists, on whose statements the Machists relied, turned to idealism. "The power of Machists (or, more broadly, of positivistic) idealistic philosophy lies in the philosophical helplessness of many modern natural scientists." Such is, according to the author, the diagnosis made by Lenin. It was in his statement about the great physicists and mathematicians of his time that Lenin passed his sentence which is topical to this day.

"Not one of these professors, who can do most valuable work in the specialized areas of chemistry, history and physics should be trusted in the least when they discuss philosophy," Lenin wrote. "Why? For the same reason that no single professor of political economy, who can contribute most valuable achievements in the field of his specialized knowledge should be trusted in the least when it becomes a question of the general theory of political economy, for the latter is as much a party science in contemporary society as is gnosiology" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, pp 363-364).

The entire spiritual atmosphere in which the natural scientists live and work in the capitalist world "separates them from Marx and Engels and throws them into the arms of trite conventional philosophy" (Ibid., p 279). These Leninist words, the author emphasizes, are absolutely accurate today. Furthermore, the pressure of bourgeois ideology on the minds of the natural scientists today has become even more concentrated. "Modern positivism has become so skillful in inventing ever new artificial terms that, in this respect, the Machism of Bogdanov's time seems truly amateurish" (p 125).

Consistently, throughout the book, the author voices and substantiates his main thought: in "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" Lenin does not simply protect materialism from idealism but dialectical materialism, material dialectics, which is interpreted in his work as Marxist logic and theory of knowledge. The idea of unity among logic, dialectics and the theory of knowledge (although it was not as yet thus formulated) imbues Lenin's entire work. It is on the basis of this idea that he criticizes the Machist interpretation of philosophy.

The book has the great merit that, for the first time, the author refutes consistently and convincingly an existing view which overtly or covertly slips into specialized publications, to the effect that the Lenin who wrote "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" is quite different from the Lenin of the "Philosophical Notebooks," although in both cases he considers that the various "systems of coordinates," and the idea of the triumph of dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge is merely a specific Leninist reaction to reading Hegel. The author proves that in the struggle against Machists as well Lenin proceeds from the concept that dialectics is the logic and theory of knowledge which offers as a criterion of truth the reality of human practice and that Marxism-Leninism has no other dialectics.

We are familiar with Lenin's thought that without dialectics materialism is no longer fighting (or militant) but fought. The author justifiably believes that anyone who concludes that Lenin's book against the Machists deals only with a presentation of the concepts of materialism in general, while bypassing problems of dialectical materialism or a characterization of the specific nature of dialectical materialism, is profoundly mistaken. "This is an untruth, a profound basic untruth. It is an untruth which not only does not help but directly hinders the proper ("adequate") interpretation of the book. It is an untruth which breaks the organic tie which links 'Materialism and Empiriocriticism' to the 'Philosophical Notebooks'" (p 105). It is a gross distortion which leads to a false understanding of both Lenin's books.

The main link in the entire strategy of the Machist approach to Marxist philosophy, the author emphasizes, is precisely the attempt to break the living unity between dialectical materialism as a theory of development and dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge and logic, beginning by separating "ontology" from "gnosiology," and then pitting one against the other, thus killing the very essence of dialectics as a philosophical science.

The plan was simple: with such a split a materialistic concept can be quite easily related to any given specific and historically limited natural scientific "picture of the world," with a "physical" picture, after which the faults and errors of that

kind of "ontology" could be ascribed to materialism. On the other hand, the same operation could be performed on materialistic gnosiology, by identifying it with any of the latest natural scientific "mental" concepts.

To identify philosophy with the compilation of scientific data enables us precisely to depict matters as if natural science by itself creates idealism. To destroy the specific nature of philosophy and its conceptual system and to dilute its approach to phenomena means to consider natural science idealistic. Lenin exposes these plans, tangibly proving the nature of the "basic materialistic spirit" of contemporary natural science which creates dialectical materialism (see pp 136-137).

It has long been noted that books have different fates. Some die during the lifetime of their authors; others live long after their death; others again, as is the case with this book, appear when their authors are already dead.

Yes, this is the final book of Eval'd Vasil'yevich Il'yenkov, the outstanding Soviet philosopher. He was not fated to see it published, as it came out almost two years after his death. Naturally, this creates both a feeling of sadness and a reverence for his memory.

As we read the book we hear in each sentence the voice of the author with its unique intonation. Each separate sentence brings up his thoughts which are always clear, picturesque, imbued with the passion of a polemicist who is convinced of the accuracy of his positions, leaving neither his supporters nor his opponents indifferent.

The preface to the book states quite precisely that with all his broad talents, E. V. Il'yenkov "suffered" from a single passion: dialectical materialism as the logic of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. He "caught" this passion from Marx and Lenin.

In our view E. V. Il'yenkov's posthumous work will remain a valuable aid to the students of Lenin's philosophical legacy.

The first edition of the book sold out immediately. The thought of a second edition has been voiced. Let us hope that a second edition, if it is to come out, be expanded so that more of the author's manuscript be included.

5003
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BROAD PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 117-119

[Review by Captain First Rank N. Belous of the book "Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna 1941-1945 v Fotografiiakh i Kinodokumentakh" [The Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 in Photographs and Motion Picture Documentaries]. Vols I-V. Planeta, Moscow, 1975-1980]

[Text] A new major work in which the events of the Great Patriotic War are reflected in photographs and films has been added to Soviet historiography. The five volumes of this main edition contain more than 5,000 photographs and movie frames, many of them rare or unique. The text which accompanies them was written by eyewitnesses and participants in the events and by famous writers and journalists. All of this, like the choice of the materials, based on the problem-topic principle, has enabled the authors to describe through their own means, extensively and comprehensively, the exploit of the Soviet people in the decisive battle against fascism.

"To the Soviet people this was the great patriotic war, which it waged for the sake of the freedom and independence of its socialist homeland and for rescuing Europe and the entire world from fascist slavery. This war cost the lives of 20 million Soviet people. Our people will never forget it!" One of the volumes opens with these words by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They are also the leit-motiv of the entire publication.

The unquestionable merit of this five-volume work is the vastness and variety of the topics which cover literally all aspects and all facets of the struggle waged by the Soviet people with the shock force of imperialism--Hitlerite fascism. The reader is given the opportunity to imagine more completely and visually the class, the just nature of the great patriotic war and the truly gigantic work accomplished by the party and the government in mobilizing all forces and resources of the country for the defeat of the enemy: the basic strategic operations of the troops, the mass heroism of the Soviet patriots at the front and the rear, the foreign political activities of the Soviet state and the establishment and development of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The main reasons for our universal-historical victory are shown clearly and thoroughly in the book.

Still and motion photography is the art of the visible truth. It is documentary in its nature. Photographs and movie frames taken in the thick of events bring to us the atmosphere of the stormy war period. They make our hearts beat faster.

They touch us deeply. They make us proud of the Leninist Party and our people who accomplished an unparalleled historical exploit.

Here are two photographs, side by side. One was taken the first day of the war while the other shows planting the flag of victory over the Reichstag. Separating them are 1,418 long tense days and nights. Between them lies the battle on the approaches to Moscow, when the myth of the "invincibility" of the Hitlerite army dispersed and which marked the beginning of the sharp turn in the course of the war. The battle for Stalingrad, which was crowned by the brilliant triumph of the Soviet forces and which marked a radical turn in the course of World War II; the battle for the Kursk Arc which showed the entire world the ability of the Soviet Union to defeat fascism alone, the battles for the Ukraine and the crossing of the Dnepr which freed from the Hitlerite aggressors huge areas and created the prerequisites for the further development of our offensive; and the events at Malaya Zemlya, which showed with particular force the high moral and combat qualities of the army and navy.

Other photographs show the nationwide happiness when the 900-day enemy blockade of Leningrad was breached and the enthusiasm with which the Soviet liberating forces were welcomed by the peoples of Europe and Asia, the victorious march to Berlin and the welcome of Prague the Golden. The finale are photographs which record the historical moment of the signing of the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan.

Looking at us from these pictures are those who sacrificed for the socialist fatherland what was most precious to them, their lives, as well as veterans whose hair has now turned gray. This makes us even more aware that however powerful science and technology may be, man, with his ideological convictions and the moral norms in which he was raised as a youngster by the communist party and the Soviet system, was and remains the main factor in war.

The work includes the portrait gallery of outstanding commanders and military leaders, leaders of partisan forces and rank-and-file workers at the front and the rear. It is a kind of summed-up picture of those who hammered out victory: people infinitely loyal to the communist ideals, willing and ready not only to defend the interests of their homeland but to give selfless aid to their class brothers, to all oppressed and impoverished, and to fulfill their patriotic and international duty honorably.

The thought of the leading role of the communist party as the decisive factor of our victory runs throughout the entire work which includes a special section entitled "To Victory Under the Party's Banner." Here the Leninist Party is depicted as the mobilizing and guiding force of the Soviet people in the armed struggle against fascism and in the work for the good of the fatherland. The party brilliantly displayed its ability in mobilizing the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses and in focusing their efforts on attaining the main objective. The party armed ideologically, organized and inspired the people in their victorious struggle against the hated enemy.

Many of the photographs, movie frames and documents included in the five volumes show the party's tireless and purposeful activities. During the war the VKP

(Bolshevik) Central Committee held more than 200 meetings of leading party organs such as the Politburo, Orgburo and Secretariat, at which the most important and major problems of the armed struggle were resolved. The decisions were implemented by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the government and the State Defense Committee and Supreme Headquarters. The urgent problems were considered jointly during VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo, State Defense Committee and General Headquarters meetings. The front and army command personnel participated in the elaboration of strategic and operative plans for combat operations.

Guided by Lenin's ideas on the defense of the Soviet fatherland, within a very short time the party reorganized the entire life of the country on a military basis. The slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" became programmatic for all Soviet people.

The best party forces were concentrated in the decisive sectors. Raised and assigned by the party to command positions, military commanders and political workers displayed their high skill in guiding the troops, educating the personnel and mobilizing them for the defeat of the enemy. They included Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chief of the political department of the Eighteenth Army. His personal courage and daring and comprehensive work in guiding the activities of commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations are extensively described in the work. We see Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at meetings of the Military Council of the Fourth Ukrainian Front, presenting party cards to troops and heading the combined arms regiment in the victory parade.

Unfortunately, few such photographs have been preserved. This makes each photographic and motion picture document, which records party and military leaders and the rank and file heroes of the difficult war times, the more precious.

The role of political work among the troops was clearly manifested at the front. It united the personnel and mobilized them to selfless actions and mass exploits. The following figures are noteworthy: at the beginning of 1945 there were 47,074 primary party organizations in the active army and navy, with 1,783,000 party members and candidate members. This was the backbone which cemented the troops. The great power of Lenin's ideas and the party's truth, which were the foundations of educational work, upgraded the political consciousness and combat capability of the soldiers.

As always, the party members were out in front, in the decisive sectors. They led the soldiers with their personal example and inspiring words. The following fact is a convincing confirmation of this: nearly three-fourths of those who were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union during the war were party members. The photographs of dozens and hundreds of these great sons of the homeland are included in the five-volume work.

The impressive power of the pictures is that they represent outstanding vital documents of those distant and unforgettable years. They project the searing heat of the war. These frozen instants of history--great and small, lofty and ordinary--are as close and precious to the eyewitnesses as to the young generation, creating in it a feeling of participation and pride in what our nation of giants was able to accomplish.

The fifth volume of the work is a monument to the historical exploit of the Soviet people who defended the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland and saved the world from the threat of fascist enslavement. It also expresses the gratitude and thanks to frontline cameramen and photographers who, in the time of military trials, marched in the same ranks as the makers of victories and who recorded in visual images their immortal accomplishments. Hundreds of them gave their lives for the homeland.

The new work lets the Soviet people--both veterans and the young--somehow relive the flaming days of the Great Patriotic War and feel sadness for the irreplaceable losses and happiness for the victory. Fascism--the most inhuman, the most terrible, the most reactionary force of the 20th century--was defeated. The study of the documentary materials in the work also creates a feeling of concern for the fate of peace in the face of the threat of a new wave of revenge-seeking and militarism swelling in the West, and the actions of the supporters of the cold war.

To the military adventurists from the imperialist camp the book is a reminder of an historical lesson. The Soviet forces dealt a crushing blow at the fascist lair--Berlin--and raised the flag of victory over the Reichstag. To this day they are vigilantly guarding universal peace, cooling off the ardor and defeating the treacherous plans of those who are not unwilling to fan the flames of a new war on the planet.

This is convincingly proved by the photographic and motion picture documents of this work.

5003

CSO: 1802/16

RECORDS ON STONE AND METAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 119-120

[Review by Col V. Kazarinov of the book "Podvig Naroda. Pamyatniki Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny. 1941-1945 Gg." [The People's Exploit. Monuments of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 318 pp with illustrations]

[Text] "Great is the nation which always feels a living tie with its history, is able to take the best of its historical traditions and make them usable today," said Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the inauguration ceremony of the memorial complex in the city-hero of Kiev on 9 May 1981.

Monuments, particularly those which record the exploits of Soviet patriots in the difficult period of the Great Patriotic War, are the visual embodiment of the unbreakable chain of time and the unfading remembrance by the people of the heroic past of the fatherland and of those who created our victories. The unforgettable characters and noble accomplishments of the defenders of the socialist homeland have been immortalized in metal, marble and concrete, on Soviet soil and far beyond its borders.

The book under review describes the most outstanding of these monuments. Photographs (most of them in color) and reference data acquaint the readers with the memorial ensembles, monuments and other artistic and documentary works which show the unparalleled mass heroism of the Soviet people in the last war and the significance of our universal-historical victory over fascist Germany and militaristic Japan.

It would be hardly necessary to enumerate here the contents of the book. Four of its sections entitled "Milestones of Combat Glory," "Cities-Heroes," "Heroes and Exploits" and "Remembered by the People," reflect the components of our great victory in a graphic and artistic form.

The memorial complexes "The Brest Fortress-Hero," "To the Heroes of the Kursk Battle," which stands in Belgorodskaya Oblast, the monuments to the heroic defenders of Leningrad and other memorials stand as the embodiment of the inflexible spirit and will to win and the unbreakable faith of the people in the triumph of the just cause for which they fought without sparing their lives. The monuments "In Honor of the Birth of the Guard," in Yel'na, "Merger of the Fronts," in Kalachevskiy

Rayon, at the 13th sluice gate of the Volga-Don Navigation Canal imeni V. I. Lenin and the great monuments to the Soviet army in the capitals of a number of European countries stand as symbols of the unsurpassed combat skill of the Soviet soldiers and the military leadership of commanders raised and educated by the Leninist Party, at sites of gigantic battles and of most important strategic operations.

The most important component of our victory, the book states, was the nationwide exploit of the working people of the land of the soviets, and the inflexible and powerful unity between front and rear, ensured by the wise leadership of the communist party. It is regrettable that this topic is almost totally ignored in the illustrations included in the book; yet we are familiar with sculptures such as, for example, the monument in Magnitogorsk in honor of the labor and combat exploits of the people of Magnitogorsk in the Great Patriotic War, as well as others which eloquently prove that it was precisely in the rear that the powerful sword of victory was hammered out.

"He who comes to us with a sword will perish by the sword!" said Aleksandr Nevskiy, and our peace-loving people have backed this threat with actions. With the sacred and unforgettable memory of the heroic past of the homeland, the priceless cost of victory, loyalty to revolutionary, combat and labor traditions, and readiness to defend the fatherland and the ideals of the Leninist Party with the same spirit of self-sacrifice as in the recent past, the Soviet people are issuing a warning to today's amateurs of military adventures as well: anyone who encroaches on our honor and freedom and on peace throughout the world will meet with an inevitable collapse. Our entire heroic history is proof of this.

5003

CSO: 1802/16

TESTED WEAPON OF THE WORKING CLASS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 120-122

[Review by V. Pavlov of the books "Sotsialisticheskiy Internatsionalizm. Teoriya i Praktika Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy Novogo Tipa" [Socialist Internationalism. Theory and Practice of International Relations of a New Type]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 422 pp; "Proletarskiy Internatsionalizm--Moshchnoye Oruzhiye Revolyutsionnogo Preobrazovaniya Mira" [Proletarian Internationalism--A Powerful Weapon for the Revolutionary Reorganization of the World]. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 223 pp; B. N. Ladygin, V. I. Sedov and R. R. Ultanbayev. "Istoricheskiy Opyt Sotrudnichestva Stran SEV" [Historical Experience in Cooperation Among CEMA-Member Countries]. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 285 pp]

[Text] Having appeared at the dawn of the workers movement as the class aspiration of the proletariat of different countries for solidarity and unity in the struggle against the common enemy, the bourgeoisie, proletarian internationalism developed steadily, acquired a new meaning and took new forms. That is the reason for which works on this topical problem are welcomed with interest.

Lenin's ideas of internationalism are embodied in the live practice of the building of socialism and communism. They are being developed further in documents and materials of our party and of other ruling fraternal parties. The experience acquired by real socialism is described in the work "Sotsialisticheskiy Internatsionalizm. Teoriya i Praktika Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy Novogo Tipa," prepared by scientists from fraternal countries. The book sums up the rich theoretical and practical experience of the ruling parties of the members of the socialist comity in the development of intergovernmental relations of a new type; it provides a study of the basic lines followed in their political, economic and cultural cooperation, explains the principles and norms governing their reciprocal relations and, on the basis of specific historical data, shows the unity which exists between the national and international interests of nations building a new society.

Another merit of the book is that it discusses extensively the important problem of the influence of fraternal cooperation and mutual aid on the shaping and consolidation of a socialist way of life and the education of the new man, the patriot and internationalist. The authors emphasize that the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and anticommunism is the common task of the Marxist-Leninist parties and their international duty to the international working class and the entire

revolutionary movement. The problems studied in the book are considered in close connection with the solution of the domestic and foreign political problems of the members of the socialist comity and the requirements of real socialism.

The second book under review is a new work by Soviet social scientists. It shows the role of proletarian and socialist internationalism in the revolutionary re-organization of the contemporary world and the tremendous influence enjoyed by the ideals and principles of international workers solidarity today.

The authors trace the establishment of internationalism as a firm feature of the Soviet way of life in the course of the organization and development of the socialist society. Internationalism is vividly embodied in an essentially new, a superior form of international relations--the friendship among the peoples of the JSSR--which became a powerful factor in the growth and the power of our homeland; it is embodied in the socialist competition among republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons and labor collectives, in the common spiritual life of Soviet nations and nationalities and in the development of and rapprochement among national cultures.

The internationalism of the Soviet person is an important vital principle. It is a firm feature of his awareness, character and behavior. Today this means active participation in the building of communism, loyalty to the socialist fatherland and understanding of the indivisibility between national and state interests, ability to subordinate private interests to the common cause, profound awareness of the common nature of class interests shared by the working people of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and solidarity with the world communist, workers, national liberation and democratic movements.

The assertion of internationalist norms in the life of the Soviet people is an important component of communist education. The authors discuss in detail the practical activities of party organizations in promoting the internationalist upbringing of the working people.

A variety of problems (the Soviet people as a new historical community, patriotic and internationalist upbringing, the internationalist nature of Soviet foreign policy, the struggle waged by Marxist-Leninist parties again nationalism and so on) are considered in the book as organically related to the ideas and principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The authors clearly promote the idea that all the successes achieved by real socialism represent internationalism in action.

"Socialist internationalism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "means high responsibility for the fate of socialism not only in one's own country but throughout the world. It means the highest possible respect for national and historical specifics of the development of each country and the resolve to give each other the broadest possible support. It is a profound understanding of the historical role which socialist countries play in the global revolutionary process and in their support of the liberation and antiimperialist struggle of the peoples."

CEMA, the Warsaw Pact and other international organizations of fraternal countries were created and are successfully operating on the basis of socialist internationalism. The advantages of the new social system in the area of political and economic relations among sovereign countries, which confirm the correctness and vital

strength of the international ideas of Marxism-Leninism, is the topic of the book "Istoricheskiy Opyt Sotrudnichestva Stran SEV."

As the authors show, the international experience of the members of the socialist comity is an alloy of the richest, most varied and most comprehensive experience in revolutionary construction, dedicated defense and steadfast progress of the new society on a national and international scale. This, precisely, proves the fruitful activities of CEMA, which encompasses the more than 60-year experience of the Soviet Union and the more than 30-year experience in building socialism in the European CEMA-member countries, which, in the past, had reached varying levels in the capitalist production method, the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic, which proved the possibility of converting from nomad feudalism to the foundations of socialism, bypassing the capitalist system, the experience of building a new society in Cuba under specific complex conditions, and the experience of heroic Vietnam which waged a stubborn struggle against imperialist aggression for decades.

Thanks to the creative efforts of the communist and workers parties and the development of the social sciences in the fraternal countries, the authors point out, in recent decades concepts such as the global socialist system, global socialist comity, socialist internationalism, international socialist division of labor, socialist economic integration, rapprochement and equalization among levels of economic development of socialist countries and others have firmly entered Marxist-Leninist theory.

With the help of extensive factual data the authors study and summarize the 30-year experience in economic cooperation among CEMA-member countries. In their interpretation of the objective foundations of this process and of the subjective factors governing its development, the authors convincingly prove the role of the CPSU and the fraternal parties in the development of organically interrelated processes of cooperation and rapprochement among the members of the socialist comity in the areas of economics, politics and ideology. The reader is led to the natural conclusion that socialism brings nations closer to each other and that the internal tasks in building a new society are inseparably linked with the further all-round international interaction among fraternal countries.

The imperialist ideologs and political leaders are doing everything possible to divide the revolutionary forces and undermine the international solidarity of the working people. They are particularly zealous in slandering real socialism, using an entire system of means aimed at undermining and loosening up the socialist world. In pointing out that our class enemies are operating against the socialist countries in an increasingly refined and treacherous way, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress that "the history of world socialism has experienced all kinds of trials. It has had complex and critical times. However, the communists have always boldly faced enemy attacks and won. This has been and this shall be. Let no one doubt our common resolve to protect our interests and defend the socialist gains of the peoples!

"We are struggling for the just cause of the peace and security of the peoples, for the interests of the working people. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. Our strength lies in our unity and cohesion."

In defending proletarian socialist internationalism, the communists are waging an uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois falsifiers and all their accomplices. The theoretical interpretation of the live experience of world socialism, the Soviet social scientists and the social scientists in the fraternal countries are substantively proving the futility of the attempts of our class enemy to discredit the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the building of socialism and communism. The very title of the book is proof of this fact.

5003

CSO: 1802/16

ESSAYS ON THE METHODOLOGY OF HISTORICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 122-124

[Review by Prof I. Antonovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book "Dialekticheskiy Materializm i Istoriya Filosofii" [Dialectical Materialism and the History of Philosophy] (Historical-Philosophical Essays). By T. I. Oyzerman. Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 308 pp]

[Text] The theoretical summation of the age-old development of philosophy is one of the most important items in the basic research program in the field of dialectical and historical materialism, as formulated by V. I. Lenin. After F. Engels Lenin emphasized the significance of its history as a school of theoretical thinking and of handling categories. Soviet philosophers always keep Lenin's instructions in their field of vision.

The elaboration of methodological problems of historical-philosophical science, as a relatively separate sector of knowledge, is a considerable achievement of recent years. The studies by Soviet scientists have summed up the developments of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, described the Leninist principles of historical analysis and considered topical problems of the history of philosophy in the light of the contemporary ideological struggle.

The book by T. I. Oyzerman, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, written as a series of essays, deals with the methodological problems of historical-philosophical science. The author discusses particular problems which, although mentioned in his previous works, were not considered in detail. In this sense the essays are the supplement to the previously published monographs by the author "Problemy Istoriko-Filosofskoy Nauki" [Problems of Historical-Philosophical Science] (Mysl', Moscow, 1969) and "Glavnyye Filosofskiye Napravleniya" [Main Philosophical Directions] (Mysl', Moscow, 1971). In terms of scope, variety of problems discussed and originality of their solution, this work represents a noteworthy contribution to the development of the Marxist concept of historical-philosophical knowledge.

In describing historical-philosophical processes as a development, the author proves that inherent in this process is the coexistence and struggle among various doctrines, schools and lines of thought. However, despite the existence of numerous philosophical doctrines, materialism and idealism are the basics, the all-embracing conflicting systems. The struggle between them does not exclude a certain continuity. This is exemplified by the attitude of dialectical materialism toward German

classical philosophy. T. I. Oyzerman links the specific nature of the historical-philosophical process to the basic features of philosophy which, as a specific form of research, also becomes modified into a special form of social awareness--ideology.

The author interprets the creation of dialectical and historical materialism as the revolutionary-critical reinterpretation of the entire history of philosophy and social development as a whole. In this respect Marxist philosophy studies problems which have puzzled all previous philosophies. The dialectical materialistic solution it provides is the theoretical-methodological base for the scientific history of philosophy which, as it traces the development of philosophical knowledge, shows the need for the development of a scientific-philosophical outlook. The historical and logical continuity of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is one of the characteristics of the development of historical-philosophical knowledge, described by the author particularly convincingly.

Together with providing a substantiation for the methodological significance of dialectical materialism in terms of the history of philosophy, T. I. Oyzerman provides a critical analysis of concepts regarding the historical-philosophical process of older philosophers (such as the supporters of ancient skepticism and Hegel) as well as modern bourgeois philosophers. Unlike the philosophy classics, the author points out, modern bourgeois theoreticians are trying to prove that philosophy, including its history, neither can nor should be a science.

Taken to its conceptual conclusion, this nihilistic trend is described today in the studies by many French, Italian and West German authors as "the philosophy of the history of philosophy" (M. Guerou, A. Gouillet, P. Ricker, F. Brunner, F. Lombardi, W. Goldschmidt). The author exposes the subjectivism of the bourgeois scientists in their interpretation of the historical-philosophical process. He points out their simplistic understanding of scientific objectivity, on the one hand, and party-mindedness, on the other. The author proves that the principle of party-mindedness in philosophy means above all the taking of a specific social stand by the scientist and consistency in following a basic materialistic or idealistic line.

The author's substantiation of the dialectical-materialistic understanding of the philosophical system in general and of Marxist philosophy as a system in particular is of great methodological significance. What makes this even more necessary today is the fact that the contemporary critics of Marxism are trying to pit against each other its individual concepts and components, rejecting the idea that it is a single and integral scientific system.

On the basis of the views of the Marxist-Leninist classics the author brings out the true meaning of the Marxist rejection of philosophical systems in their old traditional meaning, i.e., claiming the complete and exhaustive nature of their knowledge, regardless of all subsequent developments in human thinking and practice. The Marxist rejection of such systems presumes a rejection of the pitting of philosophical against nonphilosophical activities (practical in particular), common to all of them. Turning to the familiar Marxian thesis according to which philosophers have been merely interpreting the world in a variety of ways, whereas the point was to change it, T. I. Oyzerman asserts that the meaning of this thesis does not lie in the least in denying the need for a philosophical interpretation of the world.

K. Marx opposed any restriction in the task of philosophy to merely explaining what is. The true meaning of this thesis is to turn philosophy into the theoretical substantiation of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The Marxist rejection of traditional philosophical systems, as well as philosophy in the old meaning of the term, represents, according to the author, the substantiation of a philosophical system of a new type, of dialectical-materialistic philosophy. The work studies the Kantian understanding of the philosophical system as the totality of unchanging categories; it exposes the limited nature of Hegelian panlogism. The author substantiates the Marxist understanding of philosophy as a developing system which is steadily becoming enriched with new conclusions, has a specific place among the other sciences and contributes to their theoretical integration. Philosophy, T. I. Oyzerman emphasizes, stopped being a "priest's function." It assimilates the achievements of the natural and social sciences. Through its methodological and conceptual summations it simultaneously stimulates the interpenetration and interaction among different fields of knowledge and their participation in the solution of both specialized scientific and conceptual problems.

Therefore, the positive dialectical-materialistic rejection of preceding philosophy means the creation of the type of philosophical theory which not only explains the world but is a tool in its transformation. This philosophy blends within itself word with action and thought with action.

Conversely, as the development of bourgeois philosophy indicated, having been unable to fill the traditional gap between theoretical and practical activities, such contraposition, intensified by the conditions prevailing in the contemporary capitalist society, leads to a crisis in philosophical thinking and creates mistrust in the human mind, which develops into a variety of mythological and irrational views which affect philosophy itself, its possibilities and its future (such as, for example, the concept of the death of philosophy). The contrast in philosophical views corresponds to the actual contrast between the socialist and capitalist worlds. Bourgeois philosophy is not developing from myth to reason but from reason to myth, to a myth which is refuted by the creative development of dialectical materialism.

The monograph clarifies quite extensively the attitude of dialectical materialism toward previous developments in philosophy, German idealistic dialectics in particular, as represented by its most noted figures such as Kant, Fichte and Hegel. T. I. Oyzerman brings up a number of essentially important aspects in his analysis of this problem. For example, he describes in his work the way Fichte's dialectical ideas are refracted in Hegel's philosophy. Our philosophy historians have not as yet studied quite adequately the ties linking the concepts of these German idealists.

Another original contribution by this author is his consideration of the attitude of Marxism toward rationalistic tradition and its greatest representative, Hegel, against the background of the ideological struggle under way against the latest forms of contemporary philosophical irrationalism, "technical pessimism" and others. On this level Hegel's theory is considered in the monograph as the completion and the crowning in the ascending line in the development of bourgeois social awareness. According to the author the true meaning of Hegel's philosophy is found in his concept of the unlimited power of the mind. The interpretation of the rationalistic content of Hegel's theory on the power of the mind provided by the author makes it possible to bring up some far from obvious Hegelian antitheological trends in his theory, which obviously contradict some of Hegel's own statements.

The author also discusses an important and topical problem -- the social meaning of Hegelian philosophy. The point is that, to this day, some people in the West see in Hegel's theory an almost feudal-romantic reaction to the French Revolution, whereas others totally ignore the ideological spirit in the doctrine of this outstanding philosopher. Such extreme viewpoints prove the extent to which ideas regarding the sociopolitical nature of Hegel's philosophy are disparate. Arguments on this problem began while the German philosopher was still alive and are continuing to the present. T. I. Oyzerman analyzes in detail the most typical among these views and substantiates the conclusion that Hegel's philosophy is objectively the ideology of the bourgeois revolution, even regardless of the fact that, subjectively, Hegel himself supported a gradual bourgeois reorganization of feudal relations. The author emphasizes the need for making a clearer distinction, on the one hand, between Hegelian dialectics as the predecessor of the theory of the revolution, and, on the other, its interpretation by Hegel himself. The author justifiably points out that Hegel's philosophy expresses in its own way the nature of the bourgeois revolutionism of the age of establishment of capitalist relations. The reason for which contemporary bourgeois philosophers reject the revolutionary side of Hegel's doctrine is that it objectively helps today the struggle waged by all progressive social forces against reactionary ideology, T. I. Oyzerman notes.

One of the essays in the book deals with problems related to the materialistic revision of Hegel's dialectics in Lenin's works. The author proves that thanks to Lenin's analysis its new fundamental stipulations, previously concealed, were made clear. The principle of coincidence among dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge becomes the focal point of attention. The author pays such extensive attention to its consideration because this example enables us to understand more profoundly the attitude of dialectical materialism toward the classical philosophical heritage.

The fact that this study is in the nature of essays could not fail to give it a certain fragmented nature. Furthermore, not all essays are of equal worth. In our view, the problem of Hegel's historical-philosophical views deserved a separate chapter. It would have been expedient also to deal separately with Schelling who, to a greater extent than any other German classical philosopher, worked on problems of the dialectics of nature. The author should have also analyzed more extensively contemporary idealistic historical-philosophical theories. Generally, however, the book by T. I. Oyzerman is a valuable and interesting study and a major contribution to the analysis of the characteristics of the contemporary ideological struggle on the subject of the classical philosophical legacy, a work which will encourage the further development of most important aspects of historical-philosophical knowledge.

5003

CSO: 1802/16

PROGRESS IN HISTORY--PROGRESS IN LITERATURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 125-127

[Review by G. Lomidze, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book by V. V. Novikov, "Dvizheniye Istorii--Dvizheniye Literaturny" [Progress in History--Progress in Literature]. Sovetskiy Pisatel', Moscow, 1979, 480 pp]

[Text] Are progress in history and progress in literature equivalent concepts? Literature does not always catch up with history, history's aftersteps and unexpected twists and zigzags. However, it is almost impossible to understand the nature, the current and the dynamics of the time unless it is backed by the powerful word of literature and unless its instants, which sometimes remain imperceptible to the naked eye, are compressed into something unified, interconnected and interextending. Literature cannot be satisfied with the knowledge of what is in its frozen form. It seeks the unknown, the as yet undiscovered. It does not create a second existence distinct from reality but helps us to see that which is and will be. It erects a kind of spiritual ladder from which, as we climb, we can distinguish more clearly the complex and interconnected ties between the past, the present and the future. Literature lays a new path to the truth. It is not an addition to life but its recreation, its extension.

The literature of socialist realism is a creative spiritual factor which transforms reality. It is party-minded and national in its essence. Its roots are sunk deeply into the people's soil, extracting from it the vivifying moisture for its heartbeat. Does party-mindedness paralyze the flight of fantasy, the play of the imagination, daring and original aesthetic means of depiction? Does it hinder the wish of the writer to be himself and not to resemble anyone else? No, it does not. We do not say this for nicety's sake. The freedom of artistic creativity is really available in its full volume and significance under social conditions in which there is human freedom, in which the interrelationship between people and society is built on the type of foundations which make it possible for a person to feel his value to history and history's need for him, as well as the high purpose of his life on earth. Freedom without social, national and spiritual freedom, without the guarantee that you will not be kicked out of your job tomorrow, you will not be thrown out as an unnecessary rag, is not true freedom but its distorted mirage. Freedom is found wherever man stands tall, wherever he feels himself the creator of his time.

Communist party-mindedness, which was scientifically substantiated by Lenin, is a social as well as aesthetic category, for it enables the artist to determine unerringly the depths of life, to see its flows from various viewpoints, to consider

the dialectics of events and characters and to discover within reality its heart, its superior beauty. The process itself of the knowledge and mastery of such a many-faceted life is dynamic and humanistic. It contains a tremendous charge of moral energy. It demands of the writer an incredible stretch of the imagination and the perfecting of his emotional and intellectual "apparatus" for the perception of reality. In his study of rapidly changing life and in experiencing its attractiveness, the writer who follows the method of socialist realism grows and matures himself, rising ever higher along the steps of literary creativity.

To rephrase L. Sobolev's familiar words, social reality gives the writer all but one right, the right to be untalented. There should be no dull writing about what the Soviet people are building, the way they are doing it, and the motivations and emotional thrusts which are erecting the mature socialist society. That which we see cannot be described in pale, indifferent and sluggish terms. Talent and the breadth, depth and attractiveness of life demand an equally talented and broad style. Life forces the writer, metaphorically speaking, to be mobilized to the hilt, to "pour himself out," to draw from the deepest part of his soul what is most cherished and treasured, always to seek and to dare, and never to stop. Life is rich. How is one to go to its sources, how to capture what is important and characteristic in the crowd of changing circumstances, conflicts and human destinies?

Artistic creativity is inconceivable without summations, without choosing the most essential features encountered by the writer. Typification is a form of study of the typical, inherent in literature and art. To Lenin the artistic type means not only a special individual but, as Gor'kiy said, a phenomenon of the age. The type summarizes and enhances not only a new character, event or phenomenon. It is comprehensive. Closely merged with it are both the socially significant and the aesthetically essential. Type means the unity of the unique and of the personally and socially significant. To Lenin the type is the sum total of certain psychological and social features which characterize the environment depicted by the artist. However, the social, the aesthetic limits of a type do not end with the environment where it has developed or the features it reproduces. In summing up a specific character or phenomenon, the type in art frequently develops, becoming a means for mastering and recognizing other phenomena, which have appeared at a different time. Without losing its own specific nature and historical determination, the type in art breaks the framework of specific circumstances, rising above them and helping us to understand the nature of new phenomena and new characters, whether extant or developing. Within the type the social and the human essences act in unity. This unity does not eliminate the individual, nor does it convert it into the main, the determining factor. The characteristics of individuals, which form the concept of the social type, may not entirely coincide with each other. However, looking beyond these features of the personal character, the writer must see what is basic, what is essential and what, in the final account, shapes the features of one or another type as a phenomenon determined by social circumstances and the period.

In the age of the socialist revolution and the building of developed socialism, artistic creativity is experiencing certain changes created by history itself. The dialectics, the correlation between man and circumstances, are changing most substantially in the socialist society. History is reflected in man, but history is created by the will, aspirations, energy and mind of man. Soviet literature depicts on a broad scale man who, only yesterday, was forgotten and considered insignificant,

as the great citizen of the homeland thanks to the revolution. Metaphorically speaking, the revolution opened the entire window of the human mind and the entire sphere of emotional perceptions and emotions, the entire concealed magic of life. It taught man how to understand himself better. It found in him endless new and unexpected possibilities. The revolution made man stronger, more talented and more complex. Man became an even more attractive being, able to make real miracles.

The birth of the new man and the desire to depict him in his full size required a certain aesthetic retooling, the creation of stylistic forms which could artistically "fix" fleeting instants and paint the portrait of the times. The question arose of new means for the study of life's contradictions from the viewpoint of the dialectics of development and of new forms of artistic synthesis. History itself and the national destiny stood behind the destiny of the individual and promoted the development of specific characters. For example, what was the main innovative feature in M. Sholokhov's novel "Podnyataya Tselina" [Virgin Land Upturned]? It consisted of intellectual saturation, density and enviable human depth. It contained humanistic pathos. It brought up poetically the feelings, thoughts, joys and sorrows of simple people who had entered a new world of social relations which they themselves were shaping and establishing on earth through their hands and their toil. It is thus that socialist art is actively participating in the second and no less significant social revolution which is taking place in the mind, in the spiritual aspect of the new man.

Under socialism the interaction between art and reality demands that art be very active. It must acquire even stronger wings for its further flight. We are familiar with Gor'kiy's thought that true art has the right to exaggerate. What does exaggeration mean in this sense? It does not mean the creation of characters alienated from reality or urging life on only through the force of the imagination. What Gor'kiy meant by exaggeration in realistic art was the broad, the concentrated summation, the ability to concentrate real facts and to create types of universal significance. It is a realistic, a sober exaggeration which makes it possible to extract from facts, events and characters their main content, and to enlarge their meaningfulness. Gor'kiy called for the creation of new hypothetical forms of communication which, in his view, were consistent with the demands of the period. Support of hypothetical forms does not mean lack of faith in realism or in the cognitive-educational function of realistic art. Reality itself and the great accomplishments in life required an inspired, a forward-looking art.

I have caught myself writing an article on some problems of the development of Soviet literature. However, this is not so. Everything I have said so far was inspired by V. Novikov's book "Dvizheniye Istorii--Dvizheniye Literaturnoy." I merely shared with the readers some considerations which arose in reading this theoretically well-presented and lively written intelligent critical work.

The book's three sections: "V. I. Lenin and Contemporaneity," "M. Gor'kiy and Contemporaneity" and "Ideological Wealth and Artistic Variety" are closely inter-related and form a single entity. In the first section the author uses very extensive historical and archive data, some of them previously untouched. He speaks of the unfading power of Lenin's statements on culture as a whole and socialist culture in particular, and of the everlasting, the immortal Leninist theoretical legacy. A truly incalculable number of books, works and basic studies have been written about Lenin. It is exceptionally difficult to say something new about him.

It is to the credit of the author that he approaches Lenin's legacy in the field of culture in a creative and original manner, avoiding a repetition of unquestionable truths. For example, he presents us with a profound and innovative approach to Lenin's understanding of the social and aesthetic nature of the social type.

V. Novikov displays great tact and thoughtfulness in dealing with Lenin's statements, relating them to the most vital problems of contemporary culture, and proving that Lenin's brilliant thinking is eternally alive and effective. I already discussed briefly the second section of the book, without naming the author. This section is as meaningful and fresh as the first. The third section deals entirely with contemporary Soviet literature, its set of problems, ideological wealth and stylistic variety. The fact that the critic looks at Soviet multinational literature on the basis of very broad positions deserves encouragement and approval. He analyzes not only the works of K. Fedin, M. Sholokhov, G. Markov, K. Simonov, A. Tvardovskiy, Yu. Bondarev, A. Chakovskiy, A. Ivanov, S. Antonov, V. Tendryakov and O. Kuvayev but also of A. Nurpeisov, O. Gonchar, Y. Avizhyus, M. Stel'makh and V. Lam. The chapter on Ch. Aytmatov is very rich in content. It offers a fine study and understanding of the most complex problems of the artistic creation of character types.

The author considers the works of writers of the peoples of the USSR not for the sake of creating an appearance of scope and comprehensive critical research. He discusses with interest and love the great and varied experience of the multinational Soviet literature. He is pleased to prove to the reader its aesthetic wealth and the uniqueness of colors and high moral, humanistic, international and philosophical level of the literature of socialist realism. Many of the critic's observations concerning its stylistic variety, such as harmony between the lyrical and the epic, the romantic and the realistic and the epical and the confessional, the increased emotional variety in the works and the appearance of a new meaningful function of the internal monolog which shows the stream of consciousness and of feelings of the socially active individual, the elimination of the one-sided vision of life and the innovative functions of realistic symbolism are backed by a specific study of the artistic fabric of literary works and the skillful comparison between them. The critic judges literary phenomena on a substantive basis, displaying a profound feeling for the individual features of the artist and impeccable aesthetic taste.

We cannot agree with everything V. Novikov says and not all of his statements and observations are uncontroversial. This, however, we believe to be not a weak but a strong point of the work. The author is one of those researchers who engage in extensive and fruitful searches and are exceptionally productive. He has written a useful book, imbued with a spirit of creativity and discovery, a party-minded, impassioned and live book.

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Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 81 pp 127-128

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