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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 10, July 1981

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No. 10, July 1981

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

CONTENTS

L. I. Brezhnev's 23 June 1981 Speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session.....	1
To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World.....	3
Interview with L. I. Brezhnev.....	5
CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree on Intensifying Work on the Economical and Rational Utilization of Raw, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources.....	7
26th CPSU Congress and the Development of the Foundations of Soviet Democracy (V. Kuznetsov).....	17
Way For the Improvement of Planning Technologies (A. Aganbegyan).....	35
Supreme Duty of the Higher School (V. Yelyutin).....	46
Club Activities (P. Sorokotyaga).....	59
Special Concern for Animal Husbandry (K. Vayno).....	67
When the Right Direction Has Been Chosen (V. Grebenyuk).....	80
Guarding Peaceful Labor (Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov).....	86
Preface to the Pamphlet "We Are Optimists" (Gus Hall).....	98

Internationalization of Financial Capital: Contradictions of the Process (Prof G. Chernikov).....	104
Actively To Restrain Bourgeois Ideology (N. Yermoshkin and V. Nekrasov).....	115
Address Remains Clandestine (N. Mor).....	123
Socialist Labor and Its Development Prospects (V. Ignatovskiy).....	130
Problems of Improving the Economic Mechanism (Prof R. Yevstigneyev).....	139
At the Source of Religion (I. Grigulevich).....	142
Bookshelf.....	144

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S 23 JUNE 1981 SPEECH AT THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET SESSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 3-4

[Text] Dear comrade deputies!

The 26th CPSU Congress noted that "the situation in the world today demands new and further effort to eliminate the threat of war and to strengthen international security... No international task today is more important to our party, our people and all the nations on earth than defending the peace."

Bearing the seriousness of the international situation in mind, the congress drafted a specific program for strengthening peace, a program which is the focal point of the attention of the world public today. Our party and the Soviet government as well are pursuing the tireless effort to implement this program.

In the 3 months which have passed since the CPSU congress, the course of international events has again confirmed the accuracy of the conclusions reached by our party.

The militant mood of the militaristic circles headed by the American imperialists has led to a unparalleled arms race. These forces reject talks on restraining the arms buildup process, elimination of the hotbeds of conflict, and peaceful solution of international disputes. They are shamelessly encouraging acts of naked aggression and international banditry on the part of their puppets. The heating up of world tensions is becoming ever more dangerous. An understanding of this danger is growing among the broad masses, and stronger voices opposing militaristic activism are being raised.

Under these circumstances, the responsibility of all peace-loving countries and peoples for the defeat of adventuristic plans, the prevention of irreparable deeds and preservation of the peace increases immeasurably.

We, the Soviet people, are particularly aware of the scope of this responsibility. We have had the difficult experience of the war fought to defeat the German-fascist aggressors, a war which began exactly 40 years ago with the villainous attack mounted against the Soviet Union by Hitlerite Germany. This was the most difficult war ever fought by our people or, more generally, by any nation on earth. We waged this holy battle against the aggressor not for the sake of glory, but to preserve life on earth.

Our people will never forget the millions of Soviet citizens who fell in this battle. Never!

Let us rise in homage to the memory of the fallen heroes (all rise and observe 1 minute of silence).

All of us are well aware that the power of the peace-loving forces opposed to a potential aggressor is greater than ever before.

We know something else as well, however. The very nature of modern arms has become such that if they are used, the future of all mankind will be threatened.

The sole conclusion must be that now, today, we must do everything possible to block the path of the advocates of unrestricted armaments and military adventures. Everything possible must be done to guarantee the right of the people to life. No one can remain indifferent to or stand aside on this matter: it affects one and all. It applies to governments, political parties, public organizations, and of course to the parliaments elected by the peoples and acting on their behalf.

That is why the CC CPSU and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium are submitting for your consideration a draft appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World." This draft calls for active efforts to promote peace and international security and urges that the great prestige and opportunities of the parliaments be used in behalf of peace and international cooperation.

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CSO: 1802/17

TO THE PARLIAMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 4-5

[USSR Supreme Soviet appeal]

[Text] Concerned about the increased threat of war and the unparalleled scope of the arms race, the JSSR Supreme Soviet is turning to the parliaments and the peoples of the world.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is issuing this appeal on the 40th anniversary of the attack of the Hitlerite fascists on our homeland. The Soviet people bow in reverent homage to the bright memory of the 20 million of their compatriots who fell in the war. WW II brought incalculable calamity and suffering to all mankind. We profoundly revere the memory of all those who gave their lives in the struggle against the aggression and for peace on earth.

History taught us a stern lesson. The peoples paid an excessively steep price for their inability to prevent war and divert the danger which threatened in time. We must not allow this tragedy to occur again. Everything possible can and must be done to prevent another world war.

As things are, the planet is oversaturated with weapons of mass destruction. However, the stockpiling of them is continuing, and increasingly sophisticated and destructive weapons are being developed. Launching pads for hundreds of new nuclear missiles are being prepared in Western Europe. Efforts are being made to accustom the people to the criminal concept of the acceptability of using nuclear weapons.

Political tensions are increasing. Once again, reliance is being placed on achieving military superiority and the language of threats is being employed. Claims of interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples are being formulated openly. Gross fabrications concerning the "Soviet military threat" are used to cloak all of this.

The USSR Supreme Soviet states solemnly that the Soviet Union threatens no one. It does not aspire to a confrontation with any country in the West or the East. The Soviet Union neither has sought nor is it striving to win military superiority. It has not been nor will it become the initiator of any new round in the arms race. There is no type of weapon which it would not be willing to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis, following agreements reached with other countries.

Securing the peace was, is and will remain the highest objective of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. This is the purpose of the peace program for the 1980s adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. It includes measures to reduce nuclear missile and conventional weapons. It contains suggestions on the settlement of existing and the prevention of future conflicts and crisis situations. It is imbued with the desire to intensify detente and develop peaceful cooperation among the countries on all continents. It expresses the readiness of the Soviet Union to participate in talks on all the topical problems involving peace and security, and to give attentive consideration to any constructive idea formulated by another country.

In our nuclear century, a dialog, continuing talks, are equally necessary to all, as are peace, security and confidence in the future. There is no sensible means of resolving disputes, however grave and complex they may be, apart from discussion today. Not a single existing opportunity should be wasted. Time will not wait for us!

The risk of a nuclear conflict increases with every day which passes without talks. The solution of vital problems facing each and every nation is being postponed. But time does not stand still!

Today all of those whose actions encourage the arms race and the further stockpiling of the weapons of mass destruction throughout the world, those who favor the use of force in the resolution of controversial differences among countries or who simply ignore the danger facing the world today are actually pushing mankind toward the precipice.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is turning to the legislative organs of all countries with an appeal, asking that they voice their firm desire to hold talks which would lead to the rejection of a new round of nuclear missile armament, talks which would be honest, egalitarian, and lacking in any preliminary conditions or attempts at diktat.

The USSR Supreme Soviet hopes that its appeal will be given the full attention which this most important, burning issue of our time deserves. It is convinced that the parliaments have the necessary authority and attributions to impose effective restraint on the arms race and to achieve disarmament through discussion. The USSR Supreme Soviet will, in turn, continue to make its contributions to the type of atmosphere which will work toward the achievement of positive results from such talks.

Peace is the common property of mankind. In our time, it is also the prime condition for the existence of mankind. It can and must be preserved and safely guaranteed, solely through joint effort.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 23 June 1981

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CSO: 1802/17

INTERVIEW WITH L. I. BREZHNEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 p 6

[L. I. Brezhnev answers questions from correspondent of Finnish newspaper SUOMEN SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI]

[Text] Question: Of late the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe has been actively discussed by the countries in that area. What is the attitude of the Soviet Union concerning the possibility of creating such a zone?

Answer: We understand the desire of the peoples in different parts of the world to increase their safety and protect themselves to a certain extent against the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war, if we fail to prevent its outbreak, by creating nuclear-free zones.

The Soviet Union has already voiced its positive attitude toward the conversion of Northern Europe, specifically, into a nuclear-free zone. Unlike the population of Western Europe, which is literally living on a nuclear volcano today, the people of that area are not yet surrounded by deadly weapons. Naturally, it would be good if the nuclear-free status of Northern Europe were codified and properly legitimized.

The Soviet Union, in turn, is ready to make a commitment not to use nuclear weapons against the countries in Northern Europe which join the nuclear-free zone, i.e., which abandon the production, purchase or deployment of nuclear weapons on their territory. This guarantee which the Soviet Union is offering could be made official either through the signing of a multilateral agreement among the participants or through bilateral agreements with each of the countries in the zone. I repeat that we are ready to do this at any time. Naturally, the importance of the establishment of such a zone to its participants would be greater if similar guarantees were provided by the nuclear powers in NATO.

Question: In the course of the discussions held in the Scandinavian countries on the subject of joining a nuclear-free zone, the view that the creation of such a zone would be aided if the USSR agreed to assume certain additional obligations pertaining to that part of its territory adjacent to the zone has been voiced. Is there any hope of this?

Answer: The guarantee not to use nuclear weapons against the countries in that zone would be the main, and without a doubt the most important, obligation the Soviet

Union is prepared to assume with regard to these countries. However, this does not preclude consideration of certain additional measures pertaining to our own territory in the area adjacent to the nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. The Soviet Union is ready to discuss this matter with the countries involved.

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CSO: 1802/17

CC CPSU AND USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON INTENSIFYING WORK ON THE ECONOMICAL AND RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF RAW, FUEL-ENERGY AND OTHER MATERIAL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 7-16

[Text] The decree notes that the 26th CPSU Congress stipulated that the most important direction to be pursued in the steady upsurge of the national economy involves its accelerated conversion to primarily intensive development, rational use of the existing production potential and overall economy in material, manpower and financial resources. Our future progress, the CC CPSU accountability report emphasizes, will depend to an increasing extent on the skillful and effective use of all available resources, such as labor, productive capital, fuel, raw materials, and the output of fields and livestock farms.

In order to implement the broad program for the country's economic and social development earmarked for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s, huge raw material, fuel-energy and other material resources must be drawn into the production process. However, raw material and fuel extraction is becoming increasingly expensive, and mineral resources are nonrenewable. Under these circumstances, the most economical and rational use possible of all kinds of material resources takes on special national economic significance.

The party's course designed to upgrade economic effectiveness and intensification calls for the more rapid increase in production results than in production outlays and for the production of more with more limited resources. The principles of socialist economic management must be even more consistently and insistently implemented. Lenin's instructions on handling our monetary resources accurately and conscientiously, managing economically, and observing the strictest possible labor discipline must be obeyed. The thrifty use of raw and other materials, reduction of waste and the elimination of losses mean a saving of the labor of millions of people as well as capital investments, an increase in output and the protection of the environment. Broadening the opportunities for an upsurge in the well-being of the people depends heavily upon it.

The progressive collectives have acquired positive experience in the conservation of raw and other materials, fuel and energy while improving production quality. Good results have been obtained wherever economic managers and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are making such efforts purposefully and daily, on the basis of the extensive application of scientific and technical achievements and the involvement of all working people.

However, the turn needed in improving the use of material resources as a whole has not as yet been made. On the basis of the best global indicators, we use too much raw material and energy per unit of national income. Many machine and equipment models are highly material intensive and specific material outlays for the manufacture of specific commodities are high. Conservationist technological processes are not by any means in use everywhere. Considerable quantities of ores, coal and petroleum are left in the ground in the course of mineral extraction. Poor use is made of production waste and secondary resources. Considerable losses of metal, fuel, timber, cement, chemical fertilizer and agricultural and other commodities are allowed to occur in the course of the production and storage processes. The costs of production and transportation are not being reduced rapidly enough. All of these confirm that there is a great potential for economizing on and increasing the production of finished goods using resources available to the national economy. Putting these reserves into the service of society is the most important economic-political task at present.

The CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers believe that radical improvements in the conservation and rational use of raw and other materials, fuel and energy on all national economic levels are necessary. The scientific and technical and structural policy, the capital investment policy, the management system, planning, incentives and the initiatives of labor collectives must be oriented toward this end.

The implementation of the requirement formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress to the effect that the economy must function economically is a matter for the entire party and the people as a whole.

It is important that a mass movement be launched among the working people for comprehensive thrift in industry, agriculture, transportation, construction, the nonproduction area, and management. Every Soviet person must join actively in the struggle for economy and thrift, at work and at home, and must make his specific contribution to this national project.

The decree instructs the central committees of the communist parties of union republics, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party committees to ensure the all-round application of a strict regimen of economy, to strengthen cost effectiveness and to apply methods for the intensive management of the economy extensively. The effectiveness and results of organizational and mass-political work to mobilize the working people with a view to the fuller and more effective use of resources must be upgraded. Such work must become specific and effective to a maximum extent, and a regular campaign-like approach must be avoided.

The tightening of the regimen of thrift and the rational use of resources must be discussed by party organizations and at general meetings of the working people. Enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, establishments and organizations must formulate practical measures for significantly reducing the use of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, for reducing waste, and for the maximum use of secondary resources and the elimination of various kinds of losses during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Those specifically engaged in projects and the heads of services and subunits must submit reports on progress in the execution of their tasks. The party organizations must establish systematic control over the implementation of the measures drafted. The practice of organizing commissions to control the activities

of administrations in the area of conservation of material resources must be broadened; their work must be energized and strengthened through the involvement of initiative-minded and knowledgeable party members.

The party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations must develop and support the initiative of the working people and the creative search for ways and means of effecting economies. They must develop an attitude of concern toward the people's goods and thrift in the use of material values at home. Unproductive outlays and all kinds of losses and excesses must be firmly eliminated. An atmosphere of intolerance toward any waste must be developed.

The exigency in dealing with managers, engineers, designers, planners, technologists and other specialists when it comes to the development and application of new equipment, the most progressive technological processes and other solutions ensuring the rational use and conservation of resources while maintaining high quality in the output must be increased.

The USSR Gosplan, Gosstroy and Gossnab, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR ministries and departments, and the councils of ministers of union republics must make a decisive turn in all planning and economic activities and in the development of science and technology toward the more effective use and conservation of material resources. The following must be guaranteed in the formulation and implementation of the plans:

Economic development must be increasingly oriented toward ensuring more rapid development in production results than in material outlays;

The structure of the national economy and its sectors must be improved in the direction of the all-round reduction of power and material intensiveness in the production process, maximum extraction of minerals, and comprehensive and extensive raw material processing;

Scientific and technical achievements designed to upgrade the effective use of structural and other materials, fuel-energy and raw material resources must be applied extensively; the necessary labor tools, machine systems and highly economical low-waste or waste-free technological processes for this purpose must be developed;

The waste of and losses in raw and other materials must be sharply curtailed in all the phases of their processing, storage and transportation; the fuller utilization of secondary resources and byproducts in production must be ensured;

Capital investments, equipment, and the capacities of construction organizations must be given priority in the implementation of material conservation processes.

Specific suggestions designed to increase thrift in industrial, agricultural, construction, transportation, service and housing-communal economic sectors must be drafted. Particular attention must be devoted to substantially reducing the use of comestible raw materials for industrial needs, eliminating the industrial use of natural fibers by replacing them with synthetic and artificial materials, and efficiently utilizing wood, cement, glass, construction elements and other very important types of resources.

Science must play an increasing role in the effective utilization of all kinds of material resources, the creation and application of resource-saving equipment and technologies, and the expansion of the production of high-quality goods.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR ministries and departments, and the councils of ministers of union republics have been instructed to energize basic and applied research on topical problems in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, with a view to reducing production material and energy intensiveness, increasing thrift and upgrading production quality. The programs for the solution of the most important scientific and technical problems must include special assignments on the rational use of fuel, energy and raw and other materials, based on their comprehensive processing and maximum utilization of secondary resources. Such assignments must include specific indicators on the conservation of resources and on upgrading the quality of output over the five-year period.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology is instructed to organize the development of the most progressive resource-saving types of equipment and technologies of intersectorial significance, and to ensure the practical utilization of such efforts in industry.

Starting with 1981, the five-year and annual plans of industrial, construction and transportation ministries, associations, enterprises and organizations will include assignments of production (work) costs showing ceilings (maximum levels) for material outlays, expressed per ruble of output (work).

The USSR Gosplan and Gossnab, USSR ministries and departments, councils of ministers of union republics and heads of associations, enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes, kolkhozes and transport organizations have been asked to improve norming considerably, to upgrade the mobilizing importance of norms and standards, to refine existing and formulate new progressive norms promptly for the outlay of raw and other materials, fuel and energy resources, on the basis of planned assignments and in accordance with the use of the achievements of science and technology and the experience of leading collectives.

The USSR Gosplan will include norms governing outlays of the most important types of materials, fuels and energy resources, in physical terms per unit of output, in the five-year and annual plans of USSR ministries and departments and union republics, while USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics will issue corresponding norms for associations, enterprises, and organizations.

The USSR Gosplan, Gossnab and Gosstroy, USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics have been instructed to broaden the variety of material resources for which centralized assignments for an average reduction of outlays will be established. In 1981 they must draw up a list of the most important material-intensive types of output (primarily serial, large-serial and mass production) and projects for which, as of 1982, individual norms governing outlays of basic types of material resources must be approved on a centralized basis.

USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics must ensure high-level scientific and technical substantiation of the norms approved and the assignments pertaining to their reduction, as well as ceilings for material

outlays, and must organize rigid control of adherence to them. Existing outlay norms for material resources must be reviewed periodically in accordance with the planned deadlines for the installation of new equipment and introduction of new technology. New services in charge of norming material resources and checking on their rational use in associations, enterprises and organizations must be created, or the existing ones strengthened with highly skilled cadres.

In the formulation and approval of plans for upgrading the technical standards for sectors, the USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics must include in them progressive norms and the final results to be achieved in the conservation of raw and other materials, fuel, energy and other resources, and must submit them to the USSR Gosplan together with their draft five-year plans.

The USSR Gossnab and Gosstroy and the USSR Ministry of Finance have been instructed to increase their control over the quality of resource-outlay norms and the adherence to norms (standards) issued on a centralized basis, applied by ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations. If outlay norms are exceeded, steps should be taken to ensure their immediate revision. Payments for materials, fuel and energy used above the norm (ceiling) will be made at higher prices and rates, in accordance with established procedures.

Standards and technical stipulations will be further improved, and their role in upgrading the quality of output and the economical utilization of resources will be strengthened. The existing procedure for the planning of the drafting and application of standards will be improved. The formulation and definition of standards for new types of machines, equipment and materials will parallel the corresponding research, design and engineering operations involved in creating prototypes of such equipment and materials. Some of the basic characteristics of standards and technical stipulations will include indicators of material and energy intensiveness consistent with the best achievements in domestic and foreign science and technology. Only goods which meet these specifications will be classified as superior in quality in the course of commodity certification. In 1981-1982, norms, standards and rules governing design and computation, including admissible stresses, reserve coefficients and testing methods, will be reviewed, and their extensive sectorial and intersectorial standardization will be ensured.

In 1981-1982, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and State Committee for Standards, USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics will check technical production conditions and see to it that progressive norms and specifications designed to upgrade the quality of output and to ensure the economical and effective utilization of raw and other materials and fuel and energy resources are applied.

With a view to upgrading responsibility for the designing, manufacturing and marketing of substandard goods and improper storage of goods, economic penalties for violation of the requirements set forth in standards and technical specifications will be broadened and extended to the following organizations:

Engineering-design and scientific research organizations and development enterprises for the development and manufacturing of goods;

Agricultural, procurement, supply-marketing and wholesale and retail trade organizations and enterprises for the marketing and storage of goods;

Transportation enterprises for the hauling of goods;

Service enterprises and establishments for services.

It has been deemed necessary to stimulate the interest of workers, managers, engineering and technical workers and employees in associations, enterprises and organizations in the effective utilization of material resources. In this connection:

The economic incentive funds of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations will be made dependent upon material outlays per ruble of output (work). Starting in 1983, direct withholdings for these funds will be made from the savings effected by reducing material outlays below the approved ceilings. If the ceilings are exceeded, the withholdings for economic and scientific funds will be reduced, but by no more than 25 percent of the planned amount. The same procedure will be followed for increasing or reducing economic incentive funds in the formulation of five-year plan indicators (as compared to control figures) and annual plans (as compared to the five-year plan assignments for the year in question) and in assessing plan fulfillment;

Starting with 1982, bonus payments to workers, foremen, technologists, designers and other engineering-technical workers for savings in specific types of material resources as compared to technically substantiated (average progressive) outlay norms will be expanded. Bonus payments of up to 75 percent of the value of material resources saved, depending on their type, cost and scarcity, will be made. Wherever expedient, bonus payments will be made for the achievement of progressive technically substantiated norms. Bonus payments will be made for savings in material resources over and above the maximum bonus payments for the individual sectors. The current awarding of bonus payments for the conservation of metal, fuel, energy and other resources subject to higher bonus amounts will be continued;

Beginning in 1983, bonus payments to leading workers and employees in production associations, enterprises and organizations based on the level of outlays per ruble of output (work), as compared to the approved ceiling, and in accordance with the implementation of assignments on the cost of output (work) for the association, enterprise or organization, will be introduced. Bonus payments to managers of sub-units of production associations, enterprises and organizations will also be awarded for savings in material outlays based on the assignments given the respective sub-units for production costs.

With a view to increasing economic incentives for associations, enterprises and organizations and upgrading the material incentives for their collectives to achieve fuller utilization of industrial waste, secondary resources and local raw materials:

Beginning in 1982, profits from the marketing of consumer goods and production-technical items made of production waste will be made available to the associations, enterprises and organizations, regardless of their affiliation, and will be deposited to the consumer goods fund as follows: for profitability of less than 25 percent, the full amount; for profitability of more than 25 percent, one half, provided that the cost of the waste used in the production of said commodities and goods

accounts for 50 percent or more of the cost of all raw and other materials used, excluding the cost of auxiliary materials; the procedure governing the use of profits stipulated in Decree No 61 of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 15 January 1981 will be extended to associations, enterprises and organizations under USSR ministries and departments.

The executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies have been asked to guarantee delivery to the people of the construction materials made available when buildings and equipment belonging to them are dismantled or torn down. Income from such sales will go to the local budgets, over and above planned revenues.

The councils of ministers of union republics and the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to see to the substantial upgrading of their work with the people to ensure the economical use of heat, electric power, gas and water in homes. The following measures have been deemed necessary to improve control over the use of heat-power and water resources: increased use of tools and means for measuring and controlling individual and collective consumption of electric power, gas, water and heat; gradual reduction of the ceilings for the use of such resources, with increased responsibility of enterprises and establishments within the housing-communal sector and the population for ensuring their efficient use.

The USSR Gossnab must ensure strict state control over the rational and economical use of material resources in the national economy, the application of progressive outlay norms, and the implementation of measures to prevent wasteful storage and use of raw and other materials, fuel and equipment, and to identify internal reserves for the reduction of the material intensiveness of output. The USSR Gossnab has been given the right to set up procedures and norms for the collection, marketing and processing (or use within ministries and departments) of secondary resources for ministries and departments, and to allocate funds to them based on assignments for the collection and use of secondary raw materials.

The USSR Gossnab and Gosplan, together with the ministries and departments, have been instructed to formulate and apply effective systems for the collection, marketing, processing and use of all types of secondary raw materials in 1981-1982.

Together with the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, the USSR Gossnab and the Tsentrsoyuz have been asked to improve the organization of collecting secondary raw materials and residential waste from the population substantially by making extensive use of mobile receiving centers. The USSR Gossnab and Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Central Statistical Administration have been instructed to submit proposals concerning the economical use of above-plan and surplus stocks of commodity-material values, reducing above-plan surpluses of noninstalled equipment, and acceleration of the turnover of working assets.

With a view to improving the work of USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics on the utilization of raw and other materials, fuel and energy and ensuring functional control over the implementation of measures in this area, as stipulated in party and government decisions, it has been deemed necessary to set up an interdepartmental commission on conservation and rational use of material resources, headed by the USSR Gossnab chairman and USSR Council of

Ministers deputy chairman. Corresponding republic, kray and oblast interdepartmental commissions and sectorial commissions within USSR ministries and departments will be organized.

The USSR People's Control Committee has been asked to exert stricter control over the implementation of the economy and thrift regimen at all national economic levels, as well as the rational use of electric and thermal power, raw and other materials, fuel, agricultural output, machines, equipment, transport facilities and labor resources. A persistent effort must be made so that the campaign against non-productive outlays and losses will become the daily concern of the people's control committees, groups and posts, and each individual people's controller. All manifestations of waste and lack of thrift must be firmly eliminated. Officials must be taken to task strictly for damage suffered by the state. The people's control organs must make full use of their rights in this area.

The USSR Central Statistical Administration, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR Gosbank and Stroybank have been instructed to improve the system of accounting, reporting, economic analysis, and control over the proper and effective use of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, and to ensure strict accountability for all kinds of waste and losses, working with the USSR Gosstab.

The USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics must complete the conversion of subordinate associations, enterprises and organizations to the normative method for accountability for production outlays and calculating production costs on the basis of progressive norm and standard systems during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

State accountability for the implementation of assignments pertaining to the average reduction in outlay norms for the most important types of raw and other materials will be applied as of 1981; state accountability for material resources saved as compared with the established maximums and the corresponding bonus payments will be applied as of 1982.

The AUCCTU and the trade union councils and committees have been asked to increase their efforts to guarantee thrifty and efficient use of resources and the active participation of every working person in the struggle for comprehensive thrift. The effectiveness of socialist competition must be upgraded. Counterplans and pledges must be oriented toward increasing the regimen of thrift and the mobilization of existing reserves to an even greater extent. It has been established that indicators which characterize the reduction of material outlays and the conservation of other resources, and the amount of additional output resulting from such savings, must be regarded as one of the most important criteria in the formulation and assessment of the implementation of counterplans and in summing up the results of competition.

In order to ensure the extensive involvement of the working people in guaranteeing economy and thrift, the holding of an all-union social review of the effectiveness with which raw and other materials and fuel-energy resources are used in the national economic sectors, associations, enterprises and organizations, with an annual summarization of results, has been deemed expedient for the period of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Together with ministries and departments, the AUCCTU, Komsomol Central Committee and USSR Gosstab have been instructed to draw up the procedure for such reviews and to formulate incentive measures for participants in them.

The USSR Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy and the comparable republic, kray and oblast exhibitions will include standing exhibits describing the experience of frontranking collectives which guarantee the strictest possible regimen of saving on all types of resources.

The All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies and the Central Council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers have been asked to ensure the further development of the mass technical creativity of the working people, an increase in their activity in technological and equipment improvement and the discovery and utilization of reserves for the conservation of material resources, and the creation of special sections in the primary organizations of such societies under ministries, departments, associations and enterprises to deal with problems in reducing production material intensiveness.

The Komsomol Central Committee and other organizations are called upon to ensure the active participation of youth in the mass movement for the conservation of material resources. The development of a concerned and thrifty attitude toward the people's goods created thanks to generations of toil must become one of the key elements in the educational work in Komsomol and Pioneer organizations. The participation of young people in the collection of scrap metal, waste paper, and other types of secondary raw materials must be energized.

The study of problems pertaining to economy and thrift in the light of the tasks formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress will be organized within the economic training system and at institutes, in faculties and courses to upgrade skills, in party-economic aktiv courses and in Marxism-Leninism universities.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR Ministry of Education, and USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education have been asked to intensify their work in educating students and working people in a spirit of thrift and a communist attitude toward labor and public property. The study of economic subjects must be improved. The role of the training process in such studies must be upgraded. Extensive lectures and talks must be organized and other forms of explanatory work on problems in the economy must be utilized.

Newspapers and editors, radio and television and the other mass information and propaganda media and the Znaniye All-Union Society have been asked to cover the problems pertaining to a thrifty attitude toward public property and the rational utilization of all resources, as one of the most important principles in party economic strategy, effectively and extensively. Progressive experience in the conservation of raw, fuel-energy and other material resources and the production of high quality goods with reduced outlays acquired in the USSR and other socialist countries must be disseminated extensively.

The central, republic, kray and oblast newspapers must devote special sections to intensifying the economy regimen and the rational use of resources. The best achievements must be described clearly and regularly, and the existing shortcomings must be exposed in terms of specific cases. Instances of lack of thrift, violations of the established norms for the outlay and consumption of resources, production of substandard goods, faulty work and theft of and losses in material values must trigger sharp and functional reactions.

The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting must systematically include in transmissions to television and radio audiences practical advice and recommendations on the conservation of electric power, fuel, water and other material resources.

The USSR State Committee for Cinematography has been asked to increase the production of popular science training and feature films on economy and thrift to a considerable extent.

The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade has been asked to increase the production of books, brochures, series, posters, visual aids and leaflets on problems pertaining to economy and thrift. Politizdat has been asked to prepare and publish the anthology "V. I. Lenin, KPSS ob Ekonomii i Berezhlivosti" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Economy and Thrift] in 1981; the Pravda Publishing House has been asked to publish the following textbooks: "Berezhlivost--Cherta Kommunisticheskaya" [Thrift Is a Communist Feature] (for workers and kolkhoz members) and "Ekonomnaya Ekonomika" [Economical Economy] (for specialists and managers on all management levels).

In conjunction with the USSR unions of painters, writers and journalists, the Plakat Publishing House is now asked to see to the drafting of artistic printed originals on problems in economy and thrift for use in various products of the printing industry, such as textbooks, student notebooks, notebooks, books, pamphlets, journals, calendars, postcards and labels.

The economical and thrifty attitude of the Soviet citizen toward the resources of the homeland, as a topic, must be more extensively reflected in the arts, fiction, and the activities of creative associations and cultural-educational institutions.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have expressed their firm confidence that party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations, labor collectives, workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia will do everything necessary to implement the measures designed to increase economy and ensure the rational utilization of resources, thus making an important contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the assignments in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the program for the enhancement of the prosperity of the Soviet people.

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26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

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[Article by V. Kuznetsov, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] The Soviet people and all progressive mankind are continuing to study the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress with unabated attention and to gain an understanding of the depth and meaning of the historical decisions it made. The Central Committee accountability report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the highest forum of the Soviet party members, is of particular interest. This outstanding document of tremendous political and theoretical significance is yet another major contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. It provides clear answers to the basic questions facing Soviet society at the beginning of the 1980s and earmarks inspiring prospects for our further progress.

The accountability report sums up the comprehensive experience acquired in the course of the constructive activities of the party and the people, defines the main tasks for the economic and sociopolitical development of the country and points the way toward the most effective utilization of the advantages and opportunities provided by the mature socialist society. Constructive new proposals were formulated with a view to intensifying detente, strengthening peace and restraining the arms race. They are the direct extension and development of the peace program formulated at the 24th and 25th party congresses.

Not much time has passed since the congress. With every passing day, however, the mobilizing impact of its decisions on all aspects of our life is becoming increasingly clear. Extensive political and organizational work has been launched for their implementation in the country. Aktivs of party organizations of republics, krays and oblasts have met, the AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee have held plenums, and comprehensive meetings have been held by labor collectives. The all-union socialist competition under the slogan "Let Us Work Effectively and With Quality" has gained wide scope.

The soviets of people's deputies have joined actively in the practical work for the implementation of the decisions of the congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's address at the 1 April 1981 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium clearly defined the most important directions in their activities. Local soviets and the

supreme soviets of autonomous republics have discussed these problems. In completing the consideration of the tasks facing the organs of the people's system, based on the decisions of the congress, at their sessions, the supreme soviets of union republics summarized everything of value set forth at the sessions of the local soviets and converted the political stipulations of the congress and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions into a specific program for action.

The stipulations and conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress defined the content and proceedings of the 5th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, held on 23-24 June.

The main event at the session was the outstanding speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, which profoundly substantiated the extreme responsibility of all peace-loving countries and peoples for the defeat of the adventuristic plans of militaristic circles to increase international tension and to mount an unprecedented arms race. On behalf of the party's Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, he submitted to the session a draft appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World" for its consideration.

The debate on this important document and its unanimous approval by the Supreme Soviet constituted an impressive manifestation of the true love of peace of the Soviet people and their sincere aspiration toward peace, detente and disarmament.

Before the entire world, the USSR Supreme Soviet solemnly proclaimed that the Soviet Union threatens no one, and that it does not want a confrontation with any country in the West or the East. The Soviet Union has never sought military superiority. It has not been nor will it become the initiator of a new round in the arms race. There is no type of weapon it would not agree to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis, by agreement with other nations.

Ensuring the peace was, is and remains the supreme objective of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. This is the aim of the peace program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress. It includes measures for reducing both nuclear and conventional weapons. It contains proposals for the settlement of existing and the prevention of new conflicts and crises. It is imbued with the aspiration to intensify detente and to develop peaceful cooperation among the countries on all continents. It expresses the readiness of the Soviet Union to engage in talks on all the topical problems involving peace and security and to give attentive consideration to any constructive idea set forth by another country.

The USSR Supreme Soviet appealed to the legislative organs of all countries to voice their firm support of talks which would result in the prevention of a new round in nuclear missile armament, talks which would be honest and egalitarian, and lacking in any preliminary stipulations or attempts at diktat.

The other decisions approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet are also inspired by the ideas and the spirit of the congress.

The Supreme Soviet appeal met with broad international response. It became the focus of the attention of global public opinion. It was fully supported by the parliaments of the socialist states and by the leaders of many Asian, African and Latin American countries. Understandably, the ruling circles in the United States

and the other NATO countries are trying to minimize the significance of this document. However, even our political opponents must admit that under circumstances characterized by growing tension throughout the world, a calm and sober voice was heard from the Kremlin in support of peace, detente and international dialog.

The Supreme Soviet appeal emphasized the growing international prestige of our country's supreme organ of state power.

The level of the parliamentary relations maintained by the USSR Supreme Soviet is a qualitatively higher one. These relations have been expanded and have taken on a deeper and fuller nature. The results are being codified in jointly approved documents. Our deputies are acting as the true political representatives of the land of the soviets, carrying the truth of our life, the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy and the Soviet way of life to the most remote corners of the earth.

I

The questions of representation of the people and its role in the contemporary world are being actively discussed in a wide variety of political and scientific circles. Here we have two diametrically opposite approaches. The first is based on the achievements and values of the democracy of real socialism, while the other is based on the defense of contemporary bourgeois democracy.

Life has confirmed the historical accuracy of V. I. Lenin's class analysis of bourgeois democracy and the "respectable" bourgeois parliament, which "although it may be the most democratic one in the most democratic of all republics... is a machine for the suppression of millions of working people by a handful of exploiters" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 457). To this day, the political reality in the leading Western countries convincingly demonstrates that a bourgeois parliamentary republic "suppresses, strangles the independent political life of the masses and their direct participation in the democratic construction of all governmental life, from top to bottom" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 163). The stormy battles, dramas and changes of scene occurring on the bourgeois political stage rarely affect the depths of social life and hardly change the real situation of the toiling and oppressed classes. For example has the situation of the American unemployed sector, the Blacks, and the other national minorities changed for the better as a result of the fact that the U. S. Senate majority and the President himself are Republicans and not Democrats?

It is no accident that in the much praised bourgeois democracy, the deliberate choice of the citizens, sometimes as many as one half of all the voters, not to vote is taking on calamitous proportions. This mass apathy toward the exercise of such an important civic right can only be interpreted as a manifestation of disappointment in the bourgeois democratic institutions.

The crisis phenomena characteristic of the bourgeois system give rise to theories attempting to prove that in the contemporary age -- that of the scientific and technical revolution -- the role of people's representation is dwindling, since it is alleged that the "cumbersome" representative system is unable to resolve the problems in contemporary dynamic life functionally and "lacks competence" to deal with the most complex scientific and technical, production and social problems.

The reason, of course, lies elsewhere. In today's era of acute social struggle, the parliamentary mechanism of monopoly omnipotence is beginning to experience interruptions and to function sporadically. Under such circumstances, monopoly capital is making less effort to govern through parliamentary institutions than through a variety of invisible and semi-invisible organizations, committees, staffs, "informal commissions of expert specialists," and so on.

This is not to say, naturally, that the bourgeoisie has "written off" parliaments as a means of ensuring its domination. The contemporary bourgeois parliament was and remains an important tool for expressing the will and interests of the ruling class. It is convenient mainly because it is as a rule camouflaged as a "national" or "above-class" authority the purpose of which is to guarantee "social order and harmony and the well-being of society."

However, we must not underestimate the fact that under present circumstances, the progressive forces in the capitalist countries are trying to use the opportunities offered by parliamentary forums in their struggle against monopoly sway, for the rights of the working people, to strengthen peace and to oppose the threat of war, as well.

Such are the contradictions facing contemporary bourgeois parliaments -- the contradictions in capitalist society itself.

Since they are unable to conceal the processes occurring in the bourgeois parliaments or to instill them with new strength, the defenders of the capitalist system are making every possible effort to misrepresent the truly democratic nature of the representative people's organs in the socialist countries. The political reality of real socialism and the comprehensive activities of the representative organs in the socialist countries are convincingly refuting the idle fabrications of the bourgeois theoreticians.

Socialism led to a turn in the thinking of mankind on people's representation and its historical destiny. Instead of the totally false and restricted caste system, the essence of which is that the oppressed are allowed every few years "to decide which member of the ruling class should represent and suppress the people in the parliament" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 17, p 344), socialism created a qualitatively new, immeasurably more democratic, all-embracing and truly representative system which embodies true democracy to the fullest. "We cannot conceive of democracy without representative institutions," Lenin wrote, "even in a proletarian democracy. However, we can and must do without parliamentarianism..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 48). It was thus that Lenin pitted bourgeois parliamentarianism sharply against the representative system of a new and superior type -- the socialist one.

Theory and practical experience demonstrate irrefutably that given the contemporary conditions under real socialism, the importance and role of representative organs increase beyond measure. It is precisely this perfect and effective system of popular representation which can involve the entire population mass in the overall historical process of building a new society, on the one hand, and can reflect the most basic and vital interests and expectations of the people most fully and comprehensively, because of its authority, on the other. It is the best form of state management by society, the optimal system of social management, and the highest form of democracy.

It is on this basis precisely that the CPSU drafts its strategy and implements its policy. Its systematic course is designed to intensify the role played by popular representation -- the soviets -- in the management of all areas of state, economic and sociocultural construction. This course is reflected in the decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and the 1977 USSR Constitution. This general line of state construction, which was further developed in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the congress, is the actual embodiment of the Leninist idea of the place and role of representative organs under mature socialist conditions.

Today the organs of our people's system have reached a qualitatively new stage of development. Functioning in the heart of the masses and most closely linked with them, the absolute majority of such organs operate in a militant way characterized by initiative, actively influencing the production process, social development and the spiritual life of society, and promoting order, organization and discipline in each work sector.

The soviets embarked on this new stage with rich experience in the management of state, economic and sociocultural construction. Today they have every requisite for becoming even more energetic promoters of party policy and exerting a specific and effective influence on all aspects of governmental and social life. This is based reliably on constitutional norms, legislation on the soviets and CC CPSU decrees.

The comprehensive and fruitful activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, are contributing tremendously to an increase in the role and prestige of the soviets. His addresses to the USSR Supreme Soviet session and Presidium meetings contain very valuable recommendations and instructions on the key problems pertaining to all stories, if we may call them that, in the building of our representative system today. Essentially, the totality of Leonid Il'ich's addresses provide an all-round substantiated concept of the further improvements in the activities of the organs of people's representation under mature socialist conditions. Whatever problems life and comprehensive practical activity may pose, we find the means of resolving them in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's clear instructions, for they are the concentrated expression of the policy of our party in governmental construction and the development of democracy today.

The successful implementation of the comprehensive tasks assigned to the soviets is most closely linked with the further development of the democratic foundations of their activities and the improvement of all aspects of the organization of such activities.

Organizationally, the organs of the people's system made great advances after the adoption of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics. The activities of the soviets at their sessions improved. The role of the permanent commissions in preparing for sessions and the items to be discussed at executive committee meetings was enhanced. Relying on their aktiv, the soviets and their organs are engaged in a systematic and purposeful effort to bring up additional reserves in order to upgrade production effectiveness and work quality.

The activities of the soviets are based on ever broader publicity. The work of the deputies in their electoral districts has become more varied and effective. Most deputies meet regularly with their constituents, inform them about the work of the soviets, and discuss the implementation of the plans for economic and social development. They participate actively in organizing the execution of the laws and decisions made by the soviets.

However, the new levels to be achieved, as defined by the congress, call for the further enhancement of the organizational work level in the organs of the people's regime. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, "It is a question now of energizing the entire system of soviets for the resolution of the problems posed by the party."

After discussing the tasks of the soviets pertaining to the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium focused attention in its decree on the need for further improvement in all the forms of organizing their work. The practical work of preparation for and the holding of sessions needs persistent improvement. The meetings of executive commissions and permanent commissions must be meaningful. This will enable us to make fuller use of the potential available to the power organs for the definition of existing reserves, the criticism of shortcomings, engaging in a collective search for the best decisions, and uprooting formalism, bureaucracy and red tape.

The energizing of the work of the soviets in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress involves the task of strengthening the management of subordinate state power organs by superior soviets.

The key to the further enhancement of the standard for guidance of subordinate soviets is found in the combination of legislative work with administration and control. Today, this noteworthy Leninist formula, confirmed at the 26th CPSU Congress, is becoming particularly important. The more systematically and fully it is implemented in practice, the more effective the activities of supreme soviets in the management of all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural construction will become.

In the light of the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, immediate democracy -- the direct manifestation of the will of the people in the management of government affairs -- will be developed further, side by side with representative democracy. This fruitful idea was set forth by Lenin. He pointed out that "We need not only democratic representation, but also the structuring of the entire state administration from below, by the masses themselves, with their active participation in each practical step and an active role in management" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 288). Life has borne out Lenin's brilliant prediction to the effect that the soviets make it possible "to combine the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of direct and immediate democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 304-305).

Direct democracy involves the use of referendums as codified in the new USSR Constitution, which long ago became a practice in the nationwide discussion of the most important problems in governmental life. It also means the free and effective election of people's representatives.

In this connection, we must not fail to mention the right to recall deputies. Lenin described this right as an "essential specification of true democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 106). It is exercised by the voters quite extensively. In the past decade, about 4,000 deputies who failed to justify the trust of the electorate in the soviets have been recalled.

This indicator of the high level of the exigency of the Soviet people toward their elected officials and the political activity and maturity of these officials shows convincingly that the accountability of representative organs to the people is a real actuality under the conditions of Soviet democracy.

Life has confirmed the great viability of our soviets. Its sources are found in the closest possible links with the masses, the communist party's leadership, and the constant attention which the CC CPSU and Central Committee Politburo devote to all aspects of the activities of the organs of the people's regime. This is also the indestructible foundation for the successful work done by the soviets and it determines the wealth of its forms and content.

II

The system of popular representation is real and effective only when it encompasses the most essential features of state and social management, resolves the basic problems in the life of the people and reflects their interests and expectations comprehensively. This is precisely the nature and meaning of the democracy which the system of representative organs provides.

If we look at the activities of our soviets from this viewpoint, we are fully justified in saying that they are today resolving the most vital and topical problems in the life and work of the Soviet people, and they are in the front lines of the building of communism. This is also the orientation assigned to them by the party congress.

Economics is the main battlefield for communism. We see that the most important characteristic of the work of the soviets under contemporary conditions is the increased attention they devote to the economy and the main problems in comprehensive socioeconomic development. The first task is to consolidate and intensify this new orientation in the work of the soviets, and the second is to link economic development and improved living conditions for the Soviet people even more closely. "Specific concern for the individual person, his needs and requirements," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th party congress, "is the beginning and the end of the party's economic policy."

The territorial principle is the basis on which the system of soviets is structured. The plans for the economic and social development of the rayon, city or oblast, the other types of territorial plans, and the coordination functions performed by the soviets for all enterprises and organizations under superior jurisdiction located on their territory are of the greatest importance in ensuring their comprehensive approach to the solution of problems. Therefore, the increased influence of the soviets on the economy has to do both with improvements in territorial planning and with the quality of the implementation by them of their coordination functions. The CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree recently approved "On Further Upgrading the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies

in Economic Construction" was designed to broaden the economic rights of the soviets and to ensure the better combination of sectorial and territorial principles in economic management. The measures included in the decree allow the soviets, as defined by the congress, to increase their influence on the development of public production and to devote greater attention to the increased production of consumer goods and the development of public education, health care, housing and cultural construction, trade, consumer services and public catering.

Practical experience shows that many soviets are utilizing their rights and have become true organizers of the comprehensive development of their territory. They are achieving good results in ensuring the balanced growth of the economy and social services to the population. Extensive work is being done in this connection by soviets in Moscow and in Leningradskaya, Kemerovskaya, Sverdlovskaya, L'vovskaya, Minskaya and several other oblasts.

The Krasnoyarskiy Kray Soviet can be regarded as an example in its businesslike and creative approach to the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems. Together with scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, the kray executive committee formulated a long-term program for coordinating the development of the kray's multisectorial economy and the creation of a broad social infrastructure.

However, some soviets still approach their role in the drafting of plans for the comprehensive development of their territories timidly. It is quite important today, therefore, to see that each soviet joins in this work with real energy and, above all, effectiveness.

The comprehensive approach calls for the rational use of manpower resources, since this is the main source of our national wealth. For example, the Georgian SSR is doing extensive work in this direction. Its supreme soviet has established a permanent commission for the rational use of manpower resources, thus ensuring the better coordination of the activities of state organs and economic organizations. The constant attention devoted to this problem has made it possible to improve the level of employment of the able-bodied population of the republic considerably.

The greater role and responsibility of the soviets for the comprehensive economic and social development of their territory should be such as to contribute to upgrading the work standard at local industrial enterprises and organizations. A great deal is being done along this line. Rich experience has been acquired by the Latvian and Estonian SSRs and by many other republics, oblasts and cities.

However, there are instances of unsatisfactory management of subordinate enterprises, associations and organizations by the soviets. Some enterprises fail for years on end to fulfill their plans, and their work is poorly organized. The soviets must take more serious actions on such problems and be persistent in seeing to it that matters improve at subordinate enterprises.

The soviets are devoting increasing attention to ensuring deliveries of high-quality foodstuffs to the population. A food program is being drafted, on the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. It is based on a further upsurge and increased effectiveness in agriculture. The problem is to bring agriculture closer to the sectors in industry servicing it --those dealing with the storage, transportation and processing of agricultural commodities, and to trade, and to block product losses.

In recent years the soviets have begun to study the processes occurring in agriculture in greater depth, to consider the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhoses more attentively, and to deal more effectively with the protection and use of the land and the training and consolidation of cadres. Last year the local soviets took up more than 100,000 problems pertaining to this sector at their sessions. Let us also note the following pattern: in the republics which coped with the 10th Five-Year Plan assignments on the production of field and animal products most successfully, the soviets dealt actively, on the whole, with agricultural production problems.

However, substantial shortcomings still exist in the activities of a number of soviets in this area. They mainly have to do with the fact that the authorities are not waging a sufficiently energetic and purposeful struggle for the effective use of the vast funds allocated to agriculture and for an increase in yields per hectare of land, per kilogram of fertilizer, and per unit of machinery and tools.

In order to ensure a rapid upsurge in agricultural production without reducing concern for the improvement of kolkhoz and sovkhos activities, more attention must be devoted to problems pertaining to the social development of the countryside. Fuller use must be made of the potential of the private auxiliary and auxiliary enterprise farms.

Increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods and the further development of trade and the whole service industry are of prime importance in ensuring the further development of the well-being of the people. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has often drawn attention to this fact, emphasizing the special role which the soviets play in the solution of these problems. "There is no other area in the national economy," he said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "in which local potential and reserves play such an important role as in the satisfaction of daily consumer demand and providing population services. The soviets of people's deputies must formulate specific measures on all levels to improve the production and sale of durable goods and to develop services."

Practical experience has been acquired in this area. However, we must admit that many soviets still do not deal as extensively as necessary with such problems. Often the measures drafted never get beyond the paper stage. Many enterprises fail to fulfill their plans for the production of the needed commodities, and many enterprises have failed to organize the production of mass consumer goods at all, even though this is possible.

The work in the trade system and that of the consumer cooperatives needs serious improvement. This was pointed out by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At its session, it noted the unsatisfactory organization of commercial services to the population, the indifference and rudeness of sales personnel, fraud and extortion in connection with the procurement of scarce goods and services. All of these phenomena make it incumbent upon the soviets to develop a more rigorous attitude toward the work of the trade and public catering networks and to concern themselves with strengthening their cadres, improving service standards, imposing firm order in adherence to trade regulations and the equitable distribution of goods among the stores, and so on. No item is too unimportant in this regard.

The 26th CPSU Congress listed the housing problem as one of the major socioeconomic tasks related to improving the people's well-being. A great deal has been done to resolve this problem in recent years. The implementation of the decision to grant each family its own comfortable apartment and to resettle families with inadequate living conditions is advancing considerably. The development of the country's housing was extensively discussed at the last USSR Supreme Soviet session. Consistent with the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, specific measures to ensure the further development of housing facilities, the maintenance of available housing, and the improvement of conveniences and operation and repair of housing facilities were set forth at the session.

Construction has taken a definite turn for the better. However, proper attention is not being paid to this important work sector everywhere, by any means. This was confirmed in the discussion of the housing situation in the Moldavian SSR which took place recently during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

Taking the fact that housing needs are not yet being fully met into account, the 26th CPSU Congress called for the extension of the rate of housing construction pursued under the 10th Five-Year Plan to the 11th Five-Year Plan. As before, particular attention must be devoted to the problem of allocating housing equitably and strict observance of the pertinent legislative norms and specifications. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, special attention, objectivity and decency are required in this matter. The soviets must exert stricter control over everything connected with the construction, allocation, operation and maintenance of housing facilities. The Foundations of Housing Legislation strengthen the position of the authorities in such matters.

The interests of the Soviet individual and concern for his needs must now imbue the plans for the economic and social development in 1981 and throughout the five-year period. These plans will be discussed and adopted at the sessions of the republics' supreme soviets in the near future. The comprehensive preparatory work now in progress must be completed on a high qualitative level. Particular attention should be devoted to preventing all types of losses and ensuring the efficient and economical use of material resources. We must consistently see to it that the economy is indeed economical.

III

The party regards the problems in the development of key sectors in the building of communism and upgrading the living standard of the people and their culture as intimately linked with the education of the new man -- the individual of the socialist age. In order for all of society to be able to accept and skillfully and effectively deal with the ever broader opportunities offered by the economy in each round of its development for the satisfaction of the increasing needs of the people it must be ready for this spiritually and morally. The party teaches that the improved prosperity of the Soviet people must be accompanied by the enhancement of the ideological-moral and cultural standards of the people.

This is why the soviets are faced by the urgent and topical task of more energetic participation in the ideological and political-educational work of the CPSU and the molding of the new individual. In his address to the 26th party congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that "The Soviet individual is a conscientious worker, a person

with high political standards, a patriot and an internationalist. He was raised by the party in the spirit of the heroic history of the country and our entire system. He lives the rich life of the builder of the new world." Naturally, this does not mean that we have as yet resolved all the problems pertaining to the shaping of the new individual. The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed the party's general line of further improvement in the organization of the whole matter of education as set forth in the 26 April 1979 CC CPSU decree.

The study and dissemination of the documents of the 26th party congress and the means for improving ideological work were comprehensively discussed at the all-union conference-seminar of ideological workers sponsored by the CC CPSU at the end of last April. The recommendations made at that conference-seminar are of basic importance to the soviets of peoples deputies.

The tasks involved in stepping up the educational work done by the soviets with the people are based on practical experience, the expanded potential for influencing all aspects of social life, and the visibly strengthened material base. Today the soviets have tens of thousands of cultural, public education, instruction and sports institutions. They constitute a tremendous arsenal for the comprehensive work the representative organs are doing under the guidance of the party organizations and in close collaboration with the trade unions and the Komsomol in molding the new individual. As was pointed out at the congress, we have the responsibility today for seeing that the content of the educational work done by the soviets is raised to a higher level and that its forms are consistent with current requirements and needs.

Soviet society is a society of working people. Under socialism, work is the main yardstick for measuring the social value of an individual and his contribution to the common cause. This precisely is why the assertion of the prestige of honest and conscientious creative toil must play a leading role in the educational work done by the soviets. Those which focus their practical work on the main problems in the organization of labor, labor upbringing, strengthening discipline and upgrading the responsibility of officials and collectives for the implementation of planned assignments and socialist obligations and incentives toward conscientious work are functioning properly. It is very important for educational work to show the internal link between the further enhancement of the well-being of the Soviet people and the specific labor contribution of the individual to the common project.

When we speak of intensifying the educational work of the soviets, we naturally have in mind not just one of the lines of their activity in connection with management, education, or culture. The problem is far broader. It is a question of upgrading the educational effect of the whole of the comprehensive activities of the soviets, excluding none of their forms or directions. It is a question of education through action and by example. Deputies and soviet officials must be models of efficiency and innovation and impeccable satisfaction of obligations and observance of behavioral norms. We have no right to tolerate even the most insignificant deviation from such norms, whether at work, at home, or in public places.

We must always remember that the carrying out of his daily functions by each official of a local soviet and his cultural and educational activities represent a single process. Any action by a deputy, head of an executive committee or other official in connection with the solution of any specific problem has an educational

effect on a large number of people and always leads to certain social consequences. Because of this, the exceptional importance which Lenin ascribed to the power of example becomes understandable.

Education through actions, which the soviets must provide, must be based above all "on the political experience in economic construction," to use Lenin's words ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 407).

The nationwide struggle organized and directed by the party for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 11th Five-Year Plan and the assertion of our communist ideals is the best school for the communist upbringing of the working people. It is this precisely which must become the main area for the focus of the strength of the soviets. It is here in the course of intensive production toil and complex and contradictory production relations and ties that our contemporary is molded. If all the necessary prerequisites for creative labor have been established at work, within the labor collective, and if relations of comradely cooperation and respect for common goals and interests predominate, the labor process begins to function as the wisest of all educators.

All soviet officials must engage in educational work on a suitably knowledgeable and skillful level. Reality has demonstrated convincingly that management of governmental, economic and sociocultural construction means working with people, above all, requiring the ability to understand, rally and mobilize people to resolve problems of increasing complexity.

This precisely is why the art of management and upbringing must be learned on an intensive daily basis. In this connection, the comprehensive and fruitful activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political and state leader of our time and loyal heir to Lenin's great cause, and a zealous fighter for peace and the triumph of the ideals of communism, set an inspiring example for all of us. We are all learning from Leonid Il'ich the high art of mastering the skills of the manager-communist, to be conscious of the demands of the times, to understand and embody profoundly, in specific actions, the vital interests and expectations of the working people, and to focus the efforts of the party and the people on the decisive sectors of the building of communism. L. I. Brezhnev's books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] show how this is achieved vividly and clearly.

Socialist competition is the powerful lever which enables us to combine ideological work with practice and to resolve production and educational problems comprehensively. With proper organization and daily attention, it develops a conscientious attitude toward labor in an individual and helps him relate personal with social interests more closely.

In the course of the discussion of the work of the soviets in Moscow to develop socialist competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress during one meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in particular the importance of participation by the people's deputies in competition. He noted the value of the example set by those who are leading production workers and innovators. We are pleased to see that deputies engaged in production work, representing two thirds of all the deputies elected, are in the leading ranks of the competition and are setting an example for the others.

The skillful use of all forms of encouragement of dedicated and creative labor and enhancement of the educational effect and moral significance of USSR governmental awards play an exceptionally important role in the organization and development of socialist competition.

A great deal has been accomplished in terms of improving the system of rewarding the working people with orders and medals and honorific titles since the adoption of the USSR Constitution. Much experience has been acquired in this area by the state organs of union republics and the local soviets of people's deputies. However, we must devote greater concern to improving the use of moral incentives. We must see to it that they exert even greater influence on the development of the labor and sociopolitical activity of the Soviet people.

The shaping of the new man and his ideological-political training and the ubiquitous and conscientious observance of the rules governing socialist community life without coercion is not a conflict-free process.

We must struggle against anything which blocks the assertion of a socialist way of life or hinders educational work. This is above all a question of the struggle against delinquency and crime, against a variety of abnormal phenomena which are incompatible with our society. Recently, greater attention has been devoted to this sector of the work on the whole. The new methods of preventing delinquency have been further developed. Today the country has more than 41,000 centers for public order and 137,000 prevention councils are functioning in enterprises and establishments.

However, we cannot be satisfied with the results in the struggle against delinquency. Unfortunately, there has been no steady decline in the incidence, and some types of crime are even on the increase. The problem of preventing violations by minors and crimes committed at home or in a state of intoxication, as well as theft, remains quite urgent.

The campaign against delinquency must be waged comprehensively in all directions and by all available means. The family, school, labor collectives and public organizations must play a major role in it. The soviets of people's deputies must provide comprehensive encouragement and development of practically proven forms of work for the prevention of delinquency. They must develop an atmosphere of universal intolerance toward delinquents and rally all healthy social forces against them.

Can the soviets accomplish this? We believe that they can. We have more than 2 million deputies and more than 30 million activists in the country's soviets. They constitute a tremendous force which can exert a decisive influence on the development and maintenance of a healthy atmosphere and can block all paths toward the violation of it. If every deputy and activist sets an example at work and at home by observing legal norms and moral standards and in the struggle against those violating them, the strengthening of public order will without question be enhanced. The norms in the moral code of the builder of communism will be rapidly, deeply and extensively asserted in our life. Excellent examples of fruitful work by deputies are to be found in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Volgograd and many other cities and rayons. It is very important that not only enthusiasts, but also all deputies and soviet activists and war and labor veterans, become truly involved in preventive work, including work at home.

It is the role of the soviets to provide effective control of the work of the law and order organs and to upgrade their responsibility for the status of the struggle against crime and the causes for crime, which are above all drunkenness, vagrancy, parasitism, waste, lack of discipline and slovenliness. We must persistently pursue strict observance of the decisions adopted on such matters. For example, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted the great organizing role of the party organs and the executive committee of the Zheleznogorsk City Soviet in the course of its discussion of the work of the soviets in the Kirghiz SSR and the Kurskaya Oblast in the RSFSR to maintain law and order and to combat crime. All preventive work there is based on a comprehensive plan for the prevention of delinquency. Problems pertaining to the maintenance of public order are often discussed at soviet sessions and executive committee meetings, at which personnel from the city internal affairs department and the managers of labor collectives and public organs submit reports. Over the past 5 years, the city's crime rate has declined substantially. The percentage of crimes committed in a state of drunkenness has dropped sharply. The number of delinquent actions and crimes committed by minors has been reduced.

Other examples of positive results yielded by an active, purposeful and aggressive campaign against crime could be cited. A study of them leads to the conclusion that wherever crime prevention and legal training have become a daily concern, wherever close and efficient contact among the militia, prosecution, court and justice organs on the one hand, and with the public at large, on the other, has been established, and wherever the soviets are engaged in strict, exacting and effective control over the work of the law and order authorities, the situation naturally improves and the crime rate declines sharply.

IV

The implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU policy is inextricably linked with the development of legislation. Since the approval of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the individual republics, the supreme soviets and their union and republic presidiums have done extensive work with a view to improving effective legislation and making it consistent with the requirements of the new basic laws.

We must point out that the legislative process itself has reached a new level. The drafting and approval of legislative acts are carried out on a planned basis. Just following the adoption of the Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium drafted and approved a plan for legislative work. Subsequently, similar plans were approved by the union republics. This type of planning proved to be entirely justified. Of the 22 legislative acts stipulated in the 1978-1982 plan of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 19 have been approved to date. The necessary amendments have been made to a substantial number of laws.

The Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics and the Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens Residing in the USSR were approved at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Foundations of Housing Legislation can be classified among documents of prime significance affecting the interests of all Soviet people, of everyone. They sum up our comprehensive practical experience. For the first time, all of the basic

problems in the exercise of their constitutional right to housing by the citizens have been correlated and encoded within a single law. This will make it possible to ensure a comprehensive and uniform approach to the consideration of housing problems and to improve the housing conditions of the citizens. It will make a contribution to providing the needed order in our huge housing resources.

The union republics are successfully implementing their plan for the development of legislation. However, a great deal more remains to be done in order to make the legislation consistent with the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union republics.

After noting the usefulness of renovation of Soviet legislation based on the Constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev singled out three basic directions for its further development, in the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th Party Congress: national economic management, exercise of citizens' constitutional rights and obligations and those of public organizations, and completion of the publication of the all-union Legal Code. In the light of these instructions, proposals on the legislative regulation of state planning, capital construction, standardization, and a number of other problems in economic management are currently being drafted. Work is also in progress to legislate the procedure of nationwide voting (referendums) and rights and obligations of labor collectives and some other problems.

As we know, the first part of the USSR Legal Code has already been published. Work in this area is continuing. Problems pertaining to the drafting of republic legal codes have been considered by the supreme soviet presidiums of many union republics. Let us hope that the republics will continue to devote careful attention to this important area.

V

In the light of the major tasks set forth by the 26th CPSU Congress, we must see to a serious increase in the supervision exercised over the implementation of planned assignments and observance of laws and other decisions and the work of the administrative organs by representative authorities. The party teaches us to regard control as an effective tool for the management of state, economic and sociocultural construction. The purpose of such supervision is to identify and eliminate shortcomings promptly, to support progressive initiatives, and to create opportunities for the extensive dissemination of the best work models and progressive experience.

Supervision by the soviets has been developed and improved extensively since the adoption of the USSR Constitution. The USSR Supreme Soviet has acquired vast experience in the consideration of reports submitted by the government, ministries and departments at its sessions and Presidium meetings, and by the permanent commissions of the chambers. In noting the increased maturity of this supervision at a Presidium meeting, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that this has enabled the USSR Supreme Soviet to direct the work of subordinate organs more efficiently and to improve the economic mechanism.

The supervision provided today by the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the soviets of people's deputies is characterized by the wide variety of its forms. The supreme soviets have begun to hear more frequent reports from

the government and other administrative organs on the main aspects of their activities and to give more substantive and strict consideration to the situation with regard to the observance of laws and the implementation of other decisions.

The presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kazakh, Lithuanian and Latvian SSRs are systematically analyzing and summarizing the experience acquired in the organization of control activities by local soviets. The soviets in the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, Armenia and other republics have acquired interesting experience in improving the ways and means of exerting control and supervising execution.

With full justification, we say that control by the soviets and the permanent commissions has become one of the most important aspects of their work. This is not to say, of course, that no further improvement is needed. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress that "Control over implementation continues to constitute a bottleneck" and "Many shortcomings in economic activities are due to the lack of an efficient control system and to paper-shuffling management." This is fully applicable to the work of the soviet organs.

Particular attention must be devoted to entrusting supervision to those who can see that if properly organized, control is more a means of organizing effective and harmonious work than a tool for the directive influencing of subordinates. Practice and experience show that it is such control precisely which develops great exigency, responsibility and discipline in cadres most effectively, as well as persistence and initiative in the achievement of goals.

The organization of systematic and effective control requires a constant, well-planned and reliable system of information on the situation in the work sectors under control. Therefore control is inextricably linked with accountability and is practically inseparable from it. This precisely is how Lenin viewed the matter. He linked accountability with control organically. A lack of information may isolate the authorities from actual practice and encourage a bureaucratic style of management.

Under contemporary conditions, as the problems resolved by the soviets become more complex, control functions and the increasing number of factors which must be taken into consideration in adopting governmental decisions, as well as the role of accountability and an organized information system, are developing steadily. People are starting to understand this and to take the necessary practical steps, such as the establishment of information services, special departments, deputies' rooms and rooms for soviet work.

The information services established in the Russian Federation, Belorussia, the Georgian SSR and many other republics are yielding practical returns. It is important that such services be more than a "tribute to fashion" or a mere inflation of the apparatus, providing instead real help in the resolution of problems in management, administration and control.

A trend toward overseeing an increasing number of problems has been seen in recent years. On the whole, this is legitimate, because it is based on the greater role played by the soviets in the management of all state, economic and sociocultural sectors. However, as practical experience shows, an automatic increase in the

number of problems dealt with does not necessarily lead to an improvement in control standards. It is a question here not so much of quantity as of quality. Much remains to be done before control by the soviets and their commissions can take on a permanent and profound nature and, a matter of special importance, can become focused on end results, on improving the work and on eliminating shortcomings.

The key opportunities for improving the effectiveness of soviet control have to do with improving the interaction between the soviets and the people's control organs. This was pointed out by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium during its consideration of the interaction between the permanent commissions of the soviets and the people's control organs in Permskaya Oblast. Problems in the interaction between the permanent commissions and the people's control organs are constantly watched by the republic's soviet organs. A meaningful exchange of views on such matters occurred recently among the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek and Turkmen SSRs and many other republics.

However, cooperation with the people's control organs has not as yet been undertaken everywhere. The positive experience acquired in such cooperation must be more rapidly, fully and extensively disseminated.

One of the important aspects of the exercise of control functions by the soviets is the consideration of letters and personal interviews with citizens. It is the direct duty of the local power organs to guide the work on letters on a daily basis, to uproot manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape ruthlessly, to inform the working people systematically about the measures approved on the basis of their reports, and to implement the CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Work on Letters and Suggestions from the Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" regularly.

Unfortunately, the faulty practice of making promises which are not kept, rather than engaging in a detailed consideration of citizens' appeals and adoption of the necessary measures, is not being eliminated rapidly enough by many governmental institutions. When a deadline is reached, another is set, often several times over. This applies in particular where the problems in improving housing conditions are concerned. Such an approach undermines the people's confidence in the authorities and does harm to the state. A bureaucratic or irresponsible attitude toward the needs and views of the citizens is entirely intolerable. While devoting constant attention to each letter and appeal, the soviets must plunge more profoundly into the study and summation of the problems raised, and the drafting of practical suggestions on this basis.

The augmented role of the soviets reformulates the problem of responsibility by the organs of the people's regime to the party and the people and to the country's present and future. As folk wisdom has it, much is expected of those to whom much is given.

The increased political responsibility of the soviets is the most important law of mature socialist statehood. It is a kind of overall result of what has become apparent in the work of the soviets in the qualitatively new stage in their development. The people's representatives on all levels of our representative system and the personnel on all soviet levels are properly aware of the extent of their

responsibility. They always bear this in mind and they entirely subordinate their practical activities to the vital interests and expectations of the working people and to the implementation of CPSU policy and the decisions of the 26th party congress. The soviets of people's deputies regard it as their duty and purpose loyally to serve their people and the cause of our great Leninist party.

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WAY TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF PLANNING TECHNOLOGY

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[Review by Academician A. Aganbegyan of the book "Avtomatizirovannaya Sistema Planovykh Raschetov" [Automatic Plan Computations System], N. P. Lebedinskiy editor, Ekonomika, Moscow, 1980, 376 pp]

[Text] Planning is the principal instrument in the implementation of the economic policy of the socialist state. It is the central link in the country's national economic management system. Therefore, economic and social development successes depend to a decisive extent on the quality of our plans. Conversely, existing difficulties are largely rooted in the shortcomings of planning activities. Consequently, any new serious work on planning improvements is of great interest, the more so since important studies dealing especially with this most topical subject may be counted literally on one's fingertips.

One such study is a book called "Avtomatizirovannaya Sistema Planovykh Raschetov" (ASPR). This is the first summing-up work on ASPR written by specialists from the USSR Gosplan and its organizations, who have been directly involved in the creation and application of this system.

The first two chapters of the book describe the objective possibility and necessity of the use of modern computer technology and of economic-mathematical methods in the solution of the current tasks of national economic planning. The broadened horizons and increased purposefulness of state plans, ensuring the satisfaction of final social requirements with the lowest possible outlays, the effective utilization of the created production potential and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are all related to the increased volume and improved quality of data processing in the course of the substantiation and formulation of current and long-term plans. Such results cannot be achieved by extending the amount of time spent on drafting the plan or by increasing the number of planning workers. As the authors justifiably write, the possibilities of the extensive method have been exhausted in the production and management areas. However, contemporary ways and means of data processing offer broad opportunities for the intensification of planning processes and, on this basis, the resolution of urgent planning improvement problems. The design and application of automated planning computation systems (ASPR) by the USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics is a specific means for achieving such intensification.

The authors, who consider the ASPR a practical instrument for raising the standards of planning work, describe in detail the composition and structure of this system, its methodical foundations and modeling support. They especially consider the individual functional and support ASPR subsystems, the organization of the work, the prospects for its development and its effectiveness.

Each of these aspects could be analyzed in the assessment of this book. However, such an approach would be of very great interest to a relatively small circle of ASU [Automated Control Systems] developers. In my view, it would be more important to consider the ASPR from broader positions, on the basis of requirements concerning planning work as formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Everyone feels that the current planning level cannot satisfy us and that it needs a substantial improvement. One of the important ways to achieve this, organically linked with others, is the conversion to the latest planning technology based on ASPR.

Gradually, year after year, a planning methodology, organization and technology developed. The current aspect of the planning process was essentially developed in the 1960s, when the economic conditions governing the country's development were different. Since then the scale of our economy has tripled; the complexity of the national economic system has increased many-fold; above all, the economic management conditions are undergoing a drastic change: the growth of production resources (manpower, capital assets, capital investments, fuels, raw material) has been curtailed sharply, for which reason we must convert from our essentially extensive development to development on an intensive basis. As the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress emphasized, today the qualitative aspect has assumed priority in the economy, unlike the quantitative aspects which predominated in the past.

This sharp reorientation in economic growth factors, emphasizing increased public production effectiveness, is stated as a chief task in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." Thus, in the 11th Five-Year Plan the increase in the size of the working-age population will be one-fourth that of the 10th; this shortcoming in manpower resources must be compensated by additional increases in labor productivity. In industry it must be increased from 17 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan to 23-25 in the 11th; in construction, from 11 to 15-17 percent; and in railroad transportation, from 0.5 to 10-12 percent. This acceleration becomes considerably greater if we compare the average annual rate of growth of labor productivity, stipulated for the 11th Five-Year Plan, with the annual indicators for 1979 and 1980.

At the same time, the pace and absolute growth of capital investments drop sharply. Compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan, their overall volume in the 11th Five-Year Plan will be 12-15 percent higher, whereas in the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan they showed a 29 percent increase. The reduced growth of capital investments is related largely to a lowering of the share of accumulations in the national income and, conversely, the increase of the share of the consumption fund, which is needed if we are to ensure the improved well-being of the people. In this connection we must eliminate the adverse trend of reduced capital investment effectiveness and achieve in the 11th Five-Year Plan a 50-percent faster increase compared with the increase in capital investments.

Starting with the 10th Five-Year Plan the increased output of fuel and some raw materials will be reduced by a factor of 2-3, compared with previous years, because of worsened mining-geological conditions and the relocation of fuel and raw material bases to the east and the north. Therefore, conservation methods assume particular importance.

As we may see, the saving on manpower in the future must be organically combined with asset and material conservation methods. "The economy must be economical": this requirement formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress must become the cornerstone of all planning activities.

Such largely objective changes in economic conditions require the comprehensive intensification of public production. However, the existing inertial movement of our national economy leads it to extensive development. Therefore, the main lever through which the course of the country's economic development must be restructured is the improvement of planning and of the entire management system. However, to achieve this, planning itself must be reorganized by finding and following ways for increasing effectiveness as the basic source of our development. The main feature in this reorganization is the deeper and more consistent orientation toward the achievement of high end national economic results.

In order to assess one or another planning solution from the viewpoint of end results, we must consider the entire chain from the production of materials, equipment and finished goods to the consumption stage. Such chains are intersectorial and the biggest reserves for upgrading effectiveness are found precisely at the crossing points of sectors.

Meanwhile, the existing planning technology is insufficiently adapted to the inclusion of such chains in the plan. The point is that, primarily engaged in current planning and the solution of urgent economic problems, until recently the planning organs were essentially structured in accordance with the sectorial principle. Correspondingly, the system of plan indicators had a sectorial nature, as a result of which the single chain aimed at achieving the end result broke down in the course of the planning process: production assignments in one or another sector are set in terms of volume output indicators, frequently ignoring the effectiveness of the utilization of such outputs; such production assignments are usually poorly supported by plans for the production of machines and equipment for a given sector; in turn, assignments on the production of machines and equipment are insufficiently backed by high-quality structural materials which upgrade their operational qualities.

Many examples to this effect can be cited. Here is one of them: two-thirds of the trucks operating in our country have gasoline engines which consume an average of 25 percent more fuel compared with diesel engines. Furthermore, diesel fuel is far less costly. Over a five-year period the amount of fuel used for this reason will be twice as costly to the state compared with the cost of increasing the production of diesel engines. If this problem is considered from the narrowly sectorial viewpoint the answer is clear. It was given by the USSR Gosplan to the Goskhsperitza, with the suggestion of the Ministry of Automotive Industry concerning the construction of additional diesel manufacturing plants: "no money." Meanwhile, economic computations prove most clearly and worldwide experience confirms the exceptionally high effectiveness of converting the most widespread truck models to diesel engines--the ZIL and the GAZ. However, this is an intersectorial problem: money must be

taken from petroleum extraction and allocated to machine building. A decision on the part of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers had to be made, stipulating, in particular, the increased production of trucks with economical engines, for some progress to be made in this matter.

Yet the planning system, particularly the plan formulation technology, must be structured in such a way that similar problems become automatically resolved and that the logic itself which governs the formulation of the plan would lead to their solution. To what extent does the ASPR bring us closer to a more complete orientation of plans in the direction of end results?

A definite step in this direction has been taken. Comprehensive ASPR subsystems will be formulated, such as an agroindustrial and a fuel-energy complex, a structural materials complex, a transportation complex and others. Sectorial subsystems will become part of the corresponding complexes. The recent reorganization of the USSR Gosplan structure and the establishment of comprehensive administrations which include numerous departments based on the target principle reinforce this intersectorial approach.

Furthermore, naturally, an orientation to end results cannot be reduced merely to a consideration of the results of the activities of the groups of interrelated sectors included in said complexes. In order to ensure the actual orientation of the development process toward the reaching of end national economic results the program-target approach must be applied consistently. The "Basic Directions," adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress, call for "extensive utilization of comprehensive target programs as organic components of long-range state plans..."

Conversion to program-target planning requires, above all, the making of substantial changes in the logic and technology of the development of current and, particularly, long-term plans. Despite the great importance of the automation of individual planned computations and the utilization for such purposes of a variety of economic-mathematical methods, we are forced to acknowledge that the organization of the planning process as a whole is a determining factor. In this connection we must support the view of the authors of the concept of the building of an ASPR, according to which the application of this system must not only contribute to the elaboration of comprehensive target programs as such but ensure that the "program-target planning become a natural part of the methods, technology and organization of planning processes," and have an "impact on all parts of the plan, directing them toward the reaching of end results and the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the solution of planning problems" (p 253).

In accordance with the basic system, the elaboration of a unified system of plans begins with the substantiation and formulation of the long-term plan, whose typical feature is the formulation of comprehensive target programs for the solution of most important scientific and technical, socioeconomic, intersectorial and regional problems (see p 75). To this effect, the long-term planning systems (paragraph 7.1) stipulate special planning functions (procedures 22, 30, 31 and 32 of system No 1; procedures 4 and 5 of system No 2 and others), which make it possible to define the problems requiring programming, to substantiate the basic indicators of comprehensive target programs and to coordinate them with the nonprogrammatic section of the plan. Subsequently, in the elaboration of the five-year and the annual plans, as the

respective systems indicate (paragraphs 7.2 and 7.3), the main attention must be paid to the concretizing of the implemented programs, the priority allocation of resources for their implementation and the thorough coordination between the programmed sections of the state plan with its sectorial, territorial and individual levels.

Together with a consideration of general problems related to the active utilization of the program-target approach in planning technology and organization, the book includes a chapter dealing especially with the elaboration of comprehensive target programs in ASPR. However, this chapter is excessively brief and is essentially in the nature of a discussion, as the authors themselves acknowledge (see p 354). Today, however, adequate scientific information has been acquired for the consideration of such problems more specifically and constructively.

It would be expedient to single out the main different types of comprehensive programs:

National economic programs, above all programs for upgrading the living standards, scientific and technical progress, environmental protection and rational utilization of nature and many others;

Intersectorial programs, particularly of the agroindustrial and fuel-energy complexes, the transportation system and others;

Major regional problems such as the West Siberian petroleum and gas complex, the program for the Angara-Yenisey region, the economic development of the BAM zone, the development of the agroindustrial complex in the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR and many others;

Target programs for the solution of individual key problems such as, for example, a reduction in the volume of manual labor, a lowering of material-intensiveness and so on.

This enumeration shows that the number of programs in the national economic plan could be quite limited, not exceeding 20 for all types of programs.

As we know, the USSR Gosplan is planning the formulation of 14 comprehensive target programs in the future.

These programs will become the backbone of the long-term plan, for which reason they will be given priority in the ASPR. Corresponding systems of models have been developed by scientists for most set programs. Naturally, such models must be developed and improved. This can be achieved only in the course of their practical application. Such a system of models has been formulated on the problem of upgrading the living standard of the people (USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute and USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economics Institute). A properly adapted and further developed system of the Pattern type, combined with grid methods (Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Cybernetics Institute) may be applied in modeling scientific and technical progress. Systems of optimizing models have been elaborated for individual intersectorial complexes. This has been partially considered in the planning of ASPR. A great deal has been done also in the

area of comprehensive modeling of regional problems. In particular, our Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, developed and is using an optimizing model for the BAI program.

It seems to me that the presentation of a target program as a grid model which develops in time and is directed toward end results is the simplest and, at the same time, very important from the practical viewpoint. The effective utilization of resources is organically included in this model, so that in this case the optimizing is achieved not only from the viewpoint of reducing the time for the achievement of required results but also through the better utilization and stage-breakdown of manpower, asset and other resources. Such optimal grid models can be added to other (balance, production-territorial, economical-statistical) types of models which reflect in greater detail the individual subsystems included in the comprehensive program. Our institute has developed methods for such inclusions for the two- and three-step systems.¹

Comprehensive target programs will be able to assume their proper position in socialist planning only as an organic component of the long-term plan. The 12 July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the further improvement of the economic mechanism stipulates that each five years 20-year scientific and technical progress programs and 10-year programs for basic directions in the economic and social development of the country must be elaborated. This will provide a foundation for the extensive conversion to program-target planning.

Unfortunately, so far merely the initial and very timid steps have been taken in strengthening the long-term approach to planning work. In recent years we have been unable a single time, despite a number of attempts, to complete the elaboration of a long-term plan. In my view, this is related largely to two circumstances: first, the overburdening of planning organs with current economic activities and annual planning; second, the lack of real integration between science and planning and the separation between planning and scientific developments. Greater effort must be made and major measures undertaken if the Gosplan is to be made into an actual long-term planning organ.

Long-term planning is particularly important in the development of science and technology. Under contemporary conditions the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is a main source of intensification of public production, whose significance would be difficult to overestimate. The characteristic of the present plan, as we mentioned, is the fact that we must simultaneously pursue a labor, asset and material conservation policy. This is possible only with a conversion to a new level of equipment and technology, of a type which enables us to achieve increased labor productivity, higher capital returns and lowered material intensiveness simultaneously. V. I. Lenin said that "...the economist must always look ahead, in the direction of technological progress..." (Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 5, pp 137-138). The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decision to begin

1. See A. M. Alekseyev, "Mnogourovnevyye Sistemy Planirovaniya Promyshlennogo Proizvodstva" [Multiple-Level Industrial Production Planning Systems], Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1975.

long-range planning with the elaboration of a 20-year comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, assigned to the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, is consistent with this Leninist instruction. Therefore, for the first time the long-range plan will be directly based on formulated scientific and technical measures. All this must be reflected in the new plan formulation technology.

Today the plan section on science and technology is merely one of several dozen such sections. So far it is not organically related to the production plan. The other sections of the plan are not based on scientific and technical development indicators. It is not surprising, therefore, that many ministries which fulfill and overfulfill their production and capital investment plans also fulfill their plan indicators on the application of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy by no more than 60-80 percent.

One of the most important tasks in planning improvements, the solution of which could be assisted by the application of ASPR, is the fact that "the utilization of the economic and social possibilities offered by scientific and technical progress must be properly reflected not only in the assignments of the plan for the development of science and technology but in all sections and indicators of the state plan and the plans for the development of individual areas, sectors, associations and enterprises, while the formulation of national economic measures for the development of equipment and technology must be preceded by the defining of the basic parameters and indicators of the plan. At the same time, the plan must not only maximally consider the opportunities offered by scientific and technical progress but must stipulate the creation of the best possible conditions for their implementation" (p 27).

In considering planning technology under ASPR conditions, the authors single out the already mentioned functional-structural systems for the formulation of long-term and current plans for special functions and procedures which substantiate on the basis of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress the specific directions and measures for the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology and the creation of conditions for the fastest possible movement of scientific ideas along the entire chain from discovery to mass production. The system of scientifically substantiated norms and standards is used as the "drive" from the section of the plan for science and technology to all its other sections within the ASPR. Along with assignments on mastering the production of new machine systems and technologies, the plan must define technical and economic indicators as well (material, capital and labor intensiveness) which will be achieved as a result. In this case, as follows from the indicated systems, the computations of the production plan, the substantiation of needs for material, manpower and financial resources and the entire system of planned material and value balance sheets will be based on norms which will take fully into consideration the planned level of application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the national economy.

Unquestionably, the conversion to such a technology and organization of the planning process, the opportunities for which are created within the ASPR, is a necessary and an important step on the right way. Although important, in our view, it is insufficient. Along with the development of technology and the organization of the formulation of the national economic plan the urgent need has appeared for improving the

content and methodology of the planning of scientific and technical progress at all economic management levels. Unfortunately, the developers of the ASPR do not analyze such problems either in considering the "Science and Technology Subsystem" (chapter 12.2) or the chapter on the interaction between the ASPR and the other automatic control systems (chapter 9).

Obviously, different approaches may exist in such an important matter as the planning of scientific and technical development. For example, our institute is developing such concepts under the guidance of Prof V. S. Muchnik. First of all, scientific and technical development is separated into two interrelated processes: the evolutionary process of improvement of existing equipment and technology and the revolutionary process of transition from existing technological systems to higher-level systems based on the new generation of equipment, ensuring a leap in production effectiveness. In our view, these new technological systems must become the main object of the planning of scientific and technical development. The plan must stipulate the elaboration of such new technological systems for each type of output, in the course of which planned technical and economic indicators would be reached, followed by the application of such systems in the building of new and the reconstruction of operating enterprises. In such a case the plan for the growth of output and for the improvement of all technical and economic indicators will directly depend on the dissemination of higher-level technological systems.

Let us take timber procurement as an example. Because of noncomprehensive mechanization in this area we are behind in labor productivity, particularly if we include the individual timber procurers, by a factor of 6-10 compared with world standards. As a result of this we are using unproductively a one-million-strong army of workers. Integral technological systems, based on specific sets of machines and mechanisms, which would ensure the comprehensive mechanization of this process, from beginning to end, including auxiliary and support operations, should be developed in the area of timber procurements and with different natural conditions in mind. Such technological systems should be tested in various areas and accepted by governmental commissions. The planning organs should then organize the series production of technological machine systems and mechanisms which would replace the unsuitable equipment currently produced and, subsequently, according to the plan, the operating forest farms should be reequipped and new such farms exclusively equipped with this new technology should be created.

In order to convert to a detailed system for the planning of scientific and technical progress, it would be expedient to set up within each sector several big scientific and technical associations which would include scientific, design, engineering and application subunits and an experimental plant for the production of prototypes of new equipment. Such scientific and technical associations may be assigned the development and application of overall technological systems in specific areas. Such an approach would also call for a certain redistribution of resources, above all in favor of machine building, which must be prepared to convert within a relatively short time to the production of new systems of machines and mechanisms. Currently, however, capital investments dozens of times lower than investments in timber procurement itself are being allocated for the production of timber procurement machinery, although timber procurement operations are being conducted on a primitive basis due to the lack of modern equipment. In order to convert on a mass scale to the production of new equipment for timber procurement, in our example this would

require a reallocation of funds which, in the final account, would result in tremendous manpower and capital investment savings in the basic sector.

Understandably, this logically simple system for the planning of scientific and technical progress in terms of conversion to overall technological systems operating on a higher level and with specific improvements in technical and economic indicators could be modeled easily. In this case the end national economic result will depend, on the one hand, on the effectiveness of the new system compared with the current one and, on the other, on the time which the development and dissemination of the new system would take.

However, in order to deal with this and other long-range problems, which are of key importance in the development of the national economy, the planning organs must be relieved of dealing with many current affairs, as has been repeatedly pointed out at CC CPSU plenums.

The problem of combining centralized assignments with a system of economic levers and incentives is also an essential feature in the formulation of a planning system and, consequently, of an ASPR.

It would be erroneous to consider planning activities as merely the formulation of directival planning assignments and control over their implementation. The planned development of economic organizations is ensured not only by issuing specific assignments but through the entire system of economic levers and incentives. Specific assignments, on the one hand, and economic levers and incentives, on the other, are two sides of a coin. They must be interrelated and have the same objectives in guiding the work of economic units toward achieving high end results in the interest of the entire national economy.

At the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined the overall direction for the improvement of the management system as "expanding the autonomy of associations and enterprises and of the rights and responsibilities of economic managers." Under such circumstances economic levers and incentives will play an increasing role. They must act as boosters of the highly effective work of economic organizations.

A certain gap between the plan assignments and price and incentive systems existed in previous planning practices. For example, the prices of many items could not compensate even current expenditures and they were produced at a loss. Meanwhile, the plan called for increasing the production of such items and, consequently, of the loss of enterprises producing them. For example, the plan required a reduction in production material intensiveness whereas the incentive system based on the desire for greater gross output encouraged the enterprises to act in the opposite direction. The situation now has changed. The new planning and incentive system, formulated in the 12 July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, links together five-year plans, as the main principle, long-term economic norms and the system of levers and incentives.

All this makes it clear that in the course of the planning process we must define simultaneously and on an interrelated basis planned assignments, levers and incentives aimed at their implementation. Unfortunately, insufficient attention has been paid to the system of ASPR economic levers and incentives. This can be seen

by the role assigned to the "prices and price setting" subsystem. In particular, in the elaboration of the five-year plan (paragraph 7.2) its functions are reduced mainly to the substantiation of a price policy and consider to a substantially lesser extent problems of linking planned production assignments and resource ceilings to economic levers and incentives stipulated in the plan. Thus, only one of the six functions performed by said subsystem in the formulation of the five-year plan--the assessment of production costs, profits, turnover tax, and payments for manpower, natural and financial resources and productive capital (see p 121), is of a truly comprehensive nature.

At the same time, the ASPR developers justifiably assume that the subsystem under consideration must include, along with price items, items such as "defining ratios among production costs, profits, turnover tax and rental payments for labor, natural and financial resources and productive capital," "determining the size of development funds" (p 220) and others. In other words, they approach it as one in which all interrelated problems of the economic mechanism must be considered comprehensively. Therefore, we believe that this subsystem should have been named not "Prices and Price Setting" but "Comprehensive Planning of the Economic Mechanism." The main thing is to include it far more energetically in the planning process, the more so since the authors themselves consider as one of the basic tasks in the improvement of planning on the basis of ASPR ensuring unity between the plan and economic incentives (pp 27-28).

This is a difficult yet achievable task. It is precisely the ASPR that could supply the planning workers with an effective tool for its solution. Optimizing models enable us not only to determine the variants for the best possible utilization of resources for the satisfaction of social needs but also to obtain a system of optimum economic assessments corresponding to the most effective plan, which could become the basis for setting specific prices, effectiveness norms, interest rates and other levers and incentives. With any other approach this extremely rich information obtained in the solution of optimizing problems would be simply lost or, at best, be used as reference data.

Work on improving the ASPR has reached an important stage today. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, calls for "the application and effective utilization of an automated planning computations system." The formulation of this important and responsible assignment became possible thanks to the work on the creation of ASPR by the USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics, together with ministries, departments and the USSR Academy of Sciences. As the authors show, a scientific concept was developed for the formulation and application of this system of unique scale and complexity. Its first part, which was adopted for practical utilization, enables the USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics to make actual use of modern computers in their practical work in the solution of about 3,300 planning-economic problems. Naturally, this is merely the first step. So far the subsystems are insufficiently interrelated and problems are resolved largely on a one-to-one basis. No more than 20 percent of the overall number of problems involved in the first part of the ASPR calls for the use of economic-mathematical models and even fewer have an optimizing nature.

As the authors point out, naturally, different scientific organizations have offered their developments of optimum model systems. Our institute, in particular, focused on the elaboration of systems of optimum models for long-range territorial-production planning. The interrelated chain of national economic models as a whole (dynamic intersectorial models and optimum intersectorial interrayon models), models for intersectorial complexes and sectorial systems and, finally, for regional systems and territorial-production complexes make it possible, in the course of gradual modeling and with the interaction between planning workers and computers to determine quite fully, in our view, the possible alternatives for the development of the economy, to assess them on the basis of national economic positions and to choose the effective development trajectory.

Regardless of their sufficiently adequate development and extensive investigation through specific computations, these and other optimizing models are still being poorly used in planning. Let us take as an example optimum sectorial planning models. The scientific institutions formulated and tested these models no less than ten years ago. So far, however, many economic sectors and areas are still using the old planning methods which exclude economic-mathematical computer computations. Yet the minimum effect in achieving the same end results with the use of such optimum methods amounts to 5-7 percent of the overall outlays, averaging 10-12 percent savings in capital investments and current outlays.

Therefore, we are faced with big and important problems. What is very important is that a good initiative was taken for their resolution, as the book under consideration proves most convincingly.

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SUPREME DUTY OF THE HIGHER SCHOOL

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[Article by V. Yelyutin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] Each step which our country takes along the path toward communism is closely linked with the improvement of higher education and the training and ideological-political upbringing of specialists. The concentration of effort on a comprehensive increase in the contribution which the higher school makes to the building of communism and to strengthening the power of the socialist fatherland, as well as the enhancement of its economic and intellectual potential, is the main feature which fully determines the activities of scientific-pedagogical and student collectives. It is precisely this life-giving interconnection between the building of communism and the development of education which has determined the current accomplishments of the Soviet higher school and offers it limitless possibilities for further accelerated progress based on the purposeful implementation of the constructive plans of the party and the people.

This makes the particular enthusiasm with which the VUZ collectives prepared for the 26th CPSU Congress a natural thing. The unanimous approval and great labor enthusiasm triggered by the party's Central Committee accountability report, which was presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, and the programmatic documents adopted by the congress, were equally natural. In interpreting the decisions of the congress teachers, students and all higher school personnel clearly realized that each task set forth at the communist forum contains specific socio-economic instructions addressed to the educational system, the purpose of which is to train and educate the cadres who will implement the party's great program for the further development of Soviet society. At the same time, the party assigns an exceptionally responsible autonomous role to the improvement of higher education. It is dictated by its significance in the development of a new historical type of individual, the advance of spiritual culture, and the creation of conditions favorable to the blossoming of the creative capabilities of the Soviet people. All of these comprehensive problems are linked by a single basic principle: the struggle to train specialists of a new type, who will combine a broad scientific outlook organically with true professionalism and a higher level of creative capabilities with communist conscientiousness and convictions.

The building of a developed socialist society in our country was legitimately characterized by the advancement of the higher school to a level where, in terms of the scale of its activities, it has come close to fully meeting the economic and

cultural requirements for cadres. "We can now say with a feeling of legitimate satisfaction," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "that the cadre training system developed under the Soviet regime is basically meeting the country's needs and enabling us to provide all sectors of material production and spiritual life with skilled specialists."

Starting with the Eighth Five-Year Plan, quality improvement tasks were formulated ever more urgently, as the quantitative indicators in the development of the higher school stabilized, in terms of its practical activities. These tasks were set forth in the "Basic Directions in the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980," which described the enhancement of the level of training and ideological-political upbringing of specialists as the most important task of the higher school.

The struggle to upgrade the quality of higher education, as an inseparable link in the party's pursuit of effectiveness and quality, defined the results achieved by the country's VUZs under the 10th Five-Year Plan. On the basis of the improvement in the training-educational process, the assignments set forth at the 25th CPSU Congress on the training of higher education cadres were successfully carried out: over a 5-year period, about 3.9 million specialists were assigned to the national economy. The theoretical and professional training of the students was improved substantially. As compared to the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the economic results of the practical use of the achievements of VUZ scientific research increased by a factor of approximately 1.4. An extensive program for strengthening the training-material facilities of VUZs was implemented. In areas of intensive development of production forces, 32 new universities and institutes were established. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the number of students exceeded 5 million, for the first time in the country's history, while the average annual enrollment of young people in VUZs exceeded 1 million. Today we have 196 university students for every 10,000 inhabitants.

The 883 higher educational institutions in the country, which train cadres in more than 400 subjects and thousands of specialized skills, send more than 800,000 graduates to the labor collectives annually. This guarantees steadily increasing saturation of the economic sectors with specialists, as well as the advancement of the professional skill structure of the population. More than half of the 12 million specialists available to our economy today are employed in material production. This provides strong cadre prerequisites for the implementation of the party's progressive scientific and technical policy. It is no accident that in addressing the 26th CPSU Congress on the subject of the conditions already created for upgrading production effectiveness, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev singled out the superiority we have achieved over other countries in terms of the number of engineers. The solution of the major and urgent social problems formulated by the party is also supported by highly skilled cadres. The higher educational institutions have been able to supply all units within the country's national economic complex with properly trained cadres on a stable basis.

The development of the Soviet higher educational system is firmly based on the scientific management of socioeconomic processes provided by the communist party. The documents of CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums and party and government decisions not only represent the concentrated expression of the experience acquired in the building of communism, but also provide a profound Marxist-

Leninist analysis of the nature of the processes occurring in education and point to the ways and means of resolving the problems which arise. Over the past 5 years alone such important documents as the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Further Improvements in the System of Upgrading the Skill of Leading Workers and National Economy Specialists" (1977), "On Improving the Effectiveness of Scientific Research in Higher Educational Institutions" (1978), and "On the Further Development of the Higher School and Upgrading the Quality of Specialists' Training" (1979), as well as government decisions on measures for the further technical equipping of higher educational institutions and for upgrading the scientific and technical standards of training and research processes in the country's VUZs have been adopted. The all-union conference of workers in higher educational institutions held in February 1980 was a major event in the life of the higher school. The discussion of the draft CC CPSU guidelines for the 26th CPSU Congress, in which about 5.5 million professors, teachers, graduate and other students participated, had an immeasurable mobilizing effect on the training, scientific, and ideological activities of school collectives.

The constant concern devoted by the party and the people to the development of education made it possible to take the tremendous step made in upgrading the cultural and technical standards of the working people in the 1970s. Approximately 40 million people in the country have higher or secondary specialized training today. One out of every four working people is a specialist, and one in ten is a university graduate. More than a half of all the specialists employed in the national economy graduated from VUZs and technical schools during the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans, when the party proclaimed the adoption of an effectiveness and quality line.

The development of the most educated society in the world in the land of the soviets is an outstanding achievement of the recent years. It is the result of the vast work done under the guidance of the communist party. The field of education became one of the most important and influential areas in social life. Suffice it to say that about 100 million people in our country are currently taking various types of training.

This gives society the right to be even more demanding in assessing the actual results produced by the funds and effort invested in education. Thus far, however, these returns have fallen short of the levels which are objectively possible and socially necessary. It is a question of a beginning of a decline in recent years in the rate of increase in labor productivity, as compared to the pace at which the skills of the working people are increasing. The "efficiency coefficient" of the knowledge and skills acquired by the participants in the public production process in the realm of education is characterized by a downward trend. Meanwhile manpower shortages are becoming ever more tangible in a number of the country's sectors and economic areas.

Both trends are facets of a single problem having to do with the need for further improvement in the planned use and training of cadres on the basis of fuller consideration of economic needs and prospects for growth. The educational and higher school systems, along with other areas, face this problem. An obvious contradiction exists: on the one hand, the VUZs are unable fully to meet the needs of the individual basic economic sectors in terms of dozens of the skills which determine scientific and technical progress. On the other hand, it is sometimes

difficult to find employment for graduates of universities and institutes with the very skills which the national economy greatly needs. Frequently specialists are hired for jobs which do not require the type of education they have received -- for example technicians, foremen (at present, higher education is required by foremen only in some isolated, very advanced sectors) and brigade leaders, and in some cases, workers. This slows down the professional advance of higher school graduates, increases cadre turnover, reduces the prestige of education, and distorts data on the needs of enterprises for specialists in one direction or another. Of particular concern is the fact that this situation has developed against the background of a demand for engineers and technicians in key production sectors and the nonproduction area which is not being fully met, since a substantial number of positions here which should be occupied by specialists and managers are filled by practitioners without professional training. Naturally, all of this inevitably affects the pace of scientific and technical progress. It leads to baseless charges against the higher school, which is ever more frequently blamed for the unsatisfactory training of its graduates to serve as workers in mass professions, as brigade and shop administrators, tally clerks, etc.

A study of the reasons for these and other negative phenomena leads to the conclusion that they are related to quality changes in the saturation of economic sectors with specialists. Not so long ago, the economy literally absorbed highly skilled workers, while the demand for cadres, which was substantially higher than personnel availability, made even the use of people with higher education expedient outside their own fields, since their work was more productive as a rule, even in such cases, than that of unskilled personnel. Today, however, the urgent national economic demand for cadres with higher education has in general been filled. The task now is not merely to meet the demand for specialists as such, but to ensure the optimal use of the now developed and newly-trained cadre potential on the basis of a long-term scientific and technical policy.

The solution of this problem requires the exceptionally precise functioning of the mechanisms of planned management and distribution of specialists, and organization of their labor, such as to guarantee that any worker with higher education will be appointed to exactly the position in which his knowledge, skills and habits are most needed, and where his training will yield the greatest possible national economic returns. In fact, however, planned management is still relying heavily here on the old methods, which do not take priorities and the significance of the individual sectors and economic rayons, the problem of retaining cadres, and other major features, into full consideration, and which fail to ensure sufficiently profound analysis of long-term needs for higher school graduates, a decisive indicator in the drafting of VUZ enrollment plans. The mechanism for the appointment of VUZ graduates to positions by the state is not operating in fully satisfactory fashion either. The current procedure whereby economic managers bear very little serious responsibility for the efficient use of young specialists leaves room for arbitrary cadre decisions dictated not so much by long-term production interests as by one current need or another. This precisely is why newly assigned young specialists are often given jobs inconsistent with their training. This method is used by enterprises and establishments in an effort to compensate for the shortage of workers with mass skills when there are production bottlenecks. Disproportions in providing specialists for the national economy and shortcomings in the organization of their work result. This slows the development of the socioeconomic effectiveness of higher education. It is true that as a result of the USSR Council of

Ministers decree on the planned management of cadre training and the party and government decrees on improving the economic mechanism, the drafting and use of new planning methods have been accelerated considerably. Nevertheless, the problem of improving the planned management of the training and utilization of manpower resources remains rather serious. In our view, additional steps should be taken in this connection.

The urgency of the problem is particularly clear where the responsible role played by the higher school in the systematic correlation of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is concerned. This is regarded by the communist party as one of the determining factors in laying the material and technical foundations for communism. "The communist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "takes as its basis the fact that the building of the new society is simply inconceivable without science." By linking science as a sector for the acquisition of new knowledge and production as a sector for its practical use, the higher school, which is responsible for seeing to it that the participants in the public production process master scientific knowledge and progressive labor methods, largely determines the pace and scope of scientific and technical progress. Today, along with the other parts of the public education system, it has a broader opportunity to accomplish this than ever before. The powerful educational complex which has been created in the country provides conditions favorable to proper labor training for virtually all of the young people embarking upon life, covering the entire range of current professions. The task of the higher school in this regard was set forth in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress. It emphasized in particular that "As the national economy develops, the demand for cadres with one skill or another also changes, and thus the system of planning cadre training in VUZs must also react to such changes sensitively."

In responding to the demands of reality, the training institutions have always tried to utilize the most effective ways and means of meeting the economy's cadre needs. It is natural, therefore, that elements in the target-program method have long since been a part of the practical activities of higher schools and other public education units. For example, problems in connection with providing specialists for the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline are being resolved on the basis of the target system. A network of VUZs and their training subunits is being developed parallel with the building of the railroad in the developed area. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has undertaken to formulate and apply target programs for supplying the basic economic sectors and a number of areas where production forces are being intensively developed with specialists. The conditions for recruiting better-trained young people for the study of skills in which such sectors and rayons are experiencing acute shortages have been created. More students are being trained in the skills needed by the economy, and enrollment in Siberian, Northern and Far Eastern VUZs has increased.

The training of cadres for the power, machine-building, metallurgical and machine tool-building industries in the newly developed territorial-production complexes is a prime concern. The organization has been improved and so has the planned assignment of specialists. However, the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the 1980s no longer demand local decisions, but rather the adoption of a comprehensive system of program-target management of the training and use of

specialists and all workers, designed to promote a thrifty and economical attitude toward manpower resources. "This is a complex matter which requires the solution of many economic, technical, social and educational problems," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th party congress. It poses a need for the development of effective economic and legal mechanisms to control the assignment of cadres on the basis of education and skills more efficiently, and to increase the responsibility of managers of enterprises and organizations for the development of the type of organizational and housing and living conditions which will contribute to the most expedient use of the professional knowledge of the participants in the public process.

"The primary duty and honorable mission of the higher school," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is to train specialists worthy of our age, true organizers and educators of the masses, patriots and internationalists, people who have mastered the foundations of contemporary science to perfection and are notable for their profound communist convictions and high moral qualities." The training and education of such specialists is a daily practical project which involves the multimillion-strong collective of the universities and institutes throughout the country. The requirements formulated in the party and government decree on the higher school (1979) on the training of broad specialists and combining basic theoretical training with substantial practical knowledge, skills and habits constitute the main guideline for VUZ educators. It is the training of such specialists precisely which determines the current and long-term trends in the development of the training system in the VUZs based on the new tasks posed for higher education, as set forth at the 26th party congress.

The most important characteristic feature of the broadly trained specialist is his profound mastery of contemporary science and Marxist-Leninist methodology. The greater role and significance of basic scientific knowledge are a natural consequence of the scientific and technical revolution, which calls for the training of specialists who can be functionally further trained or retrained, and who have acquired firm and broad scientific knowledge.

Despite the extensive work done to increase the substance of higher education, many weak spots remain in the general scientific training of today's VUZ graduates. The most important is the gap between theoretical knowledge and the acquiring of skills for the practical use of it. This is because the basic sciences are still poorly utilized in teaching specialized subjects. For this reason, further basic training will require the combined teaching of theoretical, general-professional and specialized subjects, and the pursuit of a program of uninterrupted basic training in which theoretical knowledge is consolidated and practically refracted through experience in practice and the solution of practical scientific problems basic to the professional activity of the graduate. Such experience has been acquired by a number of frontranking VUZs in the country, such as the Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute, the Leningrad Technological Institute imeni Lensovet, and others. The use of this experience has been shown to be fully justified, making the addition to the agenda of the task of its widespread adoption possible.

It is obvious that it would be rather difficult for higher educational institutions to advance and to develop modern standards of scientific thinking in specialists in isolation from the other units in the public education system. The secondary and technical and vocational-technical schools must continue their search for methods

leading to the development of a unified and effective general educational training system consistent with current requirements. We must be guided in this by Lenin's statement on the universal and polytechnical nature of general education. By improving the training of young people for work even more purposefully, as the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" stipulate, a useful return to the study and full use of the existing opportunities for raising the level of the students' knowledge of the natural and social sciences could be usefully effected during the 11th Five-Year Plan. We believe that the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the higher schools and the creative associations should combine their efforts to create a single comprehensive program for improving the training and education of the young generation, one which would cover all levels and establishments within the public education system. The problem is to provide a meaningful methodological and pedagogical definition of the paths leading to the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual by enriching this development "with knowledge of the whole wealth acquired by mankind" (V. I. Lenin).

The basic education of the broadly trained specialist must be extended organically to his solid and comprehensive general professional training. By combining the knowledge acquired in the basic and specialized subjects in an integral system, general professional training determines the outlook of graduates as members of a specific profession or economic sector. It ensures the mastery of the skills and habits required for the effective organization of the work of labor collectives. This precisely is why the contemporary period is characterized by numerous changes in its content. A new complex of general professional subjects related to the application of progressive means and methods of automation has developed and is now being studied by the students in most VUZ departments. The study of sectorial economics has been updated, and economic knowledge is given a consistently practical orientation. The teaching of production quality management has been introduced in the material production curriculum. Legal and ecological training has become an important component in general professional education. The interests of the production process ever more urgently demand that future specialists study practical problems in social psychology. These changes mean that general professional training is leaning toward standardized structure, while at the same time specialized-applied principles are being intensified. These aspects are inseparable. They make it possible to supply the students with an increasing volume of information without extending the duration of their training. The adoption of this approach demands that the training and education process be intensified.

Training intensification is one of the major tasks in the development of the whole public education system. In comparing the development in scientific knowledge with that of the population, F. Engels pointed out that "Science moves ahead in proportion to the mass of knowledge it has inherited from the previous generation. As a consequence, under most ordinary conditions, it increases in a geometric progression" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 568). Therefore the intensification of the training process is not exclusively a pedagogical problem facing our higher schools, but a component in the strategic task of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. VUZ educators are urgently seeking the methods which will enable them to step up the pace of training without reducing requirements with regard to the quality of students' knowledge. Moscow State University is successfully developing the theoretical and methodological aspects of this problem. While scientists in

the psychology department are building an optimum model of the training process in a modern VUZ, instructors from different schools throughout the country are mastering practical methods of training intensification in the department of skill improvement. Tangible results in the drafting and practical mastery of an intensive foreign language study course have been achieved.

The contemporary situation, which is characterized by a rapid increase in the volume of scientific and technical and sociopolitical information, leads us to assume that in the near future, the requirements of the intensification of the processes for the sharing and mastery of knowledge will necessitate the use of more advanced and scientifically substantiated methods for controlling cognitive training activities and mobilizing the creative talents of the individual. We believe that the further scientific and practical research done by scientists and educators in this area will contribute to the prerequisites for the implementation of the directives of the 26th party congress which call for increased effectiveness in the work of all units and forms of cadre training and education.

The main factor in upgrading training effectiveness is improvement in the quality of teaching. The importance of this task of permanent value to the higher school was emphasized again by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress. We know that the skill of the teacher is manifested in the purposeful guidance of the professional training of his students and his ability to suggest to each student an individualized but faultless system for mastering his chosen field.

The training of broad specialists is based on the generalization of education. This in no way reduces the importance of the clear and specific trend in VUZ education toward applied science. High standards for professional thinking and a variety of practical skills ensuring that graduates will quickly adapt to the rhythm of the contemporary production process must be developed in the course of the students' training.

The development of the system of skills and specialization in the higher school, improvement in the teaching of subjects regarded as most progressive and the flexible and adaptable component in higher education are subordinated to the solution of these problems. In the past decade alone, the training institutions mastered more than 70 new orientations in cadre training. The most important of these involve skills related to the nuclear power industry, the development and operation of hydraulic reclamation systems, robotics, environmental protection, powder metallurgy, optimized management, labor organization, and many other fields. The number of specialized disciplines in the traditional professional fields has also been increased substantially.

Together with practical training, specialized disciplines, which determine the end result of VUZ training, account for about a third of the required subjects. This is an entirely adequate proportion, not only for honing the professional knowledge and skills of the specialist, but also placing his education on the leading edge of scientific and technical progress. Nonetheless, it is shortcomings in specialized training and the difficulties occurring in the professional adaptation of graduates precisely which are most often the targets of criticism from enterprises and establishments in the national economy today.

This criticism is not without foundation. If we take the higher technical schools as an example, in increasingly frequent cases in recent years young specialists have tried to avoid assignment to primary production sectors. They are too slow in mastering working conditions in shops and fail to evidence the needed engineering skills.

This situation has its explanation. On the one hand, VUZ teachers, who are mainly scientists and educators, are often more concerned with developing the qualities of a researcher in their students than with their practical training. On the other hand, and this is even more important, the enterprises themselves have reduced their concern with the organization of students' practical training, and they sometimes make quite arbitrary use of the trainees assigned to them. The situation is also poor with regard to the annual practical training of young specialists: it is not fully carried out in many economic sectors and most enterprises. The result is that a substantial part of the specialized training has been dropped from the general training course, while gaps are developing in the graduates' training.

The schools, together with the production workers, are urgently looking for ways to improve specialized training. Many VUZs are establishing training-scientific-production associations in cooperation with enterprises in the same field, working together, so to speak, in the final stage of specialists' training. The experience acquired in such cooperation between the Belorussian Polytechnical Institute and the Minsk Automotive and Tractor Associations and between the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute and the Elektrosila Production Association is well known. A somewhat different approach to this task was taken in Dnepropetrovsk, where a special kind of student plant was established. The main idea, however, is beyond question: the future specialist must become familiar with production conditions while still in school.

Following the promulgation of the decree of the party and government on the higher school, cooperation between VUZs and enterprises in cadre training developed firm organizational foundations. The initial results of the activities of branches of specialized departments at production enterprises established in accordance with the decree confirm that this method of cooperation between educational and economic sectors has a great future. As cooperation between VUZs and enterprises expands, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is undertaking to make timely assignments of the future specialists, 1 to 3 years prior to their graduation. This will make it possible to coordinate cadre training and use more closely, and to complete and direct specialized training in the way needed. Practical training curricula are also being improved. By combining all types of practical training in a single system consistent with the professional development of graduates, these curricula will henceforth ensure that each specialist acquires a specific work skill based on his line of training. Night and correspondence course training will be most closely linked with productive labor. Such training will be improved as a result of the expanded system of measures being implemented in accordance with the recently approved USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improvements in On-the-Job Training of Specialists With Higher and Secondary Specialized Education." We believe that all of these things will make it possible to resolve the problems on the strengthening of ties between higher education and production, set forth by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, in a complete way.

The skill and practical productivity of the specialist are determined to a decisive extent by his life stance and communist conscientiousness. It is pertinent to recall that even before the Great October Revolution, Lenin described the development of a purposeful and consistent revolutionary outlook as the main task in the work of communists with university students (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 7, pp 341-343).

Guided by the party's decisions on ideological problems, the higher educational institutions have done considerable work on improving the Marxist-Leninist training and upbringing of future specialists. The teaching of the social sciences has been improved. They are now studied throughout the entire university course. The whole atmosphere created in recent years, characterized by such important events as the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the nationwide discussion and approval of the new USSR Constitution, had a tremendous and stimulating impact and increased the interest of young people in mastering the theory of scientific communism. The works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, offered Soviet university students real training in life and creativity.

The contemporary stage in the development of the communist education system in the higher school is linked with the implementation of the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." In planning the educational program for the new five-year period, based on the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the VUZs are firmly guided by the comprehensive approach and the task of organically combining all the orientations in educational work. This increases the importance of the clear identification of the central aspects of the educational process. The most important is the implementation of ideological-political measures set forth by the 26th CPSU Congress. Today this work has entered its most important stage, in which the main efforts of the VUZ collectives are focused on the mastery of the ideological wealth provided by the congress and the organization of the dissemination, study and implementation of its decisions.

The all-round consideration of the sociopsychological characteristics of the young generation and the interests and inclinations of the students is taking on great importance in the educational process. The young men and women who enter the higher schools today grow up under conditions characterized by the stable well-being of the Soviet people. They are accustomed to the established socialist norms of community life and are noticeably superior to the students of previous generations in their cultural and information standards. These are pleasing changes, for communism is being built for the good of man. However, we must bear in mind the fact that the young people who have not experienced difficulties and who know about the major changes in our country from books alone may also be unable to master the values of the historical experience in the struggle for building developed socialism sufficiently profoundly. This is why ideologically immature young people in whom, as was pointed out in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress "education and a level of knowledge are sometimes combined with political naivete and professional training with an insufficiently responsible attitude toward labor," are occasionally found among the students.

If such miscalculations are to be prevented, much must be done to ensure the further reorganization of ideological and political-educational work in universities and institutes, considering increased demands of the students and the strict

requirements as to the specialists' spiritual aspect. The entire organization of the educational process and its content, forms and methods must be such as to develop a feeling in the students of personal involvement with the great current process of building communism and a deep awareness of our historical rightness, and also a mature feeling of responsibility for the preservation, strengthening and multiplication of the gains of socialism, for as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the truth can only be firmly mastered when it has been experienced, rather than merely taught. Particular concern must be devoted to the conceptual development of the young specialists and their mastery of dialectical materialism as the only true method for the study and transformation of the world. The purpose of the whole VUZ training system must be to enable the future specialist to master the truths of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the experience and example of his own profession and to understand and feel profoundly the link between his chosen field and the cause of communism.

Further improvements in the effectiveness with which the scientific potential of higher educational institutions is being used were among the major problems of importance raised at the congress. A great deal has been and is being done in this area, which is a target of primary attention for the VUZ scientific collectives. Aware of their responsibility for the development of scientific thinking and the application of the results of research in widespread economic practice, scientists at universities and institutes are promoting creative research in all areas of contemporary knowledge. Over the past 5 years alone, they provided enterprises and organizations with results of studies covering approximately 80,000 topics, the economic effect of which exceeded 9.3 billion rubles, or 3 billion more than during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. In recent years higher schools have been responsible for 15 scientific discoveries and more than 50,000 inventions. The title of Laureate of Lenin and the USSR State Prize in Science and Technology have been awarded to 154 VUZ scientists.

However, it is precisely the accelerated pace of the development of VUZ science which demonstrates the considerable reserves of the higher school. The main one is the extensive use of the method of target programs in the planning and organization of scientific work. This makes it possible to develop large scientific collectives and to engage in extensive research, ranging from basic studies to the practical application of conclusions. The strengthening of the experimental and production facilities of the scientific subdivisions of training institutions will considerably accelerate the practical utilization of VUZ research. Further opportunities for increasing scientific research in the higher school are also to be found in the more active involvement of teachers and students in such work.

The solution of the new problems facing higher education presumes further improvement in the pedagogical and scientific skills of VUZ teachers. This is the reason for the particular interest with which the higher school collectives welcomed the provisions of the "Basic Directions" on the improvement of training and upgrading the skill and certification of scientific and scientific-pedagogical cadres. The practical steps which will be taken in this area include the priority development of full-time graduate studies in universities and institutes and improvement in the activities of institutes and departments to upgrade teachers' skills. Considerable attention will be devoted to the training of doctors of sciences and the strengthening of the chairs of social and natural sciences and the faculties at newly established and distant universities and institutes by providing them with highly skilled scientific-pedagogical cadres. The 11th Five-Year Plan assigns

considerable importance to problems in the social development of scientific-pedagogical collectives, particularly in terms of improvement in their housing and living conditions, and the organization of the work and leisure time of VUZ faculties in Siberia, the North and the Far East.

The program planned for the forthcoming years, designed to strengthen the ranks of the VUZ scientific-pedagogical workers and develop the most favorable conditions for their creative growth and the proper implementation of their comprehensive obligations, is another vivid confirmation of the constant concern of the communist party for higher school cadres. The party and the people, who regard the training of the new generation of socialist intelligentsia as a matter of prime importance, entrust the higher school to the best of the best, those in the leading ranks, the most competent and experienced people. "Our country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "has thousands of outstanding workers: teachers, docents and professors. Wherever they are at work, in a famous university with a great history or a new institute just established, their work, their experience and their knowledge are the priceless capital of our society." While implementing his responsible mission, the teacher must actively promote the new and progressive aspects in the fields of education and science. He must march always in the vanguard, leading the student youth along the path of knowledge. All of the teacher's activities and his whole ideological, scientific and moral stance must set a real example for the education of the future specialists. This precisely describes our best teachers, and this is exactly how scientific-pedagogical workers at all universities and institutes throughout the country, who have embarked upon the 11th Five-Year Plan in an atmosphere of great creative upsurge, view their vocation.

To build communism is to assert the future, always and in everything, relying on the power of scientific prediction and implementing the great Marxist-Leninist ideals. The country's VUZ collectives accepted the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress and the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" adopted by the congress as a model of scientific prediction of the historical future and their manual for action.

Increasing their work on the implementation of the decisions of the congress, VUZ professors, instructors and students feel a deep involvement with the reorganization planned by the party. The training institutions must supply the national economy with more than 4 million specialists during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The further intensification of the integration of education, science and production will be expressed in the greater direct contribution by the higher school to the creation of material and spiritual values. The influence of education on the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the increase in and effective interaction of the cadre, intellectual and economic potential of Soviet society, on the one hand, and the entire ideological and cultural life of the country, on the other, will be substantially intensified. The brilliant prediction by Engels to the effect that "By raising a new generation of comprehensively developed producers who understand the scientific foundations of the whole of industrial output, and every one of whom has made a practical study of a number of production sectors, from beginning to end, society will create a new productive force..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 308).

The augmented role of the higher school and the growth of the scientific and technical intelligentsia constitute a natural process consistent with the contemporary stage in the building of communism. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "It is the result of the party's policy with a view to the all-round acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the further enhancement of the people's culture and education." This increases the responsibility of the higher school to society in playing a leading role in the nationwide struggle for communism.

To the higher school, the struggle for communism means above all a struggle for knowledge and for the practical and civic virtues of highly skilled cadres, who must take up shock labor in the key sectors. It is a struggle for the implementation of the party's and people's constructive plans in a monolithic alloy of skill, will and readiness to build communism, which is the foundation and purpose of the education and upbringing of Soviet specialists. Such precisely is the primary duty of the higher school to the implementation of which the collective of the country's higher educational institutions, many millions strong, is dedicating its full effort and knowledge, as it carries out the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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CLUB ACTIVITIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 55-61

[Article by P. Sorokotyaga, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Mar'inskiy Rayon Party Committee, Donetskaya Oblast]

[Text] According to an old tradition which developed during the first five-year plans, a general village ceremony -- a celebration of the planting of the first row -- is held at all rayon farms before the workers leave for the fields. Freshly painted tractors, sowing machines and other equipment which will wage the harsh battle to produce the harvest are on exhibit. Nearby are their masters, ready and enthusiastic... Reports on the readiness of the mechanizers to begin sowing are read. Contracts for competition are announced. The ceremony is accompanied by songs, poems and excellent instructions.

In the heat of the summer season, the harvesters gather on the outskirts of the villages. As usual, there is a formal review, a strict and demanding reciprocal check. Last year's champion has the honor of harvesting the first sheaf. He does this beautifully and solemnly, in ritual fashion. This golden sheaf, tied with a red ribbon and combined with flowers, is placed in the center of a large circle, and it is here that a colorful and captivating celebration takes place.

These two events in the life of the rayon confirm the fact that the workers in the cultural "shops" are involved in all the concerns of the rural workers and are regarded with justification as their irreplaceable partners. As we know, a proper spirit is the most important component in work. It gives strength and fills the heart with the desire to create. The role of cultural-educational institutions in resolving the socioeconomic problems in the countryside has increased noticeably in recent years. They are contributing actively to the communist upbringing of the working people and to their spiritual development. Each club measure, whether at a meeting of labor or war veterans with young people, at a solemn dedication of the people as grain growers, at evening meetings dedicated to labor dynasties, at celebrations to honor winners of competitions, or simply at concerts by amateur performers, makes an impression on the heart, develops love for one's native land, and encourages people to work better and more productively.

The increasing cultural requirements of the population are being met better and more completely with every passing year on the national level and on a centralized basis. The press, television, literature and motion pictures have penetrated to even the most remote corners. Rural residents are regularly supplied with a wealth

of information on domestic and international events and are acquainted with the spiritual values of the peoples of our country and the achievements in art all over the world. A contribution to this is made by individual and group trips within our country and abroad. All of this has a beneficial influence on the shaping of the personality of the peasant and the vital task of political-educational work. But without any question, the spiritual food which, if we may put it thus, is locally grown, with the direct participation of the working people, is of particular value.

Each club must have its own style, its own personality. Actually, this precisely is what the party organizations, cultural-educational workers, and economic activists are encouraged to develop by the familiar CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for Further Improving Cultural Services to the Rural Population" and the CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Amateur Artistic Creativity," which enriched the practice of cultural construction and gave it a modern style.

As we know, the 26th CPSU Congress devoted particular attention to the range of problems pertaining to strengthening the spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the shaping of the new man. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report contained the following statement: "The Soviet individual is a conscientious worker, a person with high political standards, a patriot and an internationalist. He was raised by the party in the spirit of the heroic history of the country, and by our entire system. He lives the rich life of the builder of a new world. This does not of course mean that we have resolved all of the problems related to the molding of the new man. The tasks confronting us in this area are numerous. Success in the field of education can only be assured when it is based on the firm foundation of socio-economic policy."

In the 1970s, our rayon party organization maintained ceaseless control over various aspects of cultural construction in the countryside, as it continues to do. Such problems arise in the course of the discussion of other problems seemingly unrelated to culture... This was the case in one instance at a meeting of the rayon party committee bureau at which the circumstances which led the Chervonyy Zhovten' Kolkhoz to fall behind, although it had recently been quite well off, were being discussed. What had happened? The lag was due to a number of reasons. As they were clarified, a prestigious commission pointed incidentally to the following detail, along with other factors: the cultural club in the village of Pavlovka is doing poor work. Circles for amateur activity only exist on paper. Until quite recently, the village was famous for its singing throughout the district. However, this was under the former chairman. V. A. Logvinenko, who replaced him, clearly underestimated the role of this cultural center and was uninterested in its work. Basically, the 400-seat house of culture hall was being used mainly for showing films and holding ceremonies. Given this state of affairs, the cultural workers felt there was no need for them, and they finally left for other places where their work was valued and they were given help. Life became boring in the evenings and the people had nothing to entertain them. The young people reacted to this in their own way: the administration received a sheaf of resignations based on every possible reason... Within a short period, the farm lost a number of valuable workers. This had a fatal impact on production. Later, the situation changed radically, but the bitter experience of this kolkhoz provided the rayon's economic activists with a valuable lesson.

The rayon party committee formulated the question more broadly by taking decisive steps to increase officials' responsibility for educational measures in the collective. Often it is on the manager precisely that whether or not a given atmosphere to help the people to reveal their capabilities and to encourage them to work more productively and effectively is created depends. Here again, naturally, the help of club specialists is needed, since in terms of their jobs, they can be described as spiritual instructors.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" had a stimulating effect on the work style of cultural and educational institutions. It gave new impetus to the search for effective forms of cooperation between members of cultural and labor collectives. The rayon cultural department established close relations with the creative organizations at the oblast center. Cultural workers from Donetsk, Kiev and Odessa visit the rural workers frequently. Art exhibits and meetings with artists, musicians, poets and other writers are organized and lead to mutual enrichment. Actually, there is a great potential in the area of sponsorship work, and we are hoping to establish closer contact with the creative associations.

However, cultural institutions, even those sharing the same roof, do not always act in harmony. Last March, the state of affairs in the local motion picture office was discussed by a raykom ideological commission. The point was that the commercial interests of the motion picture service sometimes conflicted with the plans of amateur groups. A study showed that almost 70 percent of the halls were used as motion picture theaters, because, to be frank, motion picture workers are zealous wherever club activities are in the hands of indifferent people or those lacking initiative.

N. K. Krupskaya described the club as a "social home." This was an apt definition of the purpose of cultural institutions in the life of the Soviet people. The role of these "social homes" has become particularly important under contemporary conditions, for the rural population has an ever increasing amount of leisure time, which must be used sensibly and usefully, both in terms of the individual and society. It is the skill of the cultural and educational workers which directly determines the successful solution of this problem.

During the oblast review held recently, the activities of the collective of the Novomikhaylovka House of Culture received high marks. It was awarded the "Excellent Work Club" title. Director Aleksandr Anifat'yevich Kolesnik is at the heart of this united collective. He is an old native. After graduation, he worked at the Kolkhoz imeni Timiryazev. He was an artistic designer and sports instructor, and at the same time, he attended a cultural-educational school. After becoming a specialist, he took on the management of the rural club, which was located in a small house at that time. Even then, however, thanks to his tireless efforts, no one was bored.

Since then the kolkhoz has expanded and become richer. The streets of Novomikhaylovka have been renovated and beautified. The house of culture is quite rightly regarded as the crowning glory of the village. No expense was spared in its construction. As a result, it provides every facility for rest and entertainment. Many people love to bring their families here. The house of culture operates the "Khleborob" Youth Club, the members of which include both young and veteran kolkhoz

members. Its task is to help school graduates choose a profession, to assist them in their further professional development, and to promote love for their native land and the great traditions of their fathers.

Let us point out an important circumstance. Thanks to joint effort, everything possible is being done in the rayon to enhance the prestige of kolkhoz specialists. The best of them have become party members and have been elected to the local soviets. Their portraits, along with those of winners of socialist competitions, are displayed on the honor boards. Recently a ceremony for the dedication of graduates of cultural-educational schools as club specialists was instituted. In the course of the year, the new arrivals are provided with housing and, in general, enjoy the same conveniences as agricultural production technologists. This keeps skilled cadres in their jobs and encourages them to raise their professional standards.

A large united collective of club specialists has developed in the rayon. They include winners of oblast and republic amateur art festivals and competition prize winners. V. A. Ryabko, artistic director of the Yelizavetovskiy House of Culture and a Lenin Komsomol Prize laureate, is noted for her great professional skill. Valentina Alekseyevna is a capable organizer who is intimately familiar with the feelings of the peasants. Any club measure undertaken at the Oktyabr' Kolkhoz with her help enjoys great popularity. The recreation evenings, Komsomol marriages, child-naming ceremonies and grain growers' dedications in the village are famous. This cultural center is used by the rayon party committee propaganda department for the holding of methodological seminars on military-patriotic education. Often the experience of the members of the agitation collective is drawn upon.

Club affairs are successful wherever economic managers and the public organizations help actively in the implementation of the long-term cultural program. One of the characteristic features of the contemporary manager is ability not only as a production organizer but activity in the spiritual area as well. Concern for improving cultural life helps to develop a good spiritual-moral atmosphere and to consolidate cadres in labor collectives. By its very nature, the club is a public institution, and the extent of its activity enables us to judge the spiritual and intellectual maturity of the local rural society.

Understandably, the farm leader is always very busy with production affairs and labor organization. However, it has been demonstrated that the economy develops the more successfully the better an individual is able to evidence his abilities in production and in cultural affairs. The efforts of paid club workers alone cannot resolve this problem. This is why we use the full force of party influence to incorporate the rural intelligentsia and leadership in club activities. Real life shows that this does not hinder "basic" work in the least. On the contrary, it contributes to the successful solution of production problems. N. P. Borisenko, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, is involved in just about every undertaking of the local house of culture. A great deal has been accomplished in the village of Dobrovol'ye in promoting the aesthetic upbringing of kolkhoz members and their families. A branch of the music school was established and a culture university is in operation. Incidentally, at one time the chairman himself was one of its students. One out of every four residents is involved in work in amateur artistic groups. The local chorus enjoys great popularity within the rayon and outside it. Often, during periods of rest in the fields, the kolkhoz members rehearse their warm

songs, which speak of their love of the land and desire for bountiful crops. At the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, labor receives its due. Honest workers are praised and the services of veterans are noted. Recently old and young met together to celebrate the retirement of kolkhoz veteran Nikolay Yevdokimovich Pivovarov, a mechanizer-instructor and the recipient of two Orders of Lenin. That evening at the house of culture was a true holiday which will long be remembered by the organizers, guests of honor and other guests.

It has become the rule to discuss the plans of the cultural workers at the meetings of public organizations and joint sessions of party committees, kolkhoz boards (sovkhoz offices), and trade union and Komsomol committees. This guarantees the successful implementation of the solution to any problem, even the most difficult.

The shaping of high ideological-political qualities in the rural workers depends on the scope, pace and depth of the socioeconomic changes in the agrarian sector of the economy and the development of the educational standard. The statistics are as follows: the rayon farm has an average today of 34 specialists, graduates of higher and secondary schools, not counting physicians, teachers and other members of the rural intelligentsia. Another circumstance must be taken into account as well: the bulk of the rural workers are mechanizers, and thus highly skilled individuals. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, as a result of the active specialization and industrialization of animal husbandry, striking changes occurred in the sectorial cadre structure, with the addition of many secondary-school graduates.

Essentially, the spiritual demands of the rural population are the same as those of the urban population. Unfortunately, however, the quality of cultural services does not as yet meet modern requirements everywhere. This is why we are adopting joint measures to correct the situation. Following the example set by the leading farms, the production collectives have included a special section defining the direction and basic content of mass cultural work on a long-term basis and on the basis of specific local features in their long-term socioeconomic development plans. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased their outlays for the capital construction and reconstruction of cultural projects which are classified as shock projects. Rural correspondent centers and "Komsomol Beacon" posts have been organized at priority projects. If necessary, the people's controllers, deputies' commissions and the party raykom contribute their efforts.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the labor collectives, the public, and the rayon organizations, the material and technical facilities of the clubs were strengthened considerably under the 10th Five-Year Plan. Today there are 29 palaces and houses of culture, 41 libraries (with 940,000 volumes) and 2 music schools with 4 branches in the rural area. Their upkeep costs almost 800,000 rubles per year. Red corners and recreation rooms have been equipped at all large farms, animal husbandry complexes and brigade camps. There leisure time can be spent watching television, playing games, reading the latest newspapers and journals, and talking with the agitator.

The club network has become widespread and covers virtually all population strata. This has led to a need to centralize cultural-educational institutions within each farm or rural soviet. Departmentalism creates artificial barriers in administrative affairs, material and technical support and the assignment of club workers. Occasionally a paradoxical situation develops: some industrial enterprises have splendid facilities for recreation, but are concerned only with their own workers. This

produces strange results: members of a given family are forced to attend different clubs. The young people living in distant settlements are justifiably demanding cultural services.

Since the organization of the cultural complexes, the structure of the cultural and educational institutions (within a kolkhoz or sovkhoz) has developed as follows: the leading house of culture manages the work of two or three brigade clubs, all libraries, Red corners, labor glory museums, and other units. Management and coordination are provided by a council on which public organizations and administrations and the participants in amateur activities are represented. The assignment of administrative, artistic-creative and organizational-pedagogical functions within a large creative collective makes it possible for every cultural worker to specialize further in a given branch and do more qualified work in his sector.

The practice of clubs belonging to different departments, based on a single plan and a coordinated schedule, demonstrates the tremendous opportunities and fruitful nature of this form of cultural services. This was seen and appreciated by the working people in particular. We intend to continue to strengthen and broaden the sponsorship of rural cultural centers by urban ones, art institutions and creative associations. Joint mass measures, celebrations, exchanges of experience, consultations and professional training are pursued. This has a favorable influence on the style and methods of activities and contributes to their enrichment.

Cultural-educational work is a broad concept which is not limited to entertainment. The clubs play a great role in the ideological-political, moral and aesthetic education and mobilization of the working people for the fulfillment of the economic program of the labor collectives. In the course of the reorganization of club work, favorable conditions for the dissemination of progressive experience and science and for covering the course of socialist competition develop, and parallel measures are being pursued in so-called "culture days." The program varies, and is formulated as a rule on the basis of requests. Heads of farms and rayon institutions and representatives of health care, trade and public catering and transportation services are required to participate. In addition to extensive information on vital problems in rural life, specialists here will answer questions or consult on legal problems. As a rule, the program ends with a concert by amateur performers or professional artists.

Mass social and family ceremonies, covering all aspects of rural life, work and recreation are becoming an ever broader part of reality in the contemporary rural village. A colorful ceremony and solemn ritual embellish rural life, giving to it a unique coloring and attraction. Folk traditions are a beautiful supplement to the modern way of life in a united collective, with the participation of club activists. However, a good ceremony is one which arouses a feeling of happiness, a desire to do good and to work conscientiously for the good of society, in the hearts of the people, one which provides an incentive for achieving noble goals. The role of cultural centers in this field is truly hard to overestimate. "A vast area of our social policy," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "has to do with improving the way of life of the Soviet people and concern for their health and recreation, so that the working people and their families can use their leisure time sensibly and in a way useful to themselves and society!"

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the rural intelligentsia in our rayon launched a valuable undertaking, designed to contribute actively to the scientific and technical revolution. The forms of participation are quite varied. Competition evenings are sponsored for young inventors and rationalizers in the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industrial enterprises. Mass quiz shows and hobby clubs enjoy great popularity with the mechanizers. For example, the "Seekers' Club" functions at the Oktyabr' Kolkhoz. It has more than 100 members, and is headed by A. S. Varun, the farm's chief engineer. He, a person who himself has a curious mind, is entirely familiar with engineering work, and together with his assistants, who are members of the Inventors' Club, he has developed many attachments and improvements which facilitate the work of the kolkhoz members, making it more attractive and productive. The efforts of this kolkhoz engineer have been well rewarded: A. S. Varun is a laureate of the USSR State Prize.

Generally speaking, the cultural "shops" are involved in all aspects of the production life of the labor collectives. Here is the evaluation of their activities by V. A. Latartsev, Hero of Socialist Labor and combine operator at the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov: "We regard the members of the agitation brigade as our invaluable fellow workers in the struggle to bring in the crops. At harvesttime we may be exhausted by fatigue. Then the news spreads that performers have come to the camp. Fatigue is forgotten! We ourselves are ready to dance! Thus after a good concert, production per machine unit increases sharply."

However, things are far from entirely smooth in the affairs of the cultural and educational institutions. It is no secret that many amateur rural collectives are inclined to stage shows and other types of so-called light entertainment, while neglecting local folklore and original works. Naturally, the aspirations and creative thrust of young performers cannot be restrained by force. However, the local cultural-educational institutions have a direct obligation to develop respect and love in them for folk art and native and Soviet classics. They, in turn, need to be trained, of course, for it is rather difficult to learn to detect changes in the spiritual needs of the broad masses in sensitive fashion, to respond promptly to their requirements, and to develop exacting aesthetic taste. This is the task of the scientific-methodical centers and the personnel at the ministries of culture. The rayon cultural-educational departments expect not orders, but real help and practical advice as to how to make the cultural centers more attractive and the work of amateur groups more effective, from their superior organizations.

Incidentally, industrial and trade enterprises too have a certain influence on club work. Here is a practical example: it is easier today to obtain an electrical musical instrument than a simple balalaika, guitar or mandolin. The problem could be formulated as follows: Why not provide rural clubs with the necessary inventory on a centralized basis? The villages would not begrudge funds for this purpose.

The cadre problem creates many difficulties. We have seen through personal experience that newly arrived specialists often adapt poorly to the rural sector. The only thing to be done is to train the local youth in club work. Currently 16 people from our rayon are attending cultural-educational schools and institutes teaching club work. However, we are not confident that even one half of them will return to their native villages. The material incentive factor comes into play here. The salaries paid rural club workers still remain below the earnings of agricultural specialists, although their work is just as labor intensive and responsible. Some

farms "organize" all kinds of salary supplements for artistic managers, painters and chorus conductors. This, of course, is not encouraged by the financial organs. Furthermore, the lack of a uniform system complicates the solution of cadre problems in other areas and leads to turnover among specialists in this field.

The extensive creation of favorable conditions for the harmonious development of the rural workers, for example opportunities to fill their leisure time, constitutes a major social problem. In order to carry out this task without cost and on a modern level, the various organizations and departments must coordinate their efforts. Each cultural center must become a hospitable home, a center for ideological-political, moral, and aesthetic education. It is on this basis that we must assess the contribution of each party member and working person to rural cultural construction. Most important, this work must be pursued on all levels, and purposefully and systematically rather than sporadically.

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SPECIAL CONCERN FOR ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 62-73

[Article by K. Vayno, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee]

[Text] Systematic improvement in the supply of food to the population has been assigned a special role in the specific measures formulated in the decisions of the 26th Party Congress to ensure a further upsurge in the well-being of the Soviet people. This will be pursued systematically, on the basis of a special food supply program drafted on the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and based on further agricultural upsurge.

The tasks formulated by the congress demand maximum exertion of the forces of all party organizations and the focusing of attention on the most important sectors of agricultural production development. In the course of the preparations prior to the congress, the Estonian party committees thoroughly studied the results of the work done during the past 5 years, determined the strong and weak points in the development of agricultural sectors, and established the usefulness of various lines in the reorganization and improvement of the production process and all units within the management system. In undertaking to implement the decisions of the congress the party organization of the republic is relying on the specific successes achieved by workers in the fields and livestock farms and on the high indicators reached by many collectives. Taking actual experience, the potential established and the recommendations of scientists and practical workers into account in our efforts to implement the 11th Five-Year Plan, we are fully resolved to raise agricultural production to a new and higher level.

I

In our huge country, with its major disparities in natural and weather conditions, the specialization of the various zones in the production of different agricultural commodities yields substantial economic results. Estonian agriculture has specialized in intensive dairy and beef-cattle breeding, the production of bacon and pork, and the raising of purebred offspring. Our main marketing sector is animal husbandry. This trend in agriculture is that most consistent with the natural-weather conditions and the historically developed skills and traditions in Estonian villages and it is based on hard-earned experience. The moist climate of the Baltic area contributes to the growth of grass, the basic feed for cattle; the moderately warm summer favors the raising of dairy cattle. Hog breeding is developing intensively on a parallel basis, and in recent years, so has industrial poultry farming.

The development of this sector is being organized on a firm scientific base, in which balanced feed units and digestible protein rations, and the control of herds to the level at which the fodder available ensures the use of zootechnically substantiated feed norms play a decisive role. This approach has yielded excellent results. We deem feed and labor outlays per unit of animal husbandry output the most important of these. We use less than any other area. Estonia ranks high in the level of labor productivity in animal husbandry among the areas of the country.

Other data as well show the effectiveness of animal husbandry under our conditions. Our output is 125 kilograms of meat (in slaughtered weight), 800 kilograms of milk, and 330 eggs per capita. The gross per capita output of the population employed in agriculture is greater than the national average by a factor of 2.3.

Our achievements are obvious. However, we also realize that we still fall far short of the full utilization of the existing potential.

The May 1976 CC CPSU decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration" became programmatic for agriculture in the republic. In explaining the significance of this party course, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum that "Production specialization and concentration, that which Marxist-Leninists know as the further socialization of socialist production and labor, is an urgent requirement of life and one of the decisive foundations for our further advance."

On the basis of the party's decisions and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions in the field of agrarian policy, the Estonian party organization is making systematic use of specialization and concentration for the development of the republic's agriculture. Over the past 15 years, the number of our kolkhozes and sovkhoses has been reduced by more than half, and there are today 301 of them. Today's farms are large enterprises with modern and extensively mechanized output. The average farm has more than 4500 hectares of farmland, 2300-2400 head of cattle, and more than 3000 head of swine. Last year Estonia produced 186 quintals of meat and 809 quintals of milk per 100 hectares of farmland.

Step by step, the party organization of the republic is converting the breeding of dairy cattle -- the main animal husbandry sector -- to an industrial base. As early as the Eighth Five-Year Plan, we directed the efforts of kolkhozes and sovkhoses toward intrafarm specialization in this sector. At that time, Estonia had nearly 7000 cattle-breeding farms, many of them without any mechanization whatsoever. There were just over 100 cows per shed. Under the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee of the party and the government of the republic charted a course for the extensive construction of dairy complexes. By the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we already had 261 dairy complexes with an average of 448 cows. As a rule, no larger complexes were being built, for long experience had demonstrated that the optimum number of cows per complex under our conditions would not exceed 600.

In developing the breeding of dairy cattle, we tried to see to it that the production of basic feed occurred in the immediate vicinity of the livestock farms. The following requirement was strictly observed in the construction of the complexes: proper reclamation work must be done and a feed base fully provided before such complexes can be commissioned.

This concentration yielded considerable results. The size of the cattle herds increased and so did milk production. By the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the average production of milk per cow had reached 3636 kilograms.

The conversion of dairy production to an industrial base made it possible to increase productivity considerably, to improve the working conditions for livestock farm workers, and to reduce labor outlays. Today, fewer than 3 man/hours and 100 units of feed are used per quintal of milk in many complexes. In the complex at the Laatre Sovkhoz, for example, no more than 2 man/hours and 99 feed units are needed to produce a quintal of milk. Here the production costs come to 19.65 rubles per quintal of milk, and production profitability is 58 percent. The 9 Maya and Estoniya Kolkhozes in Paydeskiy Rayon, the Paala Kolkhoz in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon, and many other farms have achieved high cattle productivity and work effectiveness at the complexes. However, the work of all the complexes is not equal when it comes to dairy animal husbandry. We have farms at which the annual milk production per cow has not yet reached the level of 3000 kilograms. A primary task of the party organizations is to upgrade production effectiveness in these kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Meat production is increasing with every passing year. Here the development of hog breeding has played a decisive role. In developing this livestock sector, we were guided by the decisions of the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, which called for the conversion of pork production to an industrial base.

The farms of the republic have been able to resolve the basic aspects of this problem in the past 15 years. Within this time, the swine herds have developed greatly, reaching a total of more than a million head last year. Pork now accounts for almost half of the total volume of meat production.

Swine breeding in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes today is characterized by its highly intensive level. There are 110 hogs per 100 hectares of farmland, producing more than 110 quintals of pork. The average yield per sow is 18 piglets.

In developing hog breeding, we reached the conclusion that the reconstruction and expansion of existing farms costs far less than the building of new ones. By rebuilding and adding to the pigsties, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have developed swine-breeding farms with an annual output of 400 to 800 tons of pork. Optimum conditions for the feeding and raising of hogs have been achieved. The organization of the work has been improved and the comprehensive mechanization of labor-intensive processes better mastered. The problems in the domestic production of feed for the hog-breeding sector have been very efficiently resolved.

A study of the work done shows that the best economic indicators are to be found precisely where large livestock farms have been created. The use of assembly-line production technology and improvements in breeding methods made it possible to lower the labor outlay per quintal of weight increase by an average of 4 man/hours under the 10th Five-Year Plan. Today the average is 10.9 man/hours, and it takes 587 feed units to produce 1 quintal of pork.

On the subject of animal husbandry specialization and concentration, we should note that initially, this process occurred most intensively in poultry breeding. A total of 24 kolkhozes and sovkhozes specialized in egg and meat production, with the egg production concentrated basically in 6 farms under the republic's poultry

industry administration. At these farms, egg production is higher and economic indicators are better. For example, the Tallinn base-model Order of the Labor Red Banner Poultry Farm, which operates on an industrial basis, achieved annual egg production of 126 million. The cost of production per 10 eggs is only 40 kopeks.

The development of animal husbandry in the republic is proceeding at a good pace. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the volume of cattle, poultry and egg purchases was 24 percent higher than the level during the previous five-year plan. Milk purchases were up 15 percent. However, these achievements did not come easily. The extremely adverse weather conditions in 1978 were a severe trial. Feed production dropped off drastically and this upset the animal husbandry balance. However, thanks to the assistance from the CC CPSU and the Soviet government, the Estonian SSR was provided with additional feed grain. The situation was rapidly corrected and herd size was maintained. However, we have not yet been able to compensate for the reduced volume of output entirely.

The increase in output planned for the 11th Five-Year Plan can only be achieved by increasing the production of feed grain. The republic's party organizations are devoting prime attention to this problem. However, an increase in output is being hindered by the shortage of rural manpower. The assignment of people from other economic sectors to help with the harvest is not effective, as has often been pointed out in the press. Let us also note the fact that we sometimes waste unjustifiably extensive funds on raising the level of mechanization for its own sake. It would seem that in the new complexes, where there are several times as many cows as in the cattle yards with fewer than 200 cows which utilize machine milking with pipelines and feed brought in by tractor, which complexes have special milking areas and conveyor-belt supplied feed, there should be fewer workers. In fact, although there are somewhat fewer milkmaids and tractor drivers, there is an almost equivalent increase in repair workers and other auxiliary personnel. This kind of mechanization is of course incapable of contributing to the increased final effectiveness of the sector.

Estonian agriculture can only develop further on the basis of radical improvement in its technical, socioeconomic and organizational structures. Scientific studies indicate that the republic can continue to make a substantial contribution to the solution of the food problem in our country. Our natural potential and the experience acquired in the production of relatively inexpensive animal husbandry products are not yet being fully utilized. The Estonian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics has estimated that by 1990, the agricultural gross output, meat and eggs included, can be increased substantially.

The main factor limiting the development of agriculture on the basis of the former and mainly extensive principle is the shortage of manpower. At present about 12 percent of the work force, less than the national average by a factor of 1.5, is employed in the republic's agricultural sector. By the year 2000, according to the available forecasts, substantially fewer people will be working in the rural sector. The main path toward the solution of this problem, both in the Estonian SSR and throughout the country, involves converting agriculture to a machine-industrial base, consistent with the characteristics of this public production area.

II

The effective use of farming facilities, the upgrading of work standards in fields and on farms, and extensive application of progressive experience and the achievements of scientific and technical progress are the main means of increasing agricultural output. However, practical experience also indicates that the end results in the work of the whole of the agro-industrial complex depend greatly on the solution of managerial problems and the organization of firm economic relations among the agricultural units.

Concerned about upgrading the effectiveness of the agrarian sector, animal husbandry included, we are trying to implement the party's course of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration systematically. The new stage in the implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan has its complexities. One cannot simply merge the farms in a rayon or a republic into a single kolkhoz or sovkhos. If this were done, they would lose their autonomy and, as a result, their interest in the product of their own activities. Experience indicates that to this day, the advantages of centralization are often cancelled out by the loss of initiative. Under contemporary conditions, we can only contemplate a partial combination of resources (wherever this is efficient and advantageous), while safeguarding the initiative and interest of all participants.

A certain practical experience in various forms of interfarm cooperation has been acquired in the country. Most frequently, farms combine their efforts for the production of individual commodities such as meat, milk, eggs, mixed feeds, vegetables, fruits, and so on. Usually, parallel kolkhoz or sovkhos associations are organized. However, with this approach, the farms of one rayon become members of a dozen different associations which develop their own infrastructure and administrative apparatus. In some areas, administrative costs have increased tenfold, while resources are scattered among many projects, in the course of the development of interfarm cooperation. Furthermore, administrative difficulties have intensified at the points where the individual production areas scattered among a number of associations and departments come together. As in other republics, integration processes in the Estonian SSR have objectively led to the establishment of territorial agricultural and agro-industrial (food supply) complexes on three levels.

The primary agricultural cluster is at the lowest level. It includes three to five farms with related production and social interests. Here a certain development of intrafarm cooperation and specialization and building of joint warehouses, storage bins, feed production shops, and so on, is possible. However, practical experience indicates that at this level and with the resources of the combined farms, optimal concentration in all farming sectors and in the production and social infrastructure cannot be achieved.

Next is the rayon level. Here production and social relations are established between agricultural enterprises and the enterprises servicing them (the Sel'khoz-tekhnika rayon department, construction organizations, and so on). The rayon party, soviet and agricultural organs manage the work on the territorial principle.

Combined efforts and resources on this level make it possible to resolve problems in hog-breeding concentration and specialization, development of modern feed production, supplying agrochemical services, and so on, gradually. On the rayon level, it becomes particularly important to ensure the balancing of production and social factors and to urge straggling units on.

The Vil'yandiskiy Rayon Cost-Accounting Association was set up in 1975. All kolkhozes and state farming enterprises and the enterprises servicing them joined on a voluntary basis. The administrative management of agriculture was closely combined with the organizational-economic functions of planned cost-accounting management by the rayon executive committee. All members of the association kept their economic autonomy and initiative. The experience of the Vil'yandiskiy Association demonstrates the effectiveness of the comprehensive territorial-sectorial and intersectorial approach beyond question. Concentration made it possible to place more than half of the dairy herd in the large complexes containing 400 or more cows each. A swine-breeding complex was established and is being gradually expanded. The building of a state-cooperative mixed feed plant with an elevator and drying facilities, as well as agrochemical centers, is also being planned.

The social part of the program is being implemented successfully. Combined state and cooperative funds were used for the building of modern settlements with their school, sports, medical, cultural and trade complexes, and convenient communications facilities. Despite the extremely adverse weather conditions in 1978 and 1979, the Vil'yandiskiy Association achieved high quantitative and qualitative agricultural production indicators. As compared with the corresponding period during the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the average annual gross grain harvest was up by 45 percent for the first 4 years. Milk production was up by 25 percent and meat production increased by 37 percent. Administrative expenditures per unit of output dropped. The association is making more effective use of material and manpower resources. The efforts of state enterprises and kolkhozes now focus on achieving single goals, and a real process of rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership is occurring.

The Vil'yandiskiy experience and the experience of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association, the economic and social usefulness of which has been confirmed, are being ever more widely applied at home and in other republics. This year all rural Estonian rayons will convert to the new system.

However, we must admit that reciprocal relations and economic ties with associations and enterprises in other departments have not been sufficiently developed as yet. Interest in and responsibility for end production results have not been fully enough secured. Often narrow departmental interests create certain difficulties in the activities of the rayon unit of the agro-industrial complex. Most certainly this reduces its economic effectiveness. We believe that the organizational and economic development of the rayon level, on the basis of the summarized experience of all republics, should be codified in corresponding legislation.

The further development and, most important, the increased economic effectiveness of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration depend upon the organizational and economic development of the next higher level -- the agro-industrial food complex. We believe that the Estonian SSR is ideally suited for this experiment, since it has already acquired substantial experience in the use of new methods of management.

The republic complex is a quantitatively new unit. We believe that it would be expedient to set up a special organ for the management of it, including representatives of ministries, departments and territorial and specialized associations. Its personnel should be relatively limited, and it should rely on its work on the

existing planning organs and scientific research institutes. However, it should be assigned specific executive functions and assets for the exercise of economic control. The economic mechanism of the republic agro-industrial complex should be built on the systematic combination of centralized planning with the autonomy, initiative and interest of its components in doing the best work possible and making the greatest possible contribution to the common end results.

The conversion from conventional administrative management methods to economic control, which should systematically influence the cost-effectiveness interests of farms and associations and inspire them to make decisions regarded as socially cost effective, appears to us to be of extreme importance.

III

The results achieved in animal husbandry in Estonia during the 10th Five-Year Plan represent the collective selfless toil of the crop growers, livestock workers, mechanizers, builders, agricultural specialists at all levels, heads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, republic scientists, soviet organs and public organizations. However, when we speak of the joint successes, we must emphasize in particular the leading and guiding role of the party committees and the tremendous contribution to the development of animal husbandry made by the primary party organizations and the dozens of thousands of party members who led the rural working people and by their toil set examples of high civic duty.

In our efforts to ensure an upsurge in animal husbandry in the republic, we were guided by the party's strategy of developing all agricultural sectors, the decisions of the CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums and their decrees, and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's instructions. The decisions of the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum designed to create stable material and technical conditions for the growth and increased effectiveness of agricultural production became our long-term program for action.

Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the efforts of the entire republic party organization, ministries and departments involved with agricultural production, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives were focused on the resolution of problems in agricultural intensification and comprehensive development. The bulk of the efforts and funds were focused on the further upsurge in animal husbandry.

The central problems in the development of this sector are regularly and carefully considered by the republic party committee. Specific measures for improving the party's management of agriculture, strengthening the fodder base and fulfilling socialist pledges for the production and sale of agricultural commodities to the state were formulated at the plenums of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee and were the focus of the attention in the work of its bureau and secretariat. Along with the solution of economic problems pertaining to the development of animal husbandry, the republic party committee devotes special attention to the upgrading of the efficiency and initiative and the great responsibility for assignments of rayon party committees and primary party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We direct the efforts of party members and farm managers and specialists to upgrading work effectiveness and quality, ensuring the better utilization of reserves, and increasing output.

The successful implementation of the food program, which was discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress, largely depends on the activity, creative attitude toward the work, and militant approach of the party organizations.

We devote constant attention to a study of their style and specific means and methods of work. In recent years, the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee has worked on and discussed such items as "On the Work of the Yygevaskiy Rayon Party Committee on the Deployment of Party Members in Livestock Farms and the Admission of Animal Husbandry Workers to the Party" and "On the Work of the Pylvaskiy Rayon Party Committee in the Management of Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz Party Committees." Comprehensive reports on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress were submitted by the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy, Pyarnuskiy, Raplaskiy and Khaapsaluskiy Rayon Party Committees.

A broad complex of measures for the development of animal husbandry is being implemented on the basis of previously approved decisions of the communist party Central Committee and the government of the republic, including, for example, the improvement of breeding, upgrading the quality of animal husbandry products, implementing the program for the construction of swine-breeding complexes, and strengthening sponsorship relations between town and country. A great deal remains to be done during this five-year plan.

The rural party organizations play an important role in the implementation of all of these tasks. The republic party committee always directs the attention of raykoms to matters such as improvement in the work of primary party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and their structure, the placement of party members, and increasing the party's influence in all production subunits.

During the last five-year plan, the party raykoms and primary party organizations at farms increased their influence in all sectors. Let us note in particular the increased role played by the Rakvereskiy, Paydeskiy, Pyarnuskiy and Vil'yandiskiy Rayon Party Committees, which saw to a substantial increase in production and in the purchasing of milk, meat, grain, and other agricultural commodities. They are initiative minded, and are highly exigent of cadres when it comes to the observance of state discipline. These party committees make profound studies of problems, find reserves and skillfully resolve key agricultural production problems.

The party committees have begun to manage the development of animal husbandry on a more specialized basis. In the past 2 years alone, bureaus of rayon party committees considered 142 items pertaining to the work of party members employed in this agricultural sector. The nature of the problems and the approach to discussion have changed. A broader range of topics is being discussed. At bureau meetings, less current or, as they used to be called, less "burning" issues having to do with failures in feed procurements or the implementation of plans for the purchase of animal husbandry products are being discussed.

We are focusing our main attention on the condition of organizational-party and mass-political work in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the dissemination of progressive experience, and the development of socialist competition. Let us cite several recent

examples. The Rakvereskiy Rayon Party Committee bureau studied the work of the party committee of the Kolkhoz imeni Eduard Vil'de on upgrading the effectiveness of the competition among livestock workers. The Paydeskiy Rayon Party Committee discussed the way in which the Kiyre and Kalevipoeg kolkhozes are working with secondary-level cadres. Vil'yandiskiy Raykom passed the decree "On Disseminating the Practical Experience of the Board and Practical Organization of the Vambola Kolkhoz Among the Rayon Farms on Upgrading the Crop Yields and Increasing Animal Husbandry Output." The Pylvaskiy Rayon Party Committee recommended that the experience of the party organizations of Pylva and Rakhu kolkhozes with the nonparty aktiv among the animal husbandrymen be utilized.

Let us note that the decrees passed by the party committees are distinguished by their very specific nature, depth and long-range import. All party committees today are supervising the implementation of decisions better. The conversion of animal husbandry to an industrial base and the intensification of this agricultural sector faces cadres with ever more responsible and complex problems. The rayon party committees and primary party organizations are looking for able workers and organizers with theoretical knowledge and practical experience, who combine within themselves loyalty to the cause with the ability to organize the strong and joint work of the collective.

The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee and the republic's Ministry of Agriculture have repeatedly considered problems related to the selection, placement and increased qualification of farm managers and specialists and secondary-level cadres. Currently we have an initiative-minded and skillful nucleus of managers at all levels and workers in mass skills, who can resolve any problem. Two-thirds of farm managers are university graduates.

It has become the rule in the republic for farm managers and specialists to attend refresher courses every 5 years. The training takes place in the republic's school for training and upgrading skills, at support-model farms and people's universities. Experienced specialists help livestock farm workers to upgrade their skills at leading experience courses and with annual certification. Currently more than one-half of milkmaids and machine milking operators are first- or second-class masters of animal husbandry.

We ascribe great importance to increasing the party stratum in animal husbandry collectives. Over the past 10 years this stratum rose from 6 to 8.8 percent. Rural workers and kolkhoz members from leading animal husbandry sectors are joining the party. Thus, in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon 42 percent of livestock breeders admitted to the party are milkmaids and almost 12 percent are women hog breeders.

The increased leading role of party members in production and the development of their activeness and initiative inevitably affect the results of the work of collectives. This is convincingly confirmed by the practical experience of the Khalinga Kolkhoz, Pyarnuskiy Rayon. Three years ago the farm was listed among the stragglers. Its livestock farm averaged less than 2,890 kg of milk per cow. Feed production was low and quality left something to be desired. Naturally, the collective's profits were very low.

Starting in 1979, step by step, the kolkhoz's production and financial indicators began to improve. Last year 3,700 feed units were produced per hectare of arable

land. This is the highest indicator for the entire Pyarnuskiy Rayon. Grain yields reached 35.7 quintals per hectare, milk production rose to 4,001 kg per cow and farm profits rose substantially. In the pre-congress days the collective was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

By what means was the farm able to move from the category of stragglers to that of front rankers within such a short time? Naturally, a great deal was due to the energy and initiative of Lembit Tammvere, the kolkhoz's new chairman and the kolkhoz specialists. However, the increased responsibility of the party members, who were assigned to the basic production sectors, was of decisive significance. The party members became the heart, the cementing nucleus of the collective. In 2 years, 13 CPSU members and candidate members joined the party organization. Today 13 of the 47 animal husbandrymen are party members. On the recommendation of the party committee the party members were assigned to the lagging sectors. The result is self-evident. Let us mention, in particular, the work of milkmaid Maret Rayk. She accepted a group of cows with an average milk output of no more than 2,770 kg and in 1 year raised that figure to 4,004 kg of milk.

The shop party organizations and party groups play an important role in upgrading the militancy and responsibility of the party members. To an increasing extent they are becoming the centers of ideological-political, educational and organizational activities.

Let us point out that the effort to improve the structure of the party organizations in the farms has become permanent and systematic. It is increasingly more consistent with the bigger tasks of the collectives and contributes to upgrading production effectiveness. Particular attention is being paid to the development of a widespread network of party units in animal husbandry. Currently the livestock farms and animal husbandry complexes have 37 shop party organizations and 280 permanent party groups.

Our practical experience has proved that it is expedient to set up in kolkhozes and sovkhoses shop party organizations, particularly party groups which bring together party members working within the same production premise. The shop party organizations and party groups of animal husbandrymen, created on the basis of territorial features or combining several livestock farms, whose industrial premises are at a distance, are unsuitable. In these primary cells operativeness is low and their influence on production and the upbringing of the personnel is less effective. Our task for the next few years will be to create primary party units in all big animal husbandry complexes. The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee is directing the efforts of rural raykoms to its solution and has recommended that the experience of the Tartuskiy Rayon Party Committee be used. By decision of its bureau, in less than one year nine party groups were created at animal husbandry complexes. Currently the rayon has party groups in 17 out of 19 complexes. Similar work has been done in Yygevaskiy, Rakvereskiy and other rayon party committees.

We consider improvements in the deployment of party forces in animal husbandry not a short-term campaign but a systematic course in the work of the rural party organizations. We consider this one of the main reserves for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress on the further rapid upsurge of agricultural production, animal husbandry in particular.

It was pointed out at the 18th Communist Party of Estonia Congress that not all of the rayon party organizations have adopted the creative work style and their mobilizing role is not on the necessary level everywhere. The Raplaskiy Rayon Party Committee, in particular, is managing the development of agriculture poorly. The rayon's farms have not increased yields from the existing production-technical potential. Here capital returns are the lowest in the republic. One-third of the farms failed to fulfill their five-year plan for the sale of agricultural commodities to the state, while 20 percent of the farms failed to fulfill their cattle and poultry sales plans. A number of farms, including the Sooniste and Varbola sovkhoses, even lowered their milk and meat production compared with the previous five-year plan.

Not only Raplaskiy but several other rayon party committees have become reconciled to the long straggling of individual kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the weakening of plan discipline, major errors in farm management and cases of parochialism. It cannot be considered normal for one out of five of the dairy complexes built within the stipulated deadline that planned gross milk production and cow productivity were not reached.

The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee and its agricultural department also share some of the blame for the fact that the production of agricultural commodities in the republic did not grow at the planned pace. Although we paid a great deal of attention to the countryside, the measures which were implemented lacked the necessary persistence and strictness toward heads of ministries, departments and party committees for the full implementation of decisions and the more effective utilization of the great potential created in the farms.

Starting in the first months of the 11th Five-Year Plan we have been focusing our efforts on the elimination of these shortcomings.

We ascribe major importance to ideological work among rural workers. Agricultural knowledge universities, which have become most important centers for the dissemination of the achievements of science and advanced practice, enjoy great popularity among them. Scientists from the Scientific Research Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine Institute and the Estonian Agricultural Academy, specialists, party and soviet workers, and production innovators and front rankers are steadily asked to deliver lectures and hold seminars.

Lectures are being delivered outside the people's universities as well. Last year alone lecturers from party committees and the Znaniye Society delivered nearly 2,300 lectures on agricultural topics.

Republic and rayon seminars and scientific conferences are being steadily held in an effort to ensure the high level of dissemination of agricultural knowledge and progressive experience. Papers are delivered by secretaries and senior personnel of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, the republic's Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, and scientists.

Invaluable work is being done in the villages by 7,722 agitators and 10,525 political informants. Active use is being made of visual agitation, particularly at the primary levels, in brigades and livestock farms. The results of the recently completed review of visual agitation showed that most rayon and farm party committees display a very responsible attitude toward this matter.

The mass information and propaganda media have made a great contribution to providing ideological support to the development of animal husbandry. The republic's press, television and radio try to approach the organization of main agricultural problems on a comprehensive basis. The range of interests of the republic press, television and radio is described best by the titles of the sections under which articles are published. They include "Agricultural Survey," "The Village: Problems, Views," "In the Footsteps of Progressive Experience," "Animal Husbandry--the Shop Front," "The Front Rankers," "Under the Rural Roofs," and others.

The republic's press, television and radio enjoy a broad authorship aktiv among managers, chief farm specialists and rank and file animal husbandrymen. Their materials cover the social aspects of the work and life of the farmers and describe the way production, social and moral problems are resolved.

The collectives of many rayon newspapers, NOORTE KHYAEL', which is the republic's youth newspaper, and Estonian television are sponsoring individual farms. For example, at the beginning of 1978 some chief editors of Estonian television concluded sponsorship agreements with farms and labor collectives. The chief editors of the literary-artistic telecasts organized the culture university at the 9 Maya Kolkhoz, Paydeskiy Rayon, which they sponsor, and sponsored a public works competition. The chief editors of the propaganda department are sponsoring the Viru-Nigula Kolkhoz in Rakvereskiy Rayon. Commentators regularly speak at the farm on international problems and numerous joint activities are carried out at the local cultural club.

The decisions of the 26th congress stipulate that our republic must increase the average annual volume of agricultural output by 11-13 percent. With the broad participation of ministries, departments, local soviets of people's deputies and scientific institutes, we must implement the elaborated republic target food program.

The successful fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan in agriculture will depend largely on the results of the work in the first year. A decree of the Communist Party of Estonia Committee, Council of Ministers, Trade Union Council and republic Komsomol Central Committee approved the conditions for determining the results of the socialist competition, and set up Red Challenge banners, honor badges and cash bonuses for the winners.

Good results were achieved in the first 5 months of the first year of the five-year plan. Milk production per cow averaged 1,482 kg, which is more than the same period of last year. The herds of cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry have increased. This shows that the foundations exist for the further growth of output and sale to the state of animal husbandry products.

The republic party committee has drafted the detailed plan of measures for upgrading the effectiveness of our main sector, animal husbandry. Its objective is to ensure the fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the balanced development of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex.

Feed production remains our main work sector. The high potential of livestock productivity, which was reached as a result of improved breeding work, can be put to use only if requirements for quality feeds, balanced rations and high quality feeding are met in full.

Increased meat and milk production will be achieved by increasing productivity, expanding cattle, hog and sheep herds in the public sector and developing animal husbandry in the auxiliary farms. In kolkhozes and sovkhoses the average annual production of cattle and poultry meat will be increased by 19 percent; of milk, by 11 percent; and of eggs, by 12 percent.

By implementing the planned measures for upgrading the effectiveness of animal husbandry and developing the initiative and responsibility of party and economic managers and workers at fields and livestock farms, we firmly intend to fulfill the 11th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, by the 68th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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WHEN THE RIGHT DIRECTION HAS BEEN CHOSEN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 74-79

[Article by V. Grebenyuk]

[Text] Many of the agricultural workers in the Moscow area are famous as masters of high milk production and noted vegetable growers. Yet, until recently, no names stood out in poultry breeding. It was a surprise to many people when in 1976, with G. I. Rybakova, leader of a vegetable growing brigade and M. S. Gromova, milkmaid at the Kommunarka Sovkhoz, the USSR State Prize was also awarded to a poultry breeder. For the first time in the Moscow area this high honor was bestowed on O. K. Sokolova, a poultry breeder at the Shchelkovskaya Poultry Farm. Ol'ga Konstantinovna's labor accomplishment was staggering to the imagination. In 1 year the layers assigned to her laid 13.5 million eggs!

Another noteworthy event in Moscow poultry breeding occurred at the Tomilino Association on 8 August 1978. Here one million eggs were collected in a single day! Ever since then the people of Tomilino are shipping to the stores more than one million eggs daily and are planning to raise their daily output to 1.5 million in the immediate future.

On the surface these two events (the record set by a poultry breeder and the unparalleled accomplishment of an entire association) appear unrelated. However, this is not the way B. I. Skribachalin, head of the oblast poultry farms administration, looks at it. Both are the result of the profound changes which have taken place in the sector. Today poultry breeding is dominated by big poultry farms which currently account for 92 percent of the production of poultry meat and eggs.

Let us recall that 20 years ago virtually every sovkhos and kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast had a poultry farm. There were several relatively small specialized poultry farms whose share of the overall output was quite low. At that time egg production totaled about half a billion per year.

Changes began to take place after the January 1963 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Increasing the Production of Eggs and Poultry Meat in the Suburban Areas of Big Cities and Industrial Centers." Soon afterwards nine new poultry farms were built in the Moscow area and many old enterprises were reconstructed and given a second life, as it were. At that time the conversion of poultry breeding to an industrial basis was undertaken on a nationwide scale.

A new decree was passed by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers in 1971, with a view to ensuring the further increase in the production of eggs and poultry meat. The state allocated huge funds for the implementation of the poultry meat and egg program. Party, soviet and economic organs of Moscow Oblast were able to handle them quickly and effectively in the development of poultry breeding. This was no simple matter. The biggest difficulty was to define the only proper way of development for the oblast at large and for each poultry farm separately. This meant that the most progressive technological solutions had to be found, production capacities deployed expediently and new work organization methods found. In a word, many problems arose. For example, how many new farms had to be built, or how much could existing sectorial enterprises be expanded? According to the good traditions found in this oblast, all of these and other problems were discussed within the broadest possible circle of parties involved. The oblast party committee deemed it necessary to discuss them at party and workers meetings in poultry breeding collectives. Conferences of farm managers and specialists were held at all levels.

I recall the active, interested and businesslike discussion held by the party members of the Tomilino Poultry Farm on the means for the implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree. Addressing a party meeting, M. I. Bryksin, the enterprise's director, described the administration's plans for the technical reequipment of the shops, improvements in selection work and reconstruction of the production facilities. The initiated discussion revealed the tremendous interest shown by those present in improving the work. One party member after another took the floor and views and suggestions were formulated. Workers and specialists at the other poultry farms submitted many valuable suggestions as well. It was their collective thinking that became the base of an extensive program for the reorganization of the sector.

By that time, which was the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the process of concentration and specialization in the oblast's poultry breeding had been essentially completed. Instead of having 200 small farms, the production process was concentrated in 20. The introduction of new industrial technology enabled them to increase their capacity year after year. Thus, at the Brattsevskiy Production Association production reached nearly 300 million eggs per year. The concentration of the poultry in specialized farms was not a simple mathematical addition or a quantitative accumulation. It led to profound qualitative changes. One poultry farm specialized exclusively in the production of eggs for the market while others concentrated on poultry meat. Such a division of "obligations" made it possible for the farm managers, specialists and party organizations to resolve the problems more specifically and purposefully.

Mechanization increased labor productivity sharply. The previous underpowered and nonspecialized poultry farms were hardly different from the ordinary kolkhoz chicken farms. The main distinction was that in the poultry farms the number of chickens was higher by a factor of 3-4, although they were the same in size. Even then some poultry breeders were able to deliver one million eggs per year and were known as millionaires. Each one of them had as many as 6,000 laying hens in her care. The work was hard, for nothing was mechanized. Very few could collect so many eggs and for many years one million was considered the record.

A drastic change occurred when the shops were mechanized, and when O. K. Sokolova from Shchelkovo collected more than 13 million eggs from 55,000 hens the record seemed unbelievable. However, already in 1978 L. M. Lebedeva Golitsyn, who was taking care of 66,000 hens, gathered 15 million eggs. Let us note that the chickens they take care of are not in obsolete wooden cages but on conveyor belts.

New and modern equipment will make it possible to increase the labor productivity of poultry breeders even further. It is believed that in the foreseeable future one handler will be able to collect 40 to 50 million eggs per year with the help of automation. Poultry lines like those in use in Shchelkovo Golitsyn are not the latest word in technical developments. Recently an automated shop with a 50 million egg productivity was installed at the Kuntsevskiy Poultry Farm. Here all poultry raising processes have been automated: feeding, watering, egg collection, removal of the droppings and so on. All the handler has to do is to remove the nonproducing hens. Two more such shops are currently under construction. An information and control panel is being installed at the Tomilino Association. From here the work of the shops will be observed on a television screen. One specialist behind the panel will take the place of six breeders and metal workers. Actually, such skills are no longer practiced in Tomilino. The workers here are operators. The content of the work is changed, making the name of the profession obsolete.

Unfortunately, there are not yet enough operators at the oblast's poultry farms compared with metal workers and breeders. The records set by O. K. Sokolova, L. M. Lebedeva and several others are still inaccessible to the majority of workers. Automated poultry lines, not to mention automated shops are far from frequent.

Had it been a question of technical retooling alone, this very year the Moscow area could have delivered to the state some 10 billion eggs, providing that automated poultry lines were installed in all production shops. As the examples we mention prove, mechanization, automation and television open unlimited opportunities for increasing labor productivity.

However, examples of a different nature exist as well. The reconstruction and, particularly, the installation of new equipment made it possible for the Glebovskaya Poultry Farm, the oldest in the oblast, to produce one billion eggs in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. All of a sudden, however, in 1976 the farm was unable to fulfill its plan. To the farm people themselves this major difficulty was not unexpected. Here is why it happened: after the new equipment was installed, a far greater number of laying hens than before the reconstruction had to be produced. Where from? In the past the number of chickens raised by the farm itself was entirely adequate. In an industrial farm a layer "works" about 1 year. Keeping it longer becomes economically unprofitable, for which reason it is more expedient to send it to the slaughterhouse and replace it with another one from the breeding shop. This is the only way to reach maximum productivity.

Poultry-breeding technology is quite complex. A so-called parent flock which lays eggs used for incubation is needed. This means that in order to increase the production of marketable eggs one begins by increasing the parent flock, after which the number of incubation areas is increased and additional areas must be found for raising the chicks. However, if new equipment keeps arriving every 3 to 4 years should one begin all over again? And if so, for how long?

A program for the intensified specialization of poultry-breeding enterprises was formulated at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. It is as follows: the reproduction plant maintains the parent flock and raises chicks. Chicks are sent to the raising farm, after which the young hens are sent to the egg farms. In a word, each enterprise has its "specialized field," and all of them together are engaged in a joint project. The development method is correct. However, the program which was planned has still not been implemented. The reorganization is proving to be more slow and difficult than was assumed, for it is being carried out on the move, as the expression goes. Shops were being retooled, reproduction and raising factories were being designed and built, and interfarm relations of a brand new type were being tried.

The May 1976 CC CPSU decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration" which provided clear guidelines for the solution of this most important problem was of invaluable assistance to party, soviet and economic organs. In order for the decree to be implemented under Moscow area conditions, the creation of seven associations was of great importance. They were set up on the suggestion of the poultry-farms administration, with the approval of the party obkom. It was decided that six of them will specialize in egg production and one in poultry for meat. In the 10th Five-Year Plan many of them became firmly established.

We already pointed out the successes of the Tomilino Association. But what is the situation with Glebovo, after its 1976 failure? The collective came out of its slump and completed its five-year plan well, proving once again that the course of increased specialization was entirely and fully justified. Today the Glebovo Poultry Farm is the head enterprise of the Glebovo Association which includes the Oktyabr'skaya and the Vysokovskaya Poultry Farms and a reproducing and raising farm in Zheleznyakovo. The reproduction facilities have been completed and when its planned capacity is reached it will produce as many as 14 million chicks per year. The construction of the Zheleznyakovo-II Raising Farm will be completed by 1982. From here the young hens will not only be distributed among the association's farms but will go to two other partners in the cooperative effort. For the time being Glebovo has its own raising shop. However, this is no longer so burdensome as in the past. The parent flock has been already moved and the vacated premises have been reorganized to handle the layers. By the time the increased specialization process has been completed, the association will be able to produce half a billion eggs per year (let us bear in mind that 20 years ago this was the amount of eggs produced by the entire Moscow area). The other poultry-breeding associations are scheduled to reach the same output. Currently the technical retooling of shops where layers are still caged is in full swing in farms which are somewhat behind. In Glebovo, for example, automated poultry lines have virtually replaced the obsolete equipment. Such lines are in operation in many areas of the Vysokovskaya Poultry Farm.

Interfarm specialization and cooperation in poultry breeding is already yielding substantial results. For example, it made it possible to resolve the difficult problem of procuring breeding stock for the parent flock. As we know, industrial poultry farming cannot develop on a stable basis without systematic breeding work. In the past, each poultry farm had to cope with it by itself, setting eggs aside for the reproduction of the parent flock. Many errors were made and the operations

were primitive. However, hens of a better breed yield bigger results. Increasing the production of eggs for the market depends both on increasing the number of layers and on their productivity. There is a big difference between an average annual productivity of 200 and 250 eggs.

It would be difficult in this connection to overestimate the importance to all egg farms of the special selection breeding center. In the Moscow area this is the job of the Gorki-II Poultry-Breeding Farm. Throughout the 10th Five-Year Plan it was able to satisfy production orders in full. As a result, in 1980 the poultry farm administration averaged 230 eggs per layer, compared with 211 in 1975. An additional 219 million eggs were collected in the 10th Five-Year Plan as the result of the increased productivity of the industrial flock alone.

Substantial feed savings were the result of higher productivity. V. G. Grigor'yev, chief economist of the poultry-farms administration, was pleased to report that over the past 10 years 452 million eggs were produced from saved feed. Added to the additional output as the result of special diets, the increased productivity of the industrial flock exceeded half a billion eggs. This is the equivalent of the entire annual output of the Glebovo Association which, let us recall, the others are trying to reach.

The sale of poultry meat to the state rose substantially as well in the 1970s: from 105,709 tons in the Ninth Five-Year Plan it reached 282,876 tons in live weight by the end of the 10th, or more than double. The bigger the industrial flock becomes the higher the number of "worked-out" layers becomes. It is precisely this circumstance that is decisive in increasing the production of poultry meat. The correlation here is directly proportional: meat production parallels increases in egg production.

Further possibilities and sources of increasing the production of poultry meat exist as well. At the very beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, when the program for intensified poultry-farming specialization was being considered, it was decided that some farms will concentrate precisely on the production of poultry meat or, more specifically, on broilers. The majority of purchasers are still familiar with the word. A broiler is a fast growing chick raised for meat. In 2 months it increases its initial weight by a factor of 30 and weighs 1.5 kilograms, compared with the ordinary chick which will add no more than 700 grams to its weight within the same period. Here is another important factor: slightly more than 3 kilograms of feed is needed per kilogram of broiler meat, compared with 6 to 7 kilograms per kilogram of pork and 10 to 12 kilograms per kilogram of beef. Briefly, the broiler has unquestionable advantages. The Moscow area poultry breeders were able to see this through their own practical experience.

The first broiler farm in the oblast was built in Petelino 10 years ago. Currently it raises three million chicks per year. This amount will be doubled by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The Istro-Senezhskaya, Belavinskaya and other poultry farms will also begin to deliver to the commercial establishments as many as six million broilers per year. Let us point out that these enterprises are becoming intensively specialized for the following reason: according to the applied technology, eggs are received from the poultry-breeding farms, from which the "grand-fathers" and "grandmothers" of the future fast-growing broilers will be hatched; the "fathers" and "mothers" will be hatched from their eggs. It is the latter that are the so-called parent flock. Naturally, the larger it is the more eggs will be produced, from which the fast-growing chicks will be hatched. The construction of

a huge hatchery has been virtually completed in Nikulino. Here the parent flock will be kept and one-day-old chicks will be shipped out to all the poultry farms in the oblast which will be producing a total of up to 50 million broilers per year in the near future.

The oblast party committee has been steadily directing the management of the poultry-farms administration, its subunits, the party members and all labor collectives in the sector to engage in a tireless search for possibilities of increasing the production of poultry meat and improving its quality. In particular, great attention is ascribed to broadening the variety of output. That is why currently firm foundations are being laid in the Moscow area for the raising of other types of poultry such as geese, ducks and turkeys. Specialized poultry farms have already been completed in Kashir, Yegor'yevsk and Orekhovo-Zuyevo.

The oblast poultry breeders face major and important assignments in the 11th Five-Year Plan. They adopted the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress as their battle program and have actively entered the all-union socialist competition for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The collectives of the poultry-farms administration have pledged to increase the output and sale to the state of eggs and poultry meat by 30 percent over the five-year period. This will be a major contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the party forum. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" call for raising the average annual egg production in the country to no less than 72 billion. The share of the Moscow area will be 3.5 billion. This is a very worthy goal!

The fact that this objective can and will be reached was stated most firmly at a meeting of the aktiv of the Moscow Oblast party organization which met last March to discuss the results of the work of the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks facing the national economy in the Moscow area in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Today an intensive struggle is taking place at each poultry farm and shop for the implementation of the production program of the five-year plan. The initial steps are most encouraging. Naturally, this is not to say that everything is easy and simple in the work of the poultry breeders. The biggest difficulty is that of the use of capital investments. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the construction workers fell far behind in the building of a number of new poultry farms. The five-year program for installation of productive capital was fulfilled by no more than 75 percent. For example, the construction of the Belavinskaya, Mar'inskaya and many other farms was unjustifiably delayed; currently the contractors are working extremely slowly on the building of the Druzhba Farm which will be the biggest broiler producer.

Many other bottlenecks remain in the mechanization of the production process, the collection of the eggs in particular. The egg collection conveyor belts are still imperfect and in short supply, as a result of which eggs must still be collected in boxes, which is an unproductive operation.

Such difficulties are entirely surmountable. The poultry breeders of the Moscow area are persistently seeking and finding ever new possibilities of increasing output and are making adamant progress.

GUARDING PEACEFUL LABOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 80-91

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress was an outstanding historic event in the life of our party, the Soviet people, the fraternal socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement. Its decisions define the main directions of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and substantiate an all-embracing, specific program for the country's economic and social development in the 11th 5-Year Plan and the period through 1990. Viewing the party cause as their vital concern, Soviet people have everywhere begun implementing the majestic plans for communist building outlined by the congress.

The 26th congress reaffirmed the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy course and put forward for the eighties a broad realistic program aimed at strengthening peace, deepening detente, curbing the arms race and averting another world war. "There is now no more important task in the international sphere for our party and our people and for all the world's peoples than to defend peace," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the congress.

Despite the fact that, through the fault of imperialism, clouds gathered on the international horizon in the late seventies and early eighties, the Soviet Union is persistently continuing the struggle to eliminate the threat of war and to preserve and deepen detente and is in practice developing mutually advantageous cooperation with most countries of the world--that is, it is vigorously pursuing the Leninist policy of peace. Now more than ever before the USSR and its allies are the main bulwark of peace on earth.

At the same time the Soviet people always remember V. I. Lenin's behest that as long as imperialism exists, the source of the danger of war persists. For this reason the party and the Soviet state constantly focus attention on issues concerning the strengthening of the country's defense capability and its Armed Forces.

I

Analyzing the international situation, the 26th CPSU Congress noted that in recent years the aggressiveness of imperialism, especially American imperialism, has increased sharply. "Adventurism and the readiness to gamble with mankind's vital

interests for the sake of their own narrow self-seeking goals are displayed with particular vividness in the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress.

Imperialism is increasingly losing its position in the world and its sphere of domination is inexorably narrowing. No longer can it, as before, control the course of world events, still less direct the course of events as it chooses. At the same time the community of socialist countries is strengthening. The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America grows stronger with every passing year.

As a result of sharpening social contradictions, the class struggle is mounting within the capitalist countries themselves. Interimperialist contradictions are also deepening and the struggle for markets and raw material and energy sources is becoming fiercer. There is a further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

Under these conditions imperialism is seeking at all costs to retard the process of progressive change in the world, to reverse the wheel of history and to secure its former dominance, using any means and methods to this end. It is also for the sake of this--we will speak plainly--illusory goal that, on instructions from Washington, a so-called "global offensive" is now being mounted against socialism and the forces of progress. In this connection there has been a marked increase in the activeness of opponents of detente and of limiting the arms race, and revanchists of every kind are raising their heads.

It is well known what serious damage the Carter administration inflicted on the cause of detente. But right from its first days in power the new American administration has steered a more dangerous reactionary course, and several trends have now emerged pretty clearly in the military-political sphere.

The first trend: The present U.S. leadership is working to wreck the treaties that have been concluded with the Soviet Union, and also the talks on limiting and reducing armaments. In 1973 an agreement on preventing nuclear war was signed between the USSR and the United States; under it, the sides promised to act in such a way as to prevent the emergence of situations capable of causing a military confrontation. Yet now Washington officials are in practice working to keep the world on the brink of war. The notorious Directive 59, which has been eagerly picked up by the Reagan administration, is evidence of that.

The existing SALT I accords do not suit them. Attempts are being made to undermine the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of ABM systems, concluded in 1972. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger has openly declared that the United States may demand the revision of that treaty, depending on the results achieved by the Americans in work in the sphere of ABM systems. Definitive preparations are also under way for a renunciation of the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive armaments. This has been publicly stated, in particular, by U.S. Navy Secretary J. Lehman and E. Meese, the President's closest adviser.

Many ranking administration officials, the President included, are openly saying that the SALT II treaty is disadvantageous so far as the United States is concerned and must therefore be radically revised.

In the last few years the United States has broken off the talks on the Indian Ocean and on limiting the arms trade and has disregarded the opinion of the majority of countries regarding the Law of the Sea. It is doing its utmost to prevent agreements from being reached at the talks on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, on banning the development, production and accumulation of chemical weapons and destroying stockpiles of such weapons, on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, and on a number of other problems.

As the communique of the Rome NATO Council session (4-5 May 1981) and also the statements of its participants indicate, the session's decisions primarily reflected the U.S. administration's line of sharpening international tension and stepping up the arms race. Under pressure from Washington, the NATO countries' leaders, disregarding the aspirations of their countries' peoples, have effectively rejected the USSR's new foreign policy initiatives on arms limitation. They are questioning the Soviet proposals for a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile weapons on NATO countries and the USSR, and for expanding the zone of the confidence measures themselves in Europe. The U.S. and NATO countries also did not agree on the immediate resumption of talks for limiting and reducing medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, making them conditional on the kinds of stipulations which indicate not so much a readiness for talks on the part of the U.S. and its partners as a desire to delay their resumption and to gain the time to implement the plans for deploying their missiles in West Europe.

As is well known, the USSR has stated its readiness to begin SALT talks without delay, preserving all the positive elements achieved in this sphere to date. Touching on the issue of strategic arms control in a television speech at the end of June, U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig declared that Soviet-American talks can start only "sometime next year."

It is becoming clear that the United States is seeking to destroy everything that has been achieved previously and to thwart everything that is planned in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction and thereby to clear a path for itself for an uncontrolled arms race.

The second trend: The United States is pursuing an overt course of achieving military superiority over the USSR and the other socialist community countries. It is seeking to change in its own favor the approximate military balance prevailing at the present time--a balance that, we would note, has been repeatedly acknowledged and indeed is acknowledged by American officials. This course is being embodied in practical actions and primarily in a considerable increase in already excessively swollen military budgets, in the development of new arms programs and in the stepping up of war preparations in various parts of the world.

Thus in peacetime conditions the Pentagon's military spending has reached a fabulous sum: more than \$180 billion for fiscal 1981 and more than \$226 billion for 1982. Over the next 5 years--through 1986--U.S. military spending under the auspices of the Defense Department alone will total \$1.5 trillion, which is an average of \$300 billion per year. What will these billions be wasted on?

In the first place it is planned to speed up the further buildup of strategic offensive forces. There are the new Trident missile submarines, the MX ICBM's, the multi-purpose space shuttle system, strategic bombers, and air-, sea- and ground-based strategic cruise missiles. It is also planned to build up other nuclear and

conventional arms, to considerably increase the Navy's complement of ships, and to create still larger stocks of fissionable materials intended for the production of warheads for new missiles.

Sizable appropriations are being earmarked to support the American military presence in various parts of the world. Work is under way on a large scale to develop new military bases outside the United States: on Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean, in Egypt, Kenya, Oman, Somalia, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Australia and a number of other countries. More than 150 major Navy and Air Force bases have been placed around the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. American regular troops with a total numerical strength of about 500,000 men are maintained in 16 countries. Permanent Armed Forces groupings are being created in the Near and Middle East for purposes of aggression and the suppression of national liberation movements. Under cover of monitoring the "truce" between Egypt and Israel, the United States is planning to station troops in the Sinai Peninsula. Dumps to accommodate additional stockpiles of heavy weapons and equipment for dual-based troops are being constructed at an intensive pace in the FRG, Luxembourg, Denmark, Britain, Norway and a number of other European countries. Detachments of transport ships carrying arms for the Rapid Deployment Force formations are sailing the world ocean.

The buildup of war preparations is being carried out not only by the United States but also by the NATO bloc as a whole. Under pressure from Washington the West European countries affirmed at the Rome session the well-known NATO decision on "additional nuclear arms" for West Europe (the deployment on its territory of about 600 launchers for Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles, supplementing the U.S. strategic potential with respect to the USSR.) In May the U.S. President and the FRG chancellor noted in a joint statement that they are fully determined to resolve this problem come what may. The NATO forces are receiving new tanks, aircraft and other arms in large quantities. The training of reserve formations is under way, especially in the FRG.

The course toward attaining military superiority is concealed by Washington and NATO strategists by nothing more than the same old nonexistent "Soviet military threat" and by the United States' alleged "military lag." In actual fact direct war preparations are under way on a broad front and the material preparation for a new world war is being carried out.

The third trend: The United States has promoted to the rank of its state policy interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and an active struggle against the national liberation movements.

It is making tremendous efforts to suppress these movements in Central America. Direct interference is being carried out in the internal affairs of El Salvador. The threats of plots are constantly being woven and acts of subversion are being undertaken against Nicaragua. Weapons are being intensively supplied to the Guatemalan military junta. To implement its aggressive goals in Latin America under plausible pretexts, Washington is trying to create so-called inter-American forces consisting of units and subunits of regular U.S., Guatemalan, Honduran, Paraguayan, Uruguayan and Chilean troops.

The acts of direct provocation and constant threats against socialist Cuba are not ceasing. Mexico--the United States' southern neighbor--and a number of other countries in the region that are reluctant to follow meekly in the wake of the aggressive U.S. policy have also become targets of blackmail and threats.

The next most important region of U.S. hegemonist aspirations--by its own estimation, incidentally--is Africa. White House officials have openly stated that they will support and supply arms to the terrorist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola groupings in Angola. With the aid of the Republic of South Africa they have created groups of mercenaries and are seeking to destabilize by every means the situation in Mozambique and to defeat the national liberation movement in Namibia. The United States pays special attention to Egypt, expanding existing bases there and seeking the permanent deployment of U.S. regular troop units on its territory.

Arming Israel at an intensive rate and encouraging its aggressive acts of piracy, the United States is stoking tension in the Near East by every means. During the seventies the Americans supplied Tel Aviv with arms and military equipment worth over \$8.5 billion.

The Middle East is also a focus of heightened attention for U.S. imperialism. None other than the President himself declared that the United States would continue to arm the counterrevolutionary gangs in Afghanistan, mainly via Pakistan, which is viewed as a stronghold, a base country and a bridgehead for implementing hegemonist objectives in the Middle East and Persian Gulf region. To this end the Americans intend to render Islamabad military and economic aid totaling over \$3 billion.

The situation taking shape in the Far East cannot fail to cause anxiety either. We cannot fail to consider the Beijing leadership's continuing, overtly malicious anti-Soviet course. The expansion of the military-political ties between the United States and China and Japan, which is advancing in the direction of militarization, creates a long-term military threat to our Eastern borders. With U.S. approval China is artificially maintaining the hotbed of tension in Kampuchea and on the borders with Vietnam and Laos.

In other words, the tentacles of U.S. imperialism are extending to all regions of the world. Acts of provocation and subversion are being carried out, aimed primarily against the socialist and developing countries and the national liberation movements. Existing military bridgeheads and bases are being expanded and new ones created. All these actions are determined by the so-called "new military strategy" which the Pentagon is elaborating. According to C. Weinberger, the United States should be ready to wage any kind of wars in any region of vital interest to the United States. At the same time he admitted that the United States has interests "practically in every region of the world." Commentary, as they say, is superfluous.

The various operations and acts of sabotage which imperialist circles are now carrying out against the USSR and the other socialist community countries and against the world's progressive forces are coordinated, linked by a single design and have as their goal the gradual, consistent weakening and undermining of socialism as a system, and, as a result, the establishment of the world rule of U.S. imperialism.

It is no accident that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Fifth Session and the appeal of the Soviet Union's supreme organ of state power "To the World's Parliaments and Peoples" calling for every effort to be made to bar the way to those who love unlimited armament and military adventures and to prevent a new world war have generated an enormous response in all countries.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet is making this appeal," the document says, "at the time of the 40th anniversary of the attack by Hitler's fascism on our motherland. The Soviet people bow their heads to the bright memory of the 20 million of their fellow countrymen who died in the war. World War II brought innumerable hardships and sufferings to all mankind. We deeply honor the memory of all those who gave their lives in the struggle against aggression, for peace on earth.

"History has taught a harsh lesson. The peoples paid too dear a price for the fact that war was not successfully averted and that the looming threat was not removed in time. The tragedy must not be allowed to recur. Everything must and can be done to prevent a new world war."

The vitally important interests of all peoples of the world urgently demand not brinkmanship but the all-round consolidation of peace, the transition to a sensible, realistic path of talks on the basis of equal rights, the renunciation of attempts to disrupt the prevailing military equilibrium and dictate one's will to others. It is at precisely this that the peace program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress is aimed. It covers measures to reduce both nuclear missile and conventional weapons, contains specific proposals for settling existing conflicts and crisis situations and preventing new ones and is pervaded by the desire for the intensification of detente and the development of peaceful cooperation among countries of all continents.

Consistently implementing a peace-loving foreign policy course, our party and the Soviet state at the same time unswervingly follow V. I. Lenin's behest: "...He who forgets the danger constantly threatening us, which will not cease as long as world imperialism exists--he who forgets this forgets our laboring republic" ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 42, p 173). This behest of Lenin's is more topical than ever in the present situation. That is why the CPSU and the Soviet Government have been obliged to pay unremitting attention to further consolidating the country's defense capability and maintaining the Soviet Armed Forces' combat readiness at the proper level.

II

Soviet military doctrine--a scientifically substantiated system of views on the essence and nature of war, which could be unleashed by imperialism, and on the preparation of the country and the Armed Forces to repel possible aggression--also fully accords with Lenin's foreign policy of peace. "Our strategic doctrine," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "has a strictly defensive orientation." At the same time it also envisages, in the event of an attack by an aggressor on the USSR or its allies, resolute actions by the Soviet Armed Forces, which have full mastery of the art of waging not only defensive but also modern offensive operations on land, in the air and at sea.

A new world war, if aggressive imperialist forces were nonetheless to succeed in unleashing it, would be a decisive clash between two opposing social systems. It would cover all continents of the world and would be waged by coalition groupings of armed forces with the most resolute objectives, using the entire arsenal of means of armed struggle. Many hundreds of millions of people would be caught in its maelstrom. In terms of ferocity and scale of potential destruction, it could be compared with no wars of the past. The very nature of modern weapons is such that, if they are put into use, the future of all mankind would be at stake.

In elaborating a theory of military affairs and methods and forms of conducting battles and operations, Soviet military science proceeds from the propositions of Marxism, creatively developed by V. I. Lenin and the CPSU, regarding the dependence of the art of warfare on the socioeconomic system, the level of development of production, science and technology, and on the moral and political state of the people and the Armed Forces.

Back in the 19th century F. Engels wrote: "It was not the 'free mental creativity' of brilliant military leaders which operated in a revolutionary way, but the invention of better weapons and the transformation of the soldiers available; the influence of brilliant military leaders is at best limited to their adapting methods of waging combat to new weapons and new fighting men" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 20 p 171).

This is an objective law. It requires that we constantly monitor the development of means of armed struggle and make the necessary clarifications and changes in good time to the methods of conducting military operations and also to the organizational structure of troops and the system for controlling them. In this respect great practical significance for our Armed Forces is attached to the tenet voiced by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress: "...The improvement of the organizational structures of control will not tolerate sluggishness. It is not possible to adapt the living, developing organism of administration of the economy to established, customary forms. On the contrary, the forms must be brought into line with changing economic tasks. That is the only way to pose the question."

The art of warfare has no right to lag behind the combat potential of the means of armed struggle, particularly at the present stage, when on the basis of scientific and technical progress the main weapons systems change practically every 10-12 years. In these conditions sluggishness, failure to revise outlooks, and stagnation in the development and particularly in the practical assimilation of new methods of employing armed forces in war are fraught with serious consequences. This can be seen from a number of examples.

Thus back in the prewar years our military science, far outstripping bourgeois military thought, elaborated the advanced theory of the in-depth [glubokaya] operation--a fundamentally new method of conducting active offensive operations using massed, technically equipped armies. In accordance with this theory in 1932 our country became the first in the world to create major formations of tank troops in the form of mechanized corps. By 1936 four such corps had already been formed, and these were later reformed as tank corps. However, subsequently, because of a number of objective and subjective factors, incorrect conclusions were drawn, based solely on limited experience of the use of tanks in Spain. As a result in 1939 the corps which had been created were disbanded, and it was again proposed to use cavalry as the exploitation echelon in operations. This tenet was subsequently corrected, and by 1942 we had created not only tank corps, but tank armies, though it would have been better to have had them before the start of the war.

As for the cavalry, it was used successfully as a combat arm in the past. However, with the emergence of automatic weapons and their widespread introduction into armies and the rapid development of tanks, artillery and other means of destruction, it had outlived its usefulness. But in the armies of a number of countries, including our own, attention was not paid to that fact in good time, and the results of that were not slow to make themselves felt when the war started.

Or take another example. It is known that during the Great Patriotic War the basic form of military operations was the front [frontovaya] operation. Here, as a rule, the front advanced over a zone which averaged 200-300 km in width, to a depth ranging from 100 up to 300-400 km. After completion of the front operation there was usually a pause, and not infrequently a prolonged period of preparation for the next operation of the front. At the time that was entirely necessary and justified and was in accordance with the means of destruction then available.

Now the situation is different. The command of the fronts has at its disposal means of destruction (missiles, missile-carrying aircraft and others) whose combat capabilities have considerably exceeded the bounds of front operations. The maneuverability of troops has increased sharply and the methods of resolution of many strategic and operational tasks by groups [ob'yedineniya] and formations [soyedineniya] of formations and groupings have largely ceased to correspond to the new conditions. In this connection, evidently, it is not the front [frontovaya] operation, but the larger-scale form of military operations--the strategic [strategicheskaya] operation in the theater of military operations--which should be regarded as the basic operation in a possible future war.

It is quite natural that in the implementation of complex modern operations the system of rear and technical support should acquire new content. The scale of this support is by no means comparable with the operations of the last war. Requirements for material resources have now been multiplied dozens of times. At the same time it is necessary to take into account that with modern means of destruction troops can suffer great losses of combat equipment and arms in the course of combat operations. That is why the volume of repairs is increasing many times over and the nature of those repairs is also changing. And this, in turn, requires new and improved organization of technical support for modern operations. Under such conditions particular significance is attached to the work of the home front [tyl strany], which must, in a shorter space of time, replace the losses of a huge quantity of combat equipment and weapons, without which it is practically impossible to maintain the combat capability of the Armed Forces at the necessary level.

In connection with the substantial changes which are taking place in armament and in the methods of training and conducting combat operations in our Armed Forces, refinements are naturally taking place in many of the fundamental principles by which command personnel are guided in the practice of operational, combat and political training of troops and naval forces. In other words, in parallel with the change in armament and in the organizational structure of troops and control organs, military-theoretical thought is also being developed and officer personnel are being trained.

For the reliable defense of the country and the timely rebuffing of an aggressor our Armed Forces are undergoing constant development. In this regard special attention is being devoted to those forces and facilities which, to the greatest extent, are ensuring the combat strength of the army and navy.

The first component of that strength, under present-day conditions, are the strategic nuclear forces, which serve as the main factor for deterring an aggressor and which have the capability, in the event of his using strategic nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community countries, to speedily inflict a crushing retaliatory strike. Launches of modern intercontinental ballistic missiles are automated. Their tactical and technical characteristics make it possible to strike enemy targets located practically anywhere in the world, and with sufficiently high accuracy.

The ground forces--numerically the biggest and in essence the basic [osnovnoy] branch of our Armed Forces--are improving constantly. Their firepower is now made up of tactical and operational-tactical missile weapons capable of destroying targets over a distance of a few dozen kilometers up to many hundreds of kilometers. We no longer have infantry in the old sense. It is completely motorized and armor-protected. Compared with the Great Patriotic War period, in the present-day motorized rifle division the weight of the firing volley and the total horsepower of engines has increased dozens of times. The division has hundreds of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers and a large number of motor vehicles. Modern tanks are capable of destroying moving armored targets at ranges of several kilometers practically with the first shot. Airborne troops have been further developed. All this ensures the waging of operations and battles with high rates of advance and rapid exploitation in depth.

The air forces, as a highly maneuverable branch of the Armed Forces, are equipped with supersonic aircraft with automated weapons and flight control systems, powerful propulsion plants and various types of missiles and bombs. The basic formation of frontal [frontovaya] aviation is the division, which includes approximately the same number of combat aircraft as an air corps had in the period of the Great Patriotic War.

The air defense forces are armed with improved warning systems against missile attack, multichannel [mnogokanal'nyye] air defense missile systems with high resistance to jamming and with effectiveness in hitting targets at a wide range of altitudes, and also first-rate air interception complexes and electronic systems.

The navy has developed particularly rapidly in the postwar period. The basis of its combat might is now made up of nuclear submarines with a diverse arsenal of missile and torpedo weapons, and also missile-carrying naval aviation. Modern surface ships and submarines have powerful armament, greater speeds than in the past, and incomparably greater cruising capacity, being capable of remaining at sea for several months. Capabilities for amphibious landings have also increased. The Soviet Navy has ceased to be a coastal navy and has emerged onto the high seas.

Questions of improving weapons systems and combat hardware of all kinds and of equipping the Armed Forces with them are constantly at the center of the attention of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government and are resolved by the joint efforts of the USSR Defense Ministry, ministries of defense sectors of industry, many scientific institutions, and party and soviet organs in republics, krays and oblasts. The party demands that everything concerned with the country's defense be fulfilled to a high standard and exactly on schedule.

Of course, in order to resolve defense tasks it is not enough to have the necessary composition of Armed Forces. It is necessary to maintain them constantly in a state of high combat and mobilization readiness to resolve possible tasks in wartime. To achieve this a whole range of activities is conducted annually in the Armed Forces, at which commanding officers, commanders and staffs learn how to organize and carry out modern operations and battles and control troops in complex conditions approximating those in combat. Field, air and sea training of personnel is constantly being improved in formations and units and on ships.

An important role is played in the life and activity of the army and navy by political education work, the formation of high moral and political qualities in personnel and the strengthening of military discipline--a most important component in the Armed Forces' combat readiness. The basis of this work are the decisions of the party, its congresses and Central Committee plenums. The work is aimed at inculcating in servicemen profound communist convictions, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, class hatred of imperialism and irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology. Army and navy servicemen are boundlessly devoted to the Leninist party and their socialist motherland. The combat might of the USSR Armed Forces is 100 times greater by virtue of the fact that modern weapons are in the skilled hands of the Soviet serviceman--a person belonging to the society of developed socialism.

Thanks to the tireless concern and attention of our party and the entire Soviet people, the Soviet Armed Forces now possess sufficient might to give a timely and fitting rebuff to any aggression if the need arises, wherever the aggression may originate. Imperialism's attempts to secure military superiority over us are futile. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev spoke of this extremely clearly: "We have not sought and do not seek military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit anyone to create such superiority over us. Such attempts, as well as talking to us from a position of strength, are absolutely futile."

III

It is not expedient in peacetime conditions to maintain armed forces fully deployed in the composition necessary in the event of war. Economically, this is beyond the powers of any state, and in any case there is no need to do so.

In our country in the conditions of peaceful building--as in other countries too, incidentally--a certain part of the Armed Forces is in constant readiness, that is, fully staffed and equipped with personnel and military equipment, while another portion is in readiness for rapid mobilization deployment. If an aggressor unleashes war, the prepared reserves of personnel and equipment assigned to formations and units must reach them in extremely short periods of time. Hence the task of constant readiness for immediate mobilization deployment of troops and naval forces is of great state significance.

In earlier wars, as is known, this question was not so acute. The means of destruction available to states and the relatively low mobility and maneuverability of troops even in the event of a surprise attack were essentially incapable of thwarting the mobilization deployment of an army, still less of predetermining the course and outcome of the war.

In present-day conditions the situation has changed sharply. Already in World War II the surprise element played a certain part. It has now become a factor of great strategic significance. The question of the timely shift of the Armed Forces and the entire national economy onto a war footing and of their mobilization deployment in a short time is considerably more acute. That is why supplying the troops with prepared reserves of personnel and equipment predetermines the need for efficiently planned measures even in peacetime and for locally coordinated actions by party, soviet and military organs.

Coordination in the mobilization deployment of the Armed Forces and the national economy as a whole, particularly in using manpower, transportation, communications and energy and in ensuring the stability and survivability of the country's economic

mechanism, is now needed more than ever. In this connection a constant quest is needed in the sphere of improving the system of production ties of enterprises producing the main types of weapons, of enhancing, in the event of war, the autonomy of production enterprises and associations in terms of energy and water supplies, of completely providing them with the necessary stocks, and of creating a reserve of equipment and materials. The actual system of the national economy's mobilization readiness also needs further improvement, proceeding from the premise that the close interconnection between the mobilization readiness of the Armed Forces, the national economy and civil defense is a very important condition for maintaining the defense capability of the country as a whole at the proper level.

The concentration of all forces to attain the set goals, taking into account the greatly altered conditions of modern warfare and the complexity of mobilization deployment, is impossible without a stable system for the centralized leadership of the country and the Armed Forces. We have definite experience in this respect. The State Defense Committee created during the Great Patriotic War and the defense committees in the frontline zone cities fully justified themselves. Quite naturally, we must take this experience into account. In a future war, if the imperialists impose it on us, the role and significance of the relevant local party, soviet and economic organs in the solution of defense tasks will increase.

The army's and navy's high level of technical equipment also makes considerable demands on the quality of training of conscripts. It is plainly difficult for a person of limited competence today to find an appropriate place in units or on ships. Only people with adequate general educational and technical training and also--taking into account the multinational composition of the Soviet Armed Forces--those who have a good knowledge of Russian, are capable of handling the complex, and, for the most part, collective, types of modern combat equipment and arms.

In this respect an important role is played by basic military training, which, in accordance with the USSR law on universal military service, young men undergo in schools, technical schools and colleges, at the training centers of enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhoses and in DOSAAF organizations prior to conscription into the army. Practice shows that young people who have undergone this training adapt more rapidly to the overall rhythm of military service, master combat equipment and weapons more successfully, achieve excellence in combat and political training and become class specialists.

Questions of the training of reserve officers, sergeants and soldiers are also of great significance for strengthening the Armed Forces and for increasing their combat readiness. The constant development and improvement of arms and combat equipment requires that they should study these promptly and in depth and that they should be trained to master them skillfully.

Therefore the party and soviet organs of republics, krays and oblasts and the Komsomol and public organizations are faced with an extremely important task: to raise even higher the level of responsibility both for the improvement of the quality of training of reservists and also for the further improvement of the system of basic military training for conscripts and of mass defense work. The main avenue here is the conducting of a planned system of measures at training centers using more sophisticated training equipment.

The intensification of ideological work for the education of people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and of readiness to defend the socialist homeland is now assuming tremendous significance. Here we must proceed from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions about the fact that "the firm establishment in the consciousness of working people and above all, of the younger generation, of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of pride in the land of the Soviets, in our motherland, and of readiness to rise to the defense of socialism's gains was, and remains, one of the party's most important tasks."

Over a period of 36 peaceful years two new generations of people have in fact grown up having no knowledge derived from personal experience of what war is. They have the idea that peace is the normal state of society. At the same time the ranks of those who participated in the Great Patriotic War, and who readily pass on to the younger generation their experience of combat and life, are becoming thinner. Questions of the struggle for peace are sometimes interpreted not from class positions, but somewhat simplistically; any kind of peace is good, any kind of war is bad. And this could lead to unconcern, smugness and complacency, and to underestimating the threat of a possible war, which, in modern conditions, could be fraught with serious consequences.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Educational Work" the tasks of the military-patriotic training of the people are, of late, being tackled in a more purposeful manner. However, taking account of the increased complexity of the international situation, it is essential to convey to Soviet people, in a more profound and better reasoned form, the truth about the existing threat of the danger of war. It should not, of course, be overdramatized, but it is obligatory to show the seriousness of the contemporary international situation. This is a task not just for the political organs and political workers of the army and navy but also for the party and soviet organs, all public organizations and for the entire propaganda apparatus. This task stems from the demands of Lenin's party regarding the further strengthening of the country's defense.

The situation in the world continues to remain complicated. The policy of imperialism, and primarily of the United States, creates the threat of a swing away from detente and toward a new edition of the "cold war." In this connection questions of the further strengthening of the country's defense capability, of increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces and of vigilance are constantly the focus of attention not only for military personnel but also for party and soviet organs. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared, "If forced to do so, we shall find a swift and effective answer to any challenge from militant imperialism." The Soviet Armed Forces, thanks to the tireless concern of our party's Central Committee and of the Soviet Government, have everything they need at their disposal and they are fully determined to honorably discharge their patriotic and international duty.

CSO: 1802/17

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET 'WE ARE OPTIMISTS'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 92-96

[Article by Gus Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general]

[Text] The pamphlet "We Are Optimists" was published by International Publishers, a New York publishing house. The pamphlet contains the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress, delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary. It is being extensively disseminated by U. S. Communist Party activists. Following is the preface to the pamphlet.

I recommend this report above all because of its worldwide significance, for the discussions which took place at the 26th CPSU Congress and its resolutions will have a tremendous impact on the world situation in the years to come.

I also recommend that it be studied because of the tremendous significance which it has for the United States, for every one of us, particularly the section which deals with the struggle for peace the world over and for disarmament and detente.

It is extremely necessary to shatter the totally false myths concerning the Soviet Union, which erect artificial obstacles on the way to strengthening peace and friendship between our two nations. More than ever before, these obstacles must be eliminated now, for it is a question of the fate, the very existence of all people on earth, since the balance of nuclear power between the United States and the USSR literally determines the possibility of ensuring peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe which could turn our planet into a heap of radioactive dust.

I strongly recommend this report also because it will give the Americans a splendid chance to hear the voice of the 267 million-strong Soviet people, the multi-national people of that big country, which covers almost one sixth of the habitable land, a people who are following a single path to a supreme objective, that of universal well-being and happiness. The report is noteworthy for this reason alone.

As a member of the American delegation, one of the 123 delegations of fraternal parties and guests from 109 countries on all continents, I was amazed by the greatness of the congress, which reflected the greatness of the scale of the country itself.

The 26th CPSU Congress was considered the main event in the life of the country in the current five-year period, for which reason it was attended by 5,002 delegates representing all social strata. They included 1,370 industrial workers and 877 agricultural workers; 26.6 percent of the delegates were women; the delegates represented 66 nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union.

As I listened to the report which L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, delivered at the congress, I thought admiringly of the tremendous work involved in the formulation of a five-year plan which would guide the lives, the work and the leisure time of millions of people. The plan combines the best suggestions made by more than 121 million people who took active part in its formulation.

This is the essence, the greatness and the justice of socialist democracy in action on the highest level, and it is this that increases the significance and scale of the document. It is precisely for this reason that the report is a living proof of the courage and heroism of the people in their daring building of a new world and shaping a new man--the citizen of the Soviet society. This is a truly difficult and responsible task! With the accountability report the Soviet people submitted to the entire world a report on their achievements, victories, optimism and resolve to continue this construction under conditions of peace throughout the world.

Peace and disarmament are the main tasks of the Soviet Union. No other way is possible. Just think: in some 60 years, since its foundation, and only 35 years after the end of the most destructive and devastating war in the history of mankind (which cost the lives of 20 million Soviet people) the USSR advanced to the rank of the most modern industrial states in the world, yielding to no one.

This dynamic document proves that indeed there are two opposite and dissimilar worlds, two rival and opposed social, political, economic and ideological systems which compete with each other in all realms of life.

The United States and the USSR are the main participants in the confrontation between the two world systems--capitalism and socialism--in an attempt to win over to their side the mind and hearts of the people the world over. History has given them their place in the world arena as the embodiment of the quintessence of the two systems, subjecting their soundness to a test.

And so, two important events are taking place almost simultaneously. In Moscow, L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, addressed the 26th congress. In Washington, President Ronald Reagan delivered his "State of the Union" message to the congress. These two documents clearly show the sharp contrast between the basic and most important principles and concepts of either society.

L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, proclaimed peace, constructive toil, concern for the happiness and well-being of the entire Soviet people, stable economic growth, steady improvements in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people, social justice, lofty humanistic ideals and true democracy as the main objectives of the 11th Five-Year Plan. This is the socialist way of life whose slogan is "Everything in the Name of Man and Everything for the Good of Man."

On the other side of the ocean, in the capital of the capitalist world, addressing the U. S. Congress, the new American President told the American people "confusion

prevails in our economy," and that "today a reduction of social programs and a lowering of the living standards of the people are on the agenda," and that for the sake of the implementation of the so-called "economic recovery program" the "Americans must make new sacrifices and tighten their belts." David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and the Budget in the Reagan administration, followed Reagan with a statement which revealed the very essence of capitalist ideology: that the American people have no right to any social services whatever. This was confirmed by the budget as well. If the budget is adopted it will represent the biggest redistribution of income in history: the income of the working people and the poor will go into the pockets of the rich and the treasury of corporations and banks, and from the needy to the greedy.

The demagogic and false big talk about "social guarantees" and the desire "to relieve the people from the burden of maintaining an inflated governmental apparatus" are nothing but an attempt to conceal the true objectives of Reagan's "five-year plan," which is to bring most Americans down to the poverty level. This is and has always been the basic principle of American capitalism. The Reagan administration, however, represents monopoly capital in its pure form, with no embellishments.

Let us consider some specific matters covered in L. I. Brezhnev's report and make a few actual comparisons between life in the United States and in the USSR.

Over the past 5 years the average wage of workers and employees in the Soviet Union rose by almost 16 percent, while kolkhoz income from the public farms rose by 26 percent. Within the same period a steady decline in real wages of five percent annually was noted in the United States. The trend is continuing.

The Soviet citizens pay an insignificant percentage of their earnings in taxes, whose share is continuing to drop. In the United States the working people today pay in taxes as much as 40 percent of their earnings, and the figure is growing. Meanwhile, the share of American corporations in the revenue from taxes is declining steadily. It accounted for 12 percent in 1981. The results of the implementation of Reagan's program will be that the share of withholdings from the profits of big corporations for payments to the federal budget will amount to the unprecedented low figure of seven percent. In the Soviet Union there are no privileged private corporations. There are 10 million unemployed in the United States whereas there is no unemployment whatever in the Soviet Union.

There are no slums in the Soviet Union. About 80 percent of the population live in individual apartments or homes and the average rent does not exceed four to five percent of their income, including payments for communal services. Such a low level of rentals has been maintained steadily for more than half a century.

In the United States slum areas grow faster than new houses. People spend from 20 to 50 percent of their income on rent, while payments for communal services (and profits to the respective companies) are rising sharply. Last winter many Americans were simply forced to close their homes, being unable to pay their heating bills. Others, particularly the elderly, died of cold in unheated premises.

The conversion to mandatory universal secondary education has been completed in the Soviet Union. Textbooks are given free of charge. Higher education is free and accessible to anyone who can pass the entrance examinations. In the United States college education threatens to become a luxury accessible only to the well-off. Loans and scholarships to students are being reduced, and even college

graduates have no job guarantees. Work according to their choice is guaranteed to all graduates of Soviet higher educational institutions.

In the Soviet Union the Soviet citizens are guaranteed lifetime free medical services and treatment and dental care. New hospitals, polyclinics and dental offices are being opened throughout the country. A stay in the hospital, surgery and everything needed for patient treatment are free. More than one third of all physicians in the world, most of them women, are found in the USSR.

In the United States medical services and treatment are so expensive as to become inaccessible to most Americans, as is the possibility of preserving their health or recovering from illness. In most areas the level of medical care leaves a great deal to be desired and there is neither sufficient medical personnel or medical establishments. Hospitals are being closed down. Those which are not are overcrowded and are short of both specialists and equipment. In many areas there are more than 55,000 people per physician. The cost of dental care, medical drugs and treatment is so high as to become inaccessible to most Americans. The fear of illness is always present in the majority of U. S. working families. It is particularly strong among the old who are short of even money for food.

In the Soviet Union the elderly, veterans, retired and disabled enjoy respect and are paid for their work for the good of society. Men may retire at 60 and women at 55. However, retirement is not mandatory and, after reaching retirement age, many Soviet citizens continue to work while receiving their full pension. As a rule, Americans retire at an older age, at 70, and receive benefits which in most cases are obviously insufficient to live on. Yet this is one of the fine criteria which enables us to judge how people in one society or another actually live.

In the Soviet Union the utilization of the achievements of science and progressive technology is one of the basic means for upgrading the well-being of the entire people, for making work easier and improving living conditions. It is a means for upgrading the living standard.

In the United States, under capitalism, the same scientific and technical achievements have a ruinous influence on the living standard and living conditions of the working people. "The semiconductor and robot revolution" is hanging like a sword of Damocles over the destinies of hundreds of thousands of working people. Under capitalism the scientific and technical revolution becomes the enemy of the workers, dooming them to unemployment, poverty and privations.

In the USSR the building of entire industrial complexes, factories, plants and industrial enterprises and of settlements and towns has created conditions for the development of vast new areas.

In the United States entire industrial sectors are experiencing a decline and entire areas are becoming deserted. This phenomenon--the decline of entire industrial sectors and the closing down of metallurgical, automotive, rubber and machine-building industry enterprises--exposes the criminal cruelty of the capitalist system. While new areas are being developed and new enterprises opened throughout the Soviet Union, in a single year more than 1,200 plants were closed down in the United States and thousands of workers were thrown out on the street. Their families were deprived of means of existence. Entire cities and settlements are becoming extinct.

Racism and anti-Semitism are blossoming in our country once again. The Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan are active with absolute impunity, legally and in the open; they desecrate objects of worship, recruit new members and terrorize the population. The policy of the Reagan administration is antilabor and racist. It is a policy which portends hard times for the trade unions.

The economic crisis is a most heavy burden shouldered by the blacks and other oppressed minorities.

In speaking of the great accomplishments of the Soviet people over the past 5 years, L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, said: "Today, comrades, there are no backward national outlying areas!" He proudly proclaimed that "In our country the national feelings and national dignity of every person are respected. The CPSU will always firmly fight against manifestations alien to the nature of socialism -- chauvinism or nationalism or any variety of nationalistic kinks, such as, for example, anti-Semitism or Zionism." At the same time, with every passing day the number of ghettos and slums; living conditions are worsening; racial superexploitation is increasing and any attempt at really changing the situation is anatomized.

The Soviet Union is surmounting the major disparities between town and country. The residents of modern and comfortable housing complexes in rural areas are supplied with all the necessary and desired comforts in order to keep the young in the countryside.

In the United States the small individual farmers and the farmers operating family farms are becoming bankrupt and live either in poverty or on the verge of poverty. The government and the agricultural magnates are expelling the farmers from their lands, dooming them to an existence of poverty in the urban centers where unemployment reigns.

You may ask: are there difficulties or shortcomings in the Soviet Union? My answer will be yes, the opposite would be impossible. As the report frankly states, not all of the old problems have been resolved. New problems demanding a solution appear at every new stage. Are there errors and omissions which must be corrected? Naturally, there are.

New problems have appeared in the power industry. Problems exist in improving the labor area and upgrading labor effectiveness, improving planning and management, eliminating manpower shortages in many sectors, raising yields, accelerating the utilization of scientific discoveries and new technological developments, and the use of more modern technology in industry and agriculture. These and other problems are arising in the course of the development of the socialist society, of the building of socialism. All of them are the cost of progress. They appear as society, in the course of its development, rises to a higher stage.

In American capitalist society most of the serious problems and crisis phenomena are related to its disintegration and decay. These problems are chronic and permanent.

The CC CPSU accountability report and the 26th party congress as a whole represent the further development of the policy of the Soviet Union and its contribution to the struggle against imperialism the world over and in support of the movements and struggles of the peoples and of the principles of peace, justice, goodness and

humanity for all, along with the firm resolve to defend socialism. The essence of USSR foreign policy is peaceful coexistence and friendship with all nations, particularly with all progressive peace-loving forces in the United States.

Thinking of the forthcoming tasks, L. I. Brezhnev expressed the feelings of the entire Soviet people when he stated that "The birth of a new life is not easy. The path of social progress is hard, sometimes painful...."

Nevertheless, he concluded by saying that "We are optimists because we believe in the power of labor. Because we believe in our country, in our people. We are optimists because we believe in our party and know that the path it indicates to us is the only true path!"

This life-asserting optimism and inflexible faith is based on the socialist way of life, on the true way pointed out by the Marxist-Leninist outlook.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION OF FINANCIAL CAPITAL: CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PROCESS

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[Article by Prof G. Chernikov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The crisis experienced by the capitalist society in the 1970s, which marked an aggravation of economic, political and ideological contradictions within the private ownership system, unseen for quite some time, triggered major shifts in the heart of contemporary capitalism--the development of financial capital--revealing, more clearly than ever before, the trend toward its internationalization. Under the influence of the crisis the monopolization of the capitalist economy has been accelerated substantially. The role of a handful of international monopoly groups in the economic and political life of the nonsocialist parts of the world has intensified.

Growth of International Financial Capital

The impact of the crisis of the 1970s on all areas of life in the bourgeois society is distinguished by a depth and comprehensiveness based on its "multilayered" nature. It combines, on the one hand, the cyclical 1974-1975 overproduction crisis, the most serious over the past 50 years, and, on the other, a number of structural crises in the capitalist economy (monetary-financial, energy, raw material), accompanied by a crisis in state-monopoly control of the economy as a whole. The tremendous unemployment remains: there are 19 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries alone. In other words, a further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism has taken place. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, capitalism "is experiencing its third economic decline over the past 10 years. Inflation has assumed an unparalleled scale.... The little help which state regulation is to capitalist economy is most clearly apparent." Important industrial sectors are in a difficult situation, such a ferrous metallurgy, machine building, ship building, chemicals, textiles and others. Some are experiencing an economic stagnation while others are showing a trend toward reducing their output.

Big capital is making use of the difficulties of the crisis period to increase its exploitation of the working people and undermine the positions of small and medium entrepreneurs. The crisis leads to replacement of "second-rate rich with first-rate rich, to increasing the power of capital and to the bankruptcy of the mass of petty owners" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 5, p 85). In 1974-1975 in the 10 biggest countries in the capitalist world more than 121,000 essentially small and medium-sized enterprises declared bankruptcy; respectively, wealth became even more centralized in the hands of the biggest monopolies.

The distinguishing feature of this period is that this process has exceeded national boundaries and has entered the widespread area of the global economy. "Over the past 25 years," United Nations organization experts noted at the beginning of the 1970s, "the world witnessed the tempestuous development of the multinational corporations which became an important phenomenon in international economic relations" ("Multinational Corporations and World Development," New York, 1973, p 1). According to United Nations experts the overall volume of sales of their foreign branches was \$670 billion in 1976 ("Transnational Corporations in World Development. A Reexamination," New York, 1978, p 35). This means that the scale of activity of transnational monopolies (TNM) doubled in the 1970s. At the beginning of 1981 there were 11,000 international corporations in the capitalist world with 82,000 subsidiaries and branches. The bulk of their activities, however, was focused in the enterprises of the biggest monopolies. Thus, the volume of foreign sales of the biggest TNM -- sales of over \$1 billion -- was assessed at 410 in 1976. According to estimates of specialists at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, between 1969 and 1979 the turnover of the 50 biggest TNM increased by a 4.4 factor.

Equally indicative is the fact that the number of big international industrial monopolies with sales in excess of \$1 billion dollars rose, according to the American journal FORTUNE, from 197 in 1970 to 460 in 1976, or by a 2.5 factor (FORTUNE, May 1977, pp 336-385; August 1977, pp 226-235). Sales of the 500 biggest industrial corporations in the United States exceeded within the same period 57 percent of the gross national product of the country (Ibid.).

In recent years there have been changes in the content and direction of TNM activities as well. Whereas at the turn of the century international capitalist associations appeared above all in trade, while in the 1950s and 1960s they focused mainly on industrial production, today the area of TNM activities has expanded inordinately: they are entering simultaneously a great variety of economic sectors, but precisely those which are of key significance to the entire capitalist accumulation process. As a result, the TNM structure becomes more diversified. They are converting into complex multisectorial associations and industrial-commercial-financial groups.

Today the TNM have become the main agents which supply the leading capitalist countries with raw materials and fuel as well as the main exporters of commodities and services and biggest earners of foreign currency. They control more than one-half of the global capitalist commodity exports and no less than 90 percent of capital exports: they hold dominating positions within international production-technical cooperation and in sectors related to servicing international trade, such as transportation, engineering consultations, commercial information and advertising.

Today the extensive internationalization of bank capital has become a distinguishing feature of TNM growth. As early as the 1960s the inadequacy of the traditional forms of contacts among banks in different countries became apparent. This "gap" was closed particularly diligently in the 1970s. Thus, between 1971 and 1976 the overall foreign networks of 50 of the biggest banks in nine capitalist countries increased their branches from 1,819 to 2,912; the overseas branches of the 10 biggest American banks expanded from 822 to 1,065 branches; of the 12 biggest Japanese banks, from 198 to 400; and of the 10 biggest Western banks from 178 to 271. The total assets of these 50 banks rose from \$603 billion to \$1,448 billion, i.e., by a 2.4 factor.

Matters are not limited to quantitative growth. A qualitatively new form of internationalization of the banking business is being developed extensively. International bank monopolies are appearing, operating, as a Soviet research points out, "on a permanent basis and with the proper juridical structure for a variety of large-scale operations" ("Sovremennyy Rynok Kapitalov" [The Contemporary Capital Market]. Finansy, Moscow, 1977, p 105).

By the mid 1970s already 100 international banking associations were in operation. Together with the biggest national banks they actively joined the struggle for spheres of influence and markets. The prediction of I. Ferret, president of the Compagnie Financiere de l'Union Europeenne, a Western financial magnate, stated at the beginning of the 1970s that "in 10 years all major Western banks will be multinational" is coming true (Ch. Levinson. "L'inflation mondiale et les firmes multinationales" [World Inflation and Multinational Firms], Paris, 1973, p 129).

The growing power of the international industrial and banking monopolies and the qualitative changes in their organization give a powerful impetus to the process of their merger, which is taking a variety of forms. An important form which developed in the 1970s was that of the international holding corporations, as a result of which the TNM began to lose their nature as purely industrial monopolies and to turn into financial corporations holding major blocks of stock and other valuables, thus coordinating the activities of branches and controlling their assets. With huge funds at their disposal, the holding TNM not only engaged in the distribution and redistribution of financial resources among the various corporate units but engaged in large-scale currency speculations on the international market. Such operations are becoming an ever more important source of income for the contemporary TNM. According to the British bourgeois economist M. Dan, in 1973, out of total profits of 730 million pounds sterling earned by Royal Dutch Shell no less than 150 million came from so-called "strictly currency operations" (see JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE OF BANKERS, London, 1974, Vol 95, Part 2, pp 73-84; Vol 95, Part 5, pp 299-305; 1975, Vol 96, Part 2, pp 96-103). This example proves that by becoming financial conglomerates the industrial corporations are siphoning off an increasing share of funds from the production process, thus hindering development of production forces.

The increasing intertwining of the biggest financial centers of the capitalist world, such as New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Zurich, Frankfurt, Milan and Amsterdam, is also influencing the broadening of relations among the biggest industrial and banking monopolies. They operate through a network of various financial institutions which serve international production, trade and movement of capital. It is precisely through them that most financial operations take place on the international market. The role of the European capital market is particularly big. Essentially, it is nothing but a group of interrelated biggest banks operating in Western Europe (including American and Japanese subsidiaries). The volume of banking operations on the European international capital market has increased simply fantastically in recent years. According to the Bazel International Discount Bank, in 1960 deposits in European currencies were slightly over \$2 billion; they rose to 18.5 billion in 1966, to 220 in 1974, to 400 in 1978 and to 600 billion in 1979!

The market in European currencies and its main sector--the Eurodollar--became the sources of huge currency speculations. The transfer of "hot money," seeking maximum growth, the "currency typhoons," mentioned quite frequently and concernedly by the press in recent years, are expressive indicators of the further development of international financial capital.

It is clear that in the 1970s there was a switch to an international financial capital of a new type, which sharply increased monopoly domination of the economy and politics of the capitalist world.

What are the distinguishing features of this financial capital? Let us note, above all, its organizational structure, which is based on the solid ties linking international industrial corporations and bank monopolies.

The three biggest U. S. financial-monopoly groups are a typical example: Morgan, Rockefeller and the California group. They head the list of the biggest international financial groups of our time. By the mid-1970s the assets controlled by these groups were higher by a factor of 2.5-3.6 compared with 1963, reaching, respectively, the figures of \$254.4, 163.2 and 172.3 billion in current prices.

Thus, in its international expansion the gigantic organ relies not only on the ties between the American Morgans and the British financial magnates of the "Morgan-Grenfell" group, but, above all, on international corporations within the orbit of the group, particularly on such well known transnationals as General Motors, General Electric and American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

In turn, through the Chase Manhattan Bank (which is the head bank and the organizational center of the group) the Rockefellers are co-owners of the huge Orion international banking complex. They control three of the seven largest international energy concerns in the world, including the familiar Exxon.

As to the California group, its international activities are currently pursued not only through the Bank of America, which is the largest private bank in the capitalist world in terms of assets, and which is the organizational center of the group, but through Abecor, an international bank monopoly of a new type, which was put together by the California group together with many other financial associations.

Also indicative is the development of the Mitsubishi Japanese international-monopoly group, which controls no less than 10 percent of the entire capital invested in Japan's economy. In Japan alone the proletarian army of one million people is toiling for the benefit of the Mitsubishi owners.

Another example along this line is the international financial group which has developed around the heirs of IG Farbenindustrie and the leading bank monopoly in the FRG, the Deutsche Bank. The group is increasing its international expansion with the help of its concerns such as BASF, Siemens, Mannesmann, Hesch, Kloeckner, the Ebik bank monopoly and others.

Another important characteristic of international financial capital is its increasingly cosmopolitan nature today.

Cosmopolitanism has been part of financial capitalism ever since it appeared. This was a manifestation of the very nature of financial capital which is "particularly mobile and flexible, and particularly interwoven both domestically and internationally" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 95).

In the past the international connections among financial groups in the individual countries were frequently based on family grounds. A classical example in this case involves the Rothschild family, whose members settled in five European capitals and dominated 19th century European economic life for quite some time.

Under contemporary conditions, however, the cosmopolitan intertwining of financial capital is taking place mainly on the basis of expanded production relations. As a result of this, this group of financial capitalism is increasingly alienating itself from national grounds. France is a good example of its growing cosmopolitan nature. At the beginning of the 1960s French companies operating abroad account for about one-third of the assets controlled by the main financial groups in the country. Today, according to our estimates, these assets have already risen to about one-half or even more than one-half of all assets controlled by leading French financial-monopoly groups. Let us add that no less than one-third of French domestic production is controlled, in turn, by foreign capital.

This process is not limited to the growth of quantitative indicators. The monopolies are not expanding their geographic framework alone. Changes are taking place in the very structure of their ownership. Entirely cosmopolitan groups developed, which are international not only in terms of the area and nature of activities but the structure of the controlling capital.

The third and, in our view, most important characteristic of contemporary international financial capital is its tremendously increased power which makes it possible to speak of a new level reached in its domination over the global capitalist economy and politics.

Let us consider the figures we mentioned. Several hundred of the biggest international industrial corporations are producing commodities and services totaling approximately one-half the value of the gross national product of the leading capitalist and the developing countries. Four of the international banking monopolies created in recent years own property worth \$400 billion, which is the equivalent of the total national product of countries such as Great Britain, Italy or Canada.

The study of activities of international industrial and banking monopolies shows that in the contemporary global capitalist economy the dominating positions are held by no more than a few dozen gigantic international financial-monopoly associations.

Aggravated Contradictions

The internationalization of financial capital, Lenin emphasized, leads to the further growth of economic, political and other contradictions within capitalism. Interimperialist competition becomes fiercer and the exploitation of the working class and all working people, of entire nations, increases. The establishment of international financial-oligarchic groups of a new type and their tempestuous expansion under the conditions of the intensified general crisis of capitalism worsen this process.

Meanwhile, in the 1970s, the drastically increased internationalization of monopolies became one of the objective foundations for the intensification of centripetal trends in the capitalist system. These trends are influenced also by basic global development processes such as the progressive weakening of capitalism in the face of the successfully developing members of the socialist comity and the growing liberation movement in capitalist countries and the rising antagonism between imperialist and developing countries. That is why the leaders of world capitalism

are actively trying to develop a mechanism which could coordinate the policies of the leading capitalist countries and, to a certain extent, weaken interimperialist contradictions. It is a question of a system of international control of the economy and politics of the capitalist world which would apply, on the one hand, to the level of the international monopolies and their groups and organizations and, on the other, the level of contacts between the government and the monopolies, a large number of which are being established precisely today. A widespread control apparatus is developing, covering dozens of countries in various parts of the world, an apparatus which G. Agnelli, the president of Fiat, the familiar international concern, described, not without pathos, as the "embryo of the central nervous system of a new global economic order."

Attempts to coordinate the activities of imperialist countries on a global scale have been made in the past as well. In particular, they played a substantial role in energizing the processes of imperialist integration after World War II.

In the 1970s new trends appeared in this area. The idea of developing a federation of national "key beliefs" to serve the TNM was raised at a conference of heads of American international corporations in 1973.

In order to implement this idea, that same year a so-called Trilateral Commission was formed, consisting of representatives of the business world, political leaders, scientists and journalists from the United States, the Western European countries and Japan. Its initiator was D. Rockefeller, who is the head of one of the most powerful influential international financial-industrial groups in the capitalist world. More than half of the 200 commission members were businessmen, representatives of multinational companies in particular. The French journal REVUE DE DEFENSE NATIONALE described this fact as a "sensational invasion of the political arena by an economic organization" (July 1978, p 45). Z. Brzezinski, the commission's ideologue, defined its main task as the unification of the main Western centers and the organization of extensive coordination and interaction among them.

The class nature of this association was manifested particularly clearly in the course of its discussion of the so-called "Italian problem," in 1976, when "the inadmissibility of the participation" of communists in Western governments was proclaimed. In the field of international economic relations the commission recommended a kind of "new course" on a global scale, whose core, according to the Western press, is the defense of the interests of international financial capital through "the creation of a united front of developed Western industrial societies" (FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October 1976, p 4). Thus, the commission suggested that in the area of international trade a coordination center be set up as an instrument for the collective diktat by the imperialist powers over the developing countries.

In the monetary area the recommendations of the Trilateral Commission (to coordinate the flow of capital, increase short-term loans, strengthen the role of the International Monetary Fund, support the Eurodollar market and so on) are directly based on the interests of the international concerns and are quite removed from the actual need for the development of a stable monetary-financial mechanism for the normal functioning of global trade.

The facts, however, show that the Trilateral Commission, which was conceived as a kind of "brain trust" for the formulation of measures aimed at unifying and coordinating the activities of basic imperialist centers, frequently proves to be unable

to surmount the contradictions which divide these centers. The private ownership nature of capitalism inevitably ascribes to imperialist partnership a temporary and a relative nature. More than 60 years ago Lenin proved that "interimperialist" or "ultraimperialist" alliances, however conceived, always contain friction, conflict and a fierce struggle. This basic conclusion is confirmed by the entire course of capitalist development, including the latest international events.

The change from so-called monocentrism, i.e., of the special postwar positions held by American imperialism in the global capitalist system, with today's "polycentrism," i.e., the appearance of basic centers of interimperialist rivalry, which became apparent at the beginning of the 1970s, is a manifestation of the uneven development of the capitalist world, characteristic of the contemporary stage.

The profound changes which are taking place toward equalization of economic conditions among the United States, Western Europe and Japan lead to the intensification of interimperialist clashes in all realms of the global capitalist economy, under the conditions governed by present-day socioeconomic upheavals. This applies to international trade, the monetary system or the solution of the energy problem.

"A battle the likes of which the world has not seen for almost 50 years is now reaching its culminating point in international trade," wrote the American journal UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, in its April 1979 issue, in describing the condition of trade in the capitalist world today. Although the United States is continuing to lead in this battle, its positions have been considerably weakened under the pressure of its imperialist competitors. The share of American exports in global capitalist exports in the 1970s dropped by nearly 20 percent, to one-eighth of the global volume. Today FRG shipments to foreign markets almost equal those of the United States. Japan is third, as it accelerates its exports to the United States and the Western European countries, despite the desperate opposition of the latter. In 1978 the United States had a foreign trade deficit of more than \$41 billion, the biggest in its entire history. The flooding of the American market with goods manufactured in Japan, the FRG and some other capitalist countries is continuing to this day.

Equally sharp contradictions are taking place in the monetary area of world capitalism. The Bretton Woods monetary system, which had existed for one-quarter of a century and had propped up U.S. dominance in the capitalist economy, through the domination of the dollar in the system of international monetary payments, broke down in the 1970s. The devaluation of the American dollar and the breaking of the tie linking the dollar to gold were a reflection of the weakening of its position as the principal currency of the capitalist world. In recent years the "flight from the dollar" frequently assumes the nature of a "gold fever," as a result of which the paper price of gold goes up. By the end of 1979 the price of gold on the main Western currency markets broke the \$500 barrier for the first time; at the beginning of 1980 it rose to \$700, exceeding the level of the 1940s-1960s by a factor of more than 20.

The speculations of international monopolies in transferring funds from one currency to another clearly prove the existence of monetary confusion and constitute a very powerful factor for the intensification of such disorders. With hundreds of billions of dollars at their disposal, the TNM have begun to dictate to the Western monetary markets their conditions, which are frequently in sharp conflict with the measures taken by the governments of the capitalist countries to strengthen their monetary systems.

The fierce competition between monopolies and imperialist countries is one of the most important reasons for the current energy crisis in the capitalist world. Acting on the basis of the "right of the strong," the United States ignored the recommendations of many Western experts on the need for a gradual lowering of its petroleum imports. Whereas in 1960 the United States satisfied through imports no more than 17 percent of its liquid fuel requirements, the figure exceeds 50 percent today.

The decision of the White House to subsidize petroleum imports by the United States, which was made at the beginning of 1979, offered a classic example of such policies. This action greatly alarmed Washington's partners. A clash over such problems developed at the meeting of the heads of the seven biggest capitalist countries, which was held in Tokyo on 28-29 June 1979. Although a new attempt was made at the conference to coordinate Western energy policy, the subsequent development of events proved that the contradictions among imperialist competitors are continuing to deepen.

Facing new upheavals within their economies, the Western leaders would like to shift the burden of difficulties to the working people in the capitalist countries and to the peoples of the developing countries to a greater extent than in the past. This was the reason for the stronger efforts made by the monopoly leadership in the capitalist world in the search for compromise solutions. Naturally, however, this cannot substantially abate, not to speak of eliminating, imperialist rivalry. "...The nature of imperialism is such," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, "that everyone is striving to gain advantages at the expense of others and to impose his own will. Differences assume new shapes and contradictions break out with new strength." Reflecting the course of events over the previous five years, the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress asserted with full justification that "interimperialist contradictions are becoming aggravated and the struggle for markets and sources of raw materials and energy is intensifying. Japanese and Western European monopolies are competing ever more successfully against American capital, including on the U.S. domestic market."

New Circumstances and New Tasks

In formulating the strategy and tactics of its struggle against international capital, the workers movement must take into consideration two dangers. On the one hand, it is a question of an illusion according to which alliances made by the imperialists may lead to the elimination of uneven capitalist development and of interimperialist contradictions and lead to the creation of a harmonious society. This viewpoint, as historical experience proves, inevitably leads to the swamp of opportunism, rejection of the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist yoke and betrayal of the cause of the working class.

The other viewpoint, according to which imperialist contradictions are allegedly so profound that monopoly associations can exist only on paper and that, after a while, they must break down, which would make the struggle against international monopoly capital and the purposeful formulation of the strategy and means of this struggle unnecessary, is equally dangerous. In reality, the internationalization of the monopolies and their struggle against social progress dictate the need for a more powerful counteraction on the part of anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

The international working class has been called upon to play and does play the main role in the struggle against global financial capital. Today more than one-third of the working class in the developed capitalist countries is employed at enterprises directly owned by the international financial-oligarchic leadership. Indirectly, exploitation by a handful of international financial groups affects more than one-half of the working people in all capitalist and developing countries.

As international monopolies become bigger, the working people, whether directly employed at the plants and factories of the TNM themselves, or working in domestic enterprises, are displaying an increasing tendency to resist these superexploiters. That is precisely why the World Federation of Trade Unions called upon them to coordinate their international actions and formulate clear ideas on the struggle in order to confront the international companies with a "united front of working people and their trade unions and the combat solidarity of the international working class."

The adoption of the charter of trade union rights at the Eighth World Congress of Trade Unions, in 1973, the socioeconomic demands of the working people in the capitalist countries and the specific measures currently being implemented (in particular, the regular exchange of information among trade union organizations within the same company which owns enterprises in different countries; the formulation of a coordinated program of demands by the working people working for the same multinational company; the creation of coordination committees of delegates and representatives of all trade unions of enterprises belonging to the same international company, and so on) are important events in the struggle waged by the working class against the TNM.

The tasks which arise in connection with the new features in the development of international financial capital are always in the field of vision of the communist parties, the political vanguard of the labor movement. As early as the mid-1960s the communists drew attention to the accelerated pace at which international monopolies were growing. The international Conference of Communist and Workers Parties, held in Moscow in 1969, pointed out that it was necessary for the working people to engage in an extensive struggle against them. The program for the offensive by the progressive forces, drafted at the conference, was aimed at international financial capital as well.

The struggle against international monopolies was the topic of the conference held by 15 communist parties of Western Europe, which was held in London in January 1971. In this connection, it earmarked three basic lines of action: strengthening the solidarity among workers in Western European countries; preventing violations of laws on the social rights and democratic freedoms of the working people; and waging a struggle for nationalization. The question was raised of establishing contacts among communist organizations in all enterprises owned by international monopolies and of the need for holding joint discussions on the experience gained in the struggle and the unity of action of the communist parties directed against them. The delegates considered this struggle an important form of support of the movement of the peoples of the liberated countries for equal international economic relations. The participants in the conference pointed out that radical socioeconomic changes aimed at the victory of socialism are the only common alternative to the sway of the international monopolies.

The conference of communist and workers parties of the capitalist countries in Europe, which was held in Brussels, in January 1974, was an important landmark in the struggle against international monopolies. The declaration adopted at the conference noted that "there is rising awareness of the need for coordinated struggle by the working people on the scale of capitalist Europe and within the framework of each company, in order to succeed in the adoption of measures which would guarantee the interests of the working people and the nations, measures which would preserve the economic potential and independence of our countries and which would favor true international cooperation."

International cooperation among communists rose to a new level as a result of the conference of communist and workers parties of Europe, held in Berlin in June 1976.

Problems of the struggle against international monopolies played an important role also in the materials of the conference of communist parties of Latin American and Caribbean countries, at which the communist parties of the United States and Canada were represented, held in Havana in 1975, in a number of meetings of communist parties of Arab countries and in the activities of communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries on the national level.

Under the influence of this purposeful activity the international class struggle waged by the proletariat against international monopolies substantially expanded in the 1970s. Closer interaction was established among the workers in different capitalist countries, above all in Europe, as well as cooperation among communist and workers parties.

Thus, from the end of 1973 to the beginning of 1979 alone the communist and workers parties in Western European countries organized more than 40 big political actions against international financial capital. This included, above all, meetings among representatives of fraternal parties, in the course of which many important aspects of TNM activities were studied and specific actions were coordinated. The February-March 1975 meeting among representatives of communist parties of Western Europe, at which the struggle against automobile companies operating in their countries was discussed, the June 1976 meeting on the struggle against American subsidiaries in Western Europe, the November 1976 and 1978 meetings on the situation in ferrous metallurgy and others are examples of this. Widening contacts among party organizations of enterprises belonging to the same company (in particular, such famous international monopolies as Chrysler, Thompson, Cleber-Colombes, Ericsson and others) and various solidarity campaigns play an important role as well.

Let us cite as an illustration the action taken by the working people against the Michelin empire, the third biggest tire production company in the capitalist world, whose enterprises are scattered among more than 100 countries. Starting in 1968 contacts were established initially between French and Italian trade unions of working people employed at the enterprises of this TNM and, subsequently, with their West German and British comrades. During the economic crisis several joint actions were mounted by the working people at company plants in Western European countries. Thus, 55 Michelin workers in France and Great Britain organized a work stoppage to support the demands of their Spanish comrades in March 1976. The same occurred at the Dora plants in Turin (Italy), owned by Michelin. The workers marched in a demonstration, chanting "let us isolate the entrepreneurs with the help of international workers unity!"

The current stage in the development of international financial capital and the qualitative changes in its organizational structure demand the even greater coordination of the economic, political and ideological struggle against international monopolies and their agents on the international and national levels. This is a manifestation of the complex dialectical law according to which the internationalization of all processes in the development of mankind is achieved in the course of a growing variety of specific-historical and national conditions.

The need arises in the area of the economic struggle "for a better study of international corporations," as was pointed out in the charter of demands formulated by the working people in the metal industry against the domination of international monopolies. Naturally, such a study cannot be contained within the framework of any specific country. A truly global initiative, a worldwide statistical study, is needed. As K. Marx wrote at the dawn of the labor movement, "in order to have any chance for success one must be familiar with the material which must be affected." At that time he was calling for the organization of a "statistical study" by the working class itself of its situation in all countries (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 16, p 195). Under present-day circumstances as well the need for such a joint study is imperative.

In the realm of the political struggle the urgent requirement today is to increase the coordination of activities among progressive forces throughout the world in their struggle against international financial capital. As practical experience shows, participation in such coordinated efforts could be only on the basis of a deliberate and voluntary nature. It must be based on the profound understanding of concealed yet intricate international relations and on the interest of the individual participants in the solution of this problem.

Today the dissemination of the ideas of international unity and solidarity among all detachments and currents of the revolutionary movement and the simultaneous exposure of the bourgeois ideology of cosmopolitanism and nationalism is assuming tremendous importance in the ideological struggle against international monopolies.

The new impetus in the area of international unity and cohesion, caused by objective changes in the development of international financial capital, does not in the least mean any weakening of the national responsibility of the individual detachments of the revolutionary movement. However, it is precisely in order for each national detachment of the revolutionary movement to be able to carry out its historical mission that today, more than yesterday, a system of international relations and solidarity is needed, for these detachments are operating against a class enemy the level of whose international unification has risen immeasurably.

Finally, it is necessary to realize clearly that the processes of the internationalization of economic life are the real economic base for objective trends leading to the growing unity within the global revolutionary process and of the forces operating within it. The task of the Marxist-Leninists is to make the struggling masses aware of this truth.

5003

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ACTIVELY TO RESTRAIN BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 108-114

[Article by N. Yermoshkin and V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The energizing of the enemies of detente, disarmament and improving relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the capitalist camp is one of the characteristic features of the contemporary international situation. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, adventurism and readiness to gamble with the vital interests of mankind are being manifested quite clearly in the policies of the most aggressive imperialist circles. The ideological struggle is also becoming fiercer. It is assuming particular importance, for success in the policies pursued by governments and parties depends largely on the support of the broad masses.

The CPSU, the fraternal parties of the other members of the socialist comity and the political organizations and movements on all continents who are in favor of peace and progress, acknowledge the importance of the ideological struggle under contemporary conditions. They proceed from the fact that the confrontation of ideas does not have to develop into psychological warfare or be used as a means for the interference of states in the internal affairs of nations or lead to political, not to mention military, confrontation. The materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and other CPSU documents direct all ideological workers in the country and mass information and propaganda media comprehensively to show the unquestionable advantages of socialism, compared to a private-ownership society, and its historical optimism, and to the identification and support in man of what is human, as well as the assertion of the most important truth that in present-day international relations there can be no more important and preponderant objective than the struggle for peace.

Imperialism proceeds from diametrically opposite positions. It tries to use ideology as a servant of the machine of aggression, subordination, oppression and plundering of the nations and in pursuit of its hegemonistic policy. "The noticeable aggravation of the ideological struggle is a fact," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, noted in the Central Committee's accountability report to the 26th party congress. "To the West it does not amount to a confrontation of ideas. The West is using an entire system of means aimed at undermining and loosening the socialist world." It was emphasized at the congress that the imperialists find the strengthening of the independence of the liberated countries equally unsuitable: "Through thousands of ways and means they are trying

to tie these countries to themselves in order to dispose of their natural resources more freely and to use their territories for their strategic purposes."

The international practical science conference on "Mass Information Media and Propaganda in the Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology," held by the USSR Union of Journalists in Leningrad on 3-5 June, was devoted to the discussion of the problems and tasks which the situation in the sphere of the ideological struggle faces journalists, students of sociopolitical processes and all workers on the Marxist-Leninist front. The conference was attended by representatives of 15 socialist countries and of socialist-oriented developing countries and by representatives of the International Organization of Journalists. A constructive and businesslike exchange of views took place on the most essential problems of activity along the various directions of the ideological struggle. The specific tasks facing the progressive journalists and scientists from various countries in connection with its aggravation were considered. Ways were earmarked for the intensification of information and propaganda work on the level of providing an effective rebuff to imperialist ideology. The entire proceedings of the conference were imbued with the spirit of Lenin's statement that "...The only way to formulate this question is: bourgeois or socialist revolution. There is no middle way (for no "third" ideology has been formulated by mankind; in general, in a society torn by class contradictions no extraclass or nonclass ideology is possible at all)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, pp 39-40).

V. M. Falin, first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Information Department, spoke on "The Mass Information and Propaganda Media in the Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology and Imperialist Ideological Diversions." "Regardless of all the differences which exist between propaganda and information policies aimed at domestic and foreign consumption," the speaker said, "we cannot remain indifferent to the spirit in which the people in the United States and other Western countries and in China are brought up, and the ideas, views and morality instilled in them. At the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that international relations have indeed become relations among nations. Consequently, in order to be able to answer the question of what kind of planet we shall have 5, 10 or 15 years hence, the spirit in which other nations -- our future partners or future adversaries -- are brought up is of tremendous importance. Their perception of facts, their attitude toward other people's rights and interests and their ability and willingness to be good neighbors depend on their ideological upbringing, on the way they receive their information."

The representatives of virtually all the countries which took part in the discussion noted the increased role of the ideological factor and the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. This subject was discussed by Miguel Arteaga, the representative of the International Organization of Journalists (Cuba), D. Pavlov (Bulgaria), D. Fahri (Afghanistan), Champeng Siaphom (Laos), D. Urzhinbadam (Mongolia), (I. Kholakovski) (Hungary) and (Kheu Kan'yarit) (Kampuchea).

The speakers noted as a feature of today's situation with propaganda work that our class enemy is waging psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in all directions. Numerous campaigns and actions on various topics and based on different pretexts seem to have converged into a single muddy stream of lies and slanders against socialism, disinformation of public

opinion and manipulation of people's minds. The Western propaganda stir, which is trying to discredit the socialist system whenever possible, is being pursued day after day. This was pointed out by Ya. Lomko and V. Shundeyev (USSR), J. Valenta (Czechoslovakia), Yun Song-en (Korean People's Democratic Republic) and others.

A number of communications by Soviet and foreign participants in the Leningrad meeting drew attention to the high degree of coordination between Western antisocialist and anti-Soviet propaganda reached in recent years. The information and propaganda services of the United States, France, Great Britain and other NATO countries and Japan are, as a rule, the main suppliers of propaganda materials to the developed capitalist and the developing countries, thus achieving a certain standardization of anticommunist propaganda theses and arguments.

NATO headquarters in Brussels plays an important role in the coordination of ideological subversions against the socialist countries. Through briefings and seminars and the periodicals they publish, the NATO specialized information services direct the psychological warfare against the socialist countries and give it impetus in imperialist subversive propaganda.

The delegates also stated that imperialism has lowered around their countries and peoples an almost impenetrable information curtain. The sole purpose of the deliberately created semblance of variety of imperialist propaganda is the more effective programming of the minds of the people in the interest of capitalism. Under present-day circumstances reactionary propaganda is trying to eradicate from the minds of the broad population masses in the nonsocialist part of the world the ideas of peaceful coexistence, cooperation, friendship among the peoples and faith in the possibility of combining the efforts of countries with different socioeconomic systems for the sake of resolving the vital problems which touch all mankind. Meanwhile, day after day, it preaches that force, force above all, determines, and will determine indefinitely, the real course of events and that military power and readiness to use it decisively at all times are the motive factor of international development.

The process of militarization of the thinking, the entire way of life and political philosophy of the society has gone particularly far in the United States. The idea that the use of force, violence and wars are natural elements in the life of human society permeates the speeches of today's leaders of that country. Assertions are being made on the governmental level that a nuclear war is not so terrible and that it could be won.

It was pointed out at the conference that it is essentially the entire world that is the target of the political-ideological influence of American imperialism. War propaganda is accompanied by gross demagogy and slanders at the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist comity, progressive systems in the developing countries and all forces which support social progress and national liberation. The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are being subjected to ever increasing imperialist indoctrination. The ruling U. S. circles and their closest allies are openly announcing their plans for maintaining or establishing control over the situation in zones proclaimed to be "vitaly important" to the West with all possible, including military, means. The intention is proclaimed to prevent here social or other internal changes which the United States may consider detrimental to its interests. And, as was pointed out in many of the speeches,

imperialist propaganda is in the vanguard of imperialist policy, clearing its way, justifying its crimes and trying to make it appear respectable. In the course of this operation, as was mentioned at the conference, the meaning of the concepts of good and evil and of progress and regress become reversed. "In El Salvador patriots are described as "terrorists;" the liberation struggle becomes a "bloody war;" murderers become "the public force;" fascists are "the government," and American interventionists are "advisers." That is the way they act and will always act wherever the people's masses rise up against the enslavers. Enslaved nations are ignored, struggling nations are slandered and free nations are subjected to aggression, "Jacinto Granda, the Cuban representative, said at the conference.

Raising fears and creating an atmosphere of mass psychosis with a view to suppressing social protest is a favorite imperialist propaganda method. The hysterical stir and malicious and slanderous campaign mounted by the bourgeois information media concerning the events in Iran and Afghanistan, El Salvador and now on the situation in Poland are only the latest examples of actions of this kind.

As was pointed out at the conference, false objectives also govern the activities of the ideological centers of imperialism and their propaganda output. Spreading the myth of the "Soviet threat," from fables concerning the "threat" to Western ideals to frightening the petit bourgeois with the danger of a military invasion and the imaginary "excessive" increase in the military potential of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, hold a primary and leading position among the directions followed in anti-Soviet, antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda.

In Western political practice the propaganda variant of anti-Sovietism, addressed at the mass audiences, goes beyond its basic role of nursery for anticommunist myths or for triggering negative feelings toward socialism. The propaganda campaigns mounted by the mass information media (mainly the press) act like a boomerang by seriously influencing some political circles and government leaders in the West. "It is particularly alarming that in a number of bourgeois countries (including the United States and Great Britain) the power is in the hands of leaders whose political thinking does not rise above the level of stereotyped primitive anticommunist propaganda," said B. Korolev (USSR) in his address.

One such fabrication is Washington's noisy and false campaign on "USSR involvement with international terrorism." As the American press itself acknowledges, the purpose of this campaign is the attempt to broaden the spectrum of "Soviet threats to the interests of the United States, usually seen in terms of Soviet military power."

It was noted at the conference that one of the basic directions of bourgeois propaganda is the purpose to distort the face of real socialism and to fan national discord. Religion and nationalism are also among the favorite topics of speculation by the ideological saboteurs.

Of late the voice of the Beijing hegemonists has been heard with increasing frequency in the chorus of imperialist slanderers. Convincing examples of this fact were cited in Leningrad by Nguyen Van Thu, the representative of Vietnam: "Although waged without the bursting of bombs and shells, the ideological struggle has become one of the gravest sectors of the front. We, in Vietnam, experienced

the full heat and tension of that struggle. One can confidently say that Vietnam became the target of a vast international conspiracy whose purpose was to defame the splendid picture of our country. For Vietnam has become an example worthy of emulation by other oppressed peoples. Was it not Vietnam which defeated the might of the United States and, later, withstood Beijing's pressure? Vietnam stood like an unbreachable wall blocking the Chinese hordes. It wrecked the expansionistic plans of the Chinese leadership. Today we are dealing with an unprecedented anti-Vietnam campaign mounted in China and the West. The attitude toward us of many other Southeast Asian countries is also essentially inspired by the Chinese and determined under the direct influence of the Chinese capitalists or the CIA. In turn, Beijing is trying to subordinate to its influence the Chinese communities in those countries. There are daily Radio Beijing broadcasts in Vietnamese. Furthermore, China has installed 20 radio broadcasting stations along the entire length of the Sino-Vietnamese border. Loudspeakers of 200-300 watts are permanently broadcasting to Vietnamese settlements. Many other foreign radio stations, such as the Voice of America, the BBC, and Japanese, Australian, Thai, Philippino and even Vatican radio stations broadcast daily in Vietnamese, pouring out heaps of lies and slanders about our beautiful country, using all available means for waging psychological and ideological warfare."

The delegates particularly emphasized the very great importance of the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the congresses of the communist and workers parties of the socialist comity members which followed it. They provide the ideological workers in the fraternal countries and all anti-imperialist forces with a reliable weapon in the struggle against reactionary propaganda. The program for peace for the 1980s, which was adopted at the Soviet communist congress, became not only an important factor in the shaping and the development of international relations in a positive direction but a powerful means for influencing ideologically the entire global political climate.

The general view of the participants in the conference was that great possibilities exist for intensifying the offensive nature of progressive and peace-loving agitation, propaganda and counterpropaganda. Here again consistency and stability -- what is known as the "predictability" of the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist states, as confirmed by their fresh peace initiatives -- are very important. In this connection it is important to expose the social roots and lining of the militarism of the United States and its partners in military blocs and alliances and to show to the nations the dangers of Washington's adventurism, its attempts to ignore the interests of other nations and its hegemonistic aspirations. As N. Makeyev (USSR) noted in his speech, the experience of Soviet journalism acquired in the Great Patriotic War and in the fierce battles against German fascism and Japanese militarism, a weapon which is always modern and untouched by moral obsolescence, loyally serves in the struggle against propaganda in favor of a new world war, local imperialist wars and imperialist ideological subversion. V. Stadnichenko described the interesting practical experience acquired in this area by Ukrainian SSR journalists.

As was noted at the conference, frenzied U. S. anti-Sovietism is a manifestation of disparate levels of the political responsibility which is required in resolving contemporary international problems, and proof of the ideological poverty and disbelief that the capitalist system can compete against socialism peacefully.

The ideological workers in the socialist countries have great opportunities for the dissemination of knowledge about economic achievements and about the increased living standards of the people. The socialist comity is seen by the entire world as the most dynamically developing system with an outstanding scientific and technical potential and huge natural resources. The fraternal socialist countries support intensive international cooperation and mutually profitable economic, scientific and technological exchanges.

The statements by a number of representatives of the developing countries emphasized the need always to remember that the struggle waged by the peoples for their total liberation does not end with the acquisition of political autonomy, but goes on in the economic and ideological spheres. In this respect attempts to substitute the "rich North -- poor South" problem for that of surmounting the age-old backwardness of colonies and semicolonies, inherited by them from imperialism must be exposed.

The participants in the Leningrad meeting unanimously and sharply criticized the bourgeois concept of the so-called "free flow of information", under whose cover imperialism is trying to preserve its ideological domination in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This thoroughly false and hypocritical slogan is used by the information monopolies and the imperialist governmental propaganda machine to manipulate the minds of the peoples of the liberated countries. In practical terms it means nothing other than the right of the strong to impose their will on the weak and to enslave them spiritually. That is why the concept of the "free flow of information" is meeting with firm opposition on the part of the liberated countries. They oppose it with the concept of national sovereignty in the fields of information and culture and the energizing of the struggle against spiritual colonialism and the domination of information-propaganda monopolies over the development of national mass information media. As Francis Habte Mariam, the representative of Socialist Ethiopia stated, "The decolonizing of information in the developing countries reflects the radical interests of the people in the struggle for independence, equality, social progress and cooperation."

The most important prerequisite for freedom from imperialist spiritual oppression is the creation of national mass information systems in the developing countries, which would include news agencies, the press, radio, television, movie studios, etc. Staffing the mass information media in these countries with national and patriotic cadres is equally important.

"Today it is no longer sufficient to publish a newspaper in the language of one's country," Ya. Zasurskiy (USSR) pointed out. "If this newspaper prints information supplied by American news agencies while television shows American movies, they are national only officially, while essentially they serve as translators of foreign, American, bourgeois or imperialist propaganda. If the situation is to be changed, it takes more than publishing newspapers or periodicals, or opening radio and television stations. It is necessary to create a national information and propaganda structure which would supply the information channels with its own news and materials which reflect the national interests, expectations and needs of the working people of the country."

Spreading the truth about real socialism strengthens the awareness of the masses and raises their political vigilance concerning ideological subversions and other

imperialist intrigues. Several foreign participants in the conference pointed out the need for militant propaganda of the socialist ideals of freedom and democracy, human rights and human dignity in the socialist countries. "It is a question of a more convincing presentation of what socialism is, for the truth about socialism is a powerful weapon in the ideological struggle," stated, among others, R. Muller (GDR). "In this area we must make greater use of the method of comparisons between our life and life under capitalism. Our agitation must be aggressive in order to block the enemy and force him to pass to the defensive. In the ideological confrontation we must be the active side and impose our topics on the enemy." It was noted that the struggle against anti-Sovietism is one of the most important tasks under contemporary conditions. "This is not simply a show of respect for the Soviet Union but a prerequisite for our own truthful approach to problems of the building of socialism and of its tasks and problems. We deem it our daily task to expose the false and demagogic nature of anti-Soviet campaigns and to disseminate truthful information about the Soviet Union, the life of its people, the results it has achieved and the prospects in the building of communism," stated V. Gerlach (Czechoslovakia).

The progressive ideological workers in the world counter imperialist propaganda which preaches petit bourgeois values, individualism, indifference to politics and other philistine measures with the civic activeness of the fighters for the freedom of the peoples and of the builders of socialism and communism. It is important, under these circumstances, not to ignore touchy subjects in their propaganda work or avoid so-called difficult problems. The fact that socialism is able to have and is having a tremendous influence on the minds of the people in the capitalist world is of essential significance.

The contemporary reality of capitalism -- chronic crises and millions upon millions of unemployed, uncontrollable inflation and a general worsening of the working people's living conditions -- limits the effectiveness of the imperialist information system and its attempts to gild the capitalist world. That is precisely why the bourgeoisie and its mass disinformation media are increasingly slandering real socialism, particularly in the propaganda aimed at the mass audiences in the capitalist countries.

The delegates paid great attention to the strengthening and expansion of the mass information media of the socialist countries and liberated states. "Exchange of news, television materials, practical experience and the development of all-round technical and professional cooperation between news agencies and television and radio committees of the socialist countries and the national progressive Arab newspapers, periodicals and radio and television stations play a particular role in the propaganda of our ideas," Ali Ahmed Hassan (PDRY) stressed. Many among the participants expressed the desire for regular discussions such as took place in Leningrad, to cover one or another topical problem of the ideological struggle, with a view to the elaboration of a unified rebuff of imperialist propaganda.

The Leningrad practical science conference took place under the sign of the strengthening and development of cooperation among the democratic press and progressive journalists in the energizing of the offensive against bourgeois ideology and the attempts of the imperialist mass information media to weaken the socialist comity, undermine its strengthening ties with the progressive forces in the liberated states and restore the cold war atmosphere. The exchange of views

and the conclusions drawn at the conference will become an important support in the activities of journalists who are united in the service of the great ideas of peace, democracy and social progress.

5003

CSO: 1802/17

ADDRESS REMAINS CLANDESTINE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 115-118

[Review by N. Mor of the two-part work "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Rukovodimyykh Im Uchrezhdeniy RSDRP s Partiynymi Organizatsiyami, 1905-1907 Gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and the RSDWP Establishments He Headed and the Party Organizations, 1905-1907]. Volume One, 22(9) January - March 1905. Mysl', Moscow, 1979. Book One, 22(9) January - February 1905, 382 pages. Book Two, March 1905, 372 pages]

[Text] Two new books of a main publication of party history documents have been added to Soviet source studies. Many of the documents are published for the first time. The first three volumes of this publication entitled "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Redaktsii Gazeti ISKRA s Sotsial-Demokraticheskimi Organizatsiyami v Rossii. 1900-1903 Gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and the Editors of the Newspaper ISKRA and the Social Democratic Organizations in Russia, 1900-1903] were published in 1969 and 1970. The three subsequent volumes "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Rukovodimyykh Im Uchrezhdeniy RSDRP s Partiynymi Organizatsiyami, 1903-1905 Gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and the RSDWP Establishments He Headed and the Party Organizations, 1903-1905] were published in 1974, 1975 and 1979.¹ Like the preceding ones, the third series in this work was prepared by scientific associates of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Central State Archives of the October Revolution, superior state and USSR state administration agencies and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History.

The correspondence between V. I. Lenin and the committees and groups belonging to the majority and with individual party workers became particularly important after the Mensheviks, having split the party and resumed the promotion of cliquishness, seized the newspaper ISKRA, which Vladimir Il'ich had created with such great efforts. In the hands of the Menshevik editors, it kept veering to the right with each consecutive issue and stopped at nothing in its efforts to defame the Bolsheviks and to present Lenin's line in a grossly distorted manner.

By the end of the summer of 1904, on Lenin's suggestion, a Bolshevik publishing house was opened in Geneva ("V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishing House for Social Democratic Literature"). Several months later the publication of the newspaper VPERED was started. Although these two events facilitated Lenin's

¹ A review of the three volumes entitled "Clandestine Addresses" was published in KOMMUNIST No 10, 1978.

contacts with the Bolsheviks and enabled him to intensify the public criticism of Menshevik opportunistic and divisive activities and regularly to publicize the need for convening urgently a new, third party congress, Vladimir Il'ich's clandestine correspondence with Russia continued, as the two books under review show clearly.

It so happened that the first issue of VPERED was published in Geneva on 22 December 1904 (this and all subsequent dates are given in Old Style), i.e., approximately 2 weeks before Bloody Sunday, an event which Lenin described as the beginning of the revolution in Russia.

Let us recall that the third volume of "Perepiski...1903-1905 Gg." ends with a detailed letter sent from Petersburg to Lenin in Geneva describing the bloody slaughter of the workers. This is the point at which the compilers and editors of the volume cut off a historical time segment and take the reader to the next -- the revolutionary -- period. Let us note immediately that thanks to the energetic efforts made by Lenin and his associates, two temporary Bolshevik centers were established between 1904 and 1905: the VPERED editorial office, in Geneva, which was the leading theoretical and organizational center abroad, and the clandestine Majority Committees Bureau (BKB), which was the organizational and practical center in Russia, and whose purpose, in clandestinity, was to act as the organizational committee in charge of convening the Third RSDWP Congress and, at the same time, to perform a number of functions as a central committee of the Bolshevik committees. The editorial board included V. I. Lenin, V. V. Vorovskiy, M. S. Ol'minskiy, A. V. Lunacharskiy, A. A. Bogdanov and N. K. Krupskaya, who was the secretary. V. I. Lenin, A. A. Bogdanov, S. I. Gusev, R. S. Zemlyachka, M. M. Litvinov, M. N. Lyadov, P. P. Rumyantsev and others were elected BKB members.

Two BKB members -- S. I. Gusev and R. S. Zemlyachka -- were in Petersburg on Bloody Sunday. M. M. Litvinov hastened to join them. His clandestine area of residence at that time was Riga and adjacent districts near Russia's northwestern border. He had changed his party alias from Papasha to Felix, and at the very end of 1904 he began to use a new name, Theophilia, for the apparent sake of confusing the censors. As an experienced conspirator for whom the secret police had been looking long and unsuccessfully, Litvinov knew very well that at that point Vladimir Il'ich was interested even in petty, seemingly trifling details which gave an indication of the feelings of the masses. "Theophilia's" first letter to VPERED from Petersburg, dated the night of 12 January 1905 (published for the first time), opens as follows: "...Arrived safely. A sinister, a particular kind of silence hangs over the streets. The capital is lying low but has not said its final word yet. Everyone can feel this. Even a backward element such as the cabbies are on the side of the workers, and even they understand the political objective of the strike. '...Pity that I am not a young boy, junk the horse and sled and join the crowd,' was what my cabby told me." Here is more from the same letter: "They held on at the barricades for quite some time....The committee is sending its speakers to all districts....The tsar used something very similar to an armored train for his escape to Gatchino....The committee is publishing its leaflets regularly and in large numbers" (Book one, pp 52-54).

M. N. Lyadov, another BKB member, arrived in Petersburg 2 days later, on 14 January. Hastily gathering the latest news, he dispatched it immediately in a letter to VPERED. Lyadov reported that the workers' strike was continuing; all educational institutions were on strike; there were rumors (as yet unconfirmed)

that all of Tula was in workers' hands; in Sebastopol seamen and workers had jointly organized a tremendous demonstration. Soldiers had been sent against them but had refused to shoot (the event was extensively covered by the Koenigsberg newspaper); the Petersburg conservatory students had demanded that student officers be expelled, or else they were to leave en masse (Ibid., p 65).

The BKB deemed it its duty to report on revolutionary events to the local committees as well. We find in the works under review correspondence among Bolshevik organizations. In a letter dated 11 January S. I. Gusev sent to the Ural RSDWP Committee in Yekaterinburg details on the firing at workers' crowds in various parts of the capital (naming streets adjacent to Senate Square, the Summer Garden and Vasil'yevskiy Island). "Eyewitnesses report that there are heaps of corpses of workers killed at the barricades....Factories are ringed by police and troops." The BKB had other information as well: "Traffic in Moscow has stopped," and the Bromley, Gougeon and Smirnov factories, the printing press and other establishments are on strike. It is rumored that the striking movement has spread to enterprises in Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Kiev, Khar'kov, Riga and Libava (Ibid., p 39).

Such information on the revolutionary outbreak in Russia provided Lenin with data for study and summation. The fourth and fifth issues of VPERED, crowded with information on the 9 January events, were largely drafted by Vladimir Il'ich. In particular, in his article "What Is Happening in Russia?" he wrote that "In a matter of a few days the Russian workers' movement reached a higher level" and that "It is growing into a nationwide uprising under our very eyes" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 208). Nevertheless, as before, letters from Switzerland to Russia continued to be sent to safe addresses, and from Russia to Switzerland they frequently took a circuitous route. This was a necessary precaution.

The publication of a Bolshevik newspaper inspired the supporters of the majority. From Odessa L. R. Shapovalova wrote that "It has been a long time since I have read something so interesting. The spirit of the old ISKRA makes the mood unusually cheerful" (1, p 33). V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich reported from Moscow that "There is tremendous sympathy for the newspaper, exceeding even the most optimistic expectations" (Ibid., p 209). We find a similar feeling of uplift in the letter of M. G. Toroshelidze from Tiflis. "We have," he wrote on 8 March, "all VPERED copies, through No 8. The article 'Should We Organize a Revolution' has triggered a sensation, while 'Revolutionary Days,' in No 4, may be reprinted in Georgian. The clarity and simplicity of presentation are universally liked...." (2, p 180). (At that time, naturally, they could not know in Tiflis that both articles had been written by Vladimir Il'ich.) Here are a few more responses: from Petersburg: "VPERED is the best guarantee that the party will be reborn" (1, p 164). Baku: "Every one loves VPERED. This pleases us greatly" (2, p 149). Yaroslavl': "Send us VPERED more regularly. I am enchanted with Nos 8 and 9" (Ibid., p 274).

However, the clandestine shipping of publications and newspapers across the border into Russia involved tremendous hardships. The mensheviks seized the distribution routes. A. S. Shapovalov wrote Lenin from Yekaterinoslav that "We must establish our own delivery system" and that "We have not been receiving VPERED and I have not been able to read it" (1, p 69).

The editors of VPERED themselves were concerned with organizing the transportation system, including the shipment of newspapers in bundles. Thus, Krupskaya asked Bobrovskiy ("Margarita") and several other trusted comrades to send reliable addresses (Ibid., p 224). Litvinov, the experienced "specialist" in organizing the shipping of publications across the border, met with "Marko" (A. I. Lyubimov) even before going to Petersburg to discuss with him the question of shipments. The talks were unsuccessful, however, as "Marko" was arrested virtually before Litvinov's eyes, and the latter himself was barely able to escape (Ibid., p 30).

Other Leninists were active as well. For example, on 4 February Ye. D. Stasova asked the VPERED editors if they could send "literature in greater quantities" (Ibid., p 282) through Stockholm, and how to make the payments. Stasova signed the letter "Delta," since her previous alias "Absolute" had been broken. Krupskaya answered "Delta" that her request was not impossible to meet, but asked her to be more specific, since "doubts had been expressed" (2, p 40). Stasova explained that by "greater quantities" she meant 4-5 poods of publications monthly (see Ibid., p 262). It was thus that with the help of Stasova, N. Ye. Burenin ("Tom") and several other party comrades one of the formerly used routes for the clandestine shipment of revolutionary Marxist publications was reopened. It was used to send bundles (conspiratorially referred to as "barrels") of VPERED and Bolshevik pamphlets from Switzerland to Sweden, from there to Finland and from Finland to Petersburg.

The fact that the workers' mass was seething made this even more timely. From Petersburg N. V. Doroshenko wrote on 7 March that the city's proletariat found very popular the idea of an armed uprising, the threshold of which would be a general political strike. There are reasons to believe that the seemingly quieted wave of general strikes will be soon rising again; the broad proletarian masses, in Petersburg at least, have not calmed down...." (Ibid., p 161).

Letters from other cities reaching VPERED confirmed the same: the revolution was gathering strength. The suggestion expressed by Lenin in his letter to Bogdanov and Gusev, therefore, is not astounding: "Promote subscriptions in Petersburg most extensively. Let students and particularly workers take subscriptions by the dozens or the hundreds to be sent to their own addresses. To fear this today is ridiculous. The police will never be able to seize everything. If one half to one third of all shipments arrive this would be quite substantial" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9 p 248).

The books under review include Lenin's letters written during that period. This correspondence, which includes answers to reports and letters sent by local party committees and individual workers, was kept by N. K. Krupskaya in the overwhelming majority of cases, either on Vladimir Il'ich's specific instructions or precisely according to his thoughts and intentions. Nadezhda Konstantinovna encoded the letters to Russia and decoded correspondence received from that country. For a while she was assisted by M. I. Ul'yanova and L. A. Fotiyeva. The extent to which this work was painstaking and the tremendous patience it demanded are confirmed by many of Krupskaya's letters. In a letter dated 22 January she wrote to Yekaterinoslav: "Code the address carefully so that there could be no errors" (1, p 145). The same day she wrote to Khar'kov: "Better use a chemical and code addresses and passwords" (Ibid., p 144). On 23 February she wrote to Riga:

"You must have lost our address, as we are receiving no mail from you" (2, p 71). On 11 March she wrote to "Spitsa" (V. I. Nevskiy) in Petersburg that his letter "was written so poorly that at least one third of it remained undecipherable. Please, test the ink before you write...." (Ibid., p 212, etc.).

As with the old ISKRA, Lenin paid great attention to workers' contributions to the Marxist newspaper. In February he urged the Petersburg bolsheviks: "For God's sake, send us letters written by the workers themselves. Why are they not writing? This is a shame!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 16).

What made direct contacts with the workers and their contributions to VPERED even more urgent was that the mensheviks shied at no means to defame, slander and misrepresent the actions taken by Lenin and his supporters, while they, in violation of the truth, passed themselves off as promoters of RSDWP unity. We read in one of Krupskaya's letters that "Now these disorganizers dare to accuse the majority of being disorganized. An open split is more honest and better for the party than this disgusting, underhanded and hypocritical minority tactic." In another letter, on the same question, she writes: "Hypocritical filth; They are always mouthing the words "unity" and "party," while actually pursuing a tactic of division and factionalism" (1, pp 132-133, 134). Also pertinent at this point are Nadezhda Konstantinovna's words in her letter to A. S. Shapovalov (party aliases: "Kirill," "Mokhov," "Tsesinets"): "Naturally, it is painful, insulting and sad that at such a time we must work at cross purposes. Joint work, however, is impossible. We need a strong and united party and we must lay its foundations quickly. This, however, requires that we tighten up our own ranks! This will bring us closer to our goal" (Ibid., p 146).

Only one road led to the goal: the Third RSDWP Congress. It was precisely this, and this alone, that could rally the revolutionary party majority and formulate a scientific and accurate strategy and tactic for the struggle by the working class, the guiding force of the people's revolution which was spreading through Russia. However strongly the mensheviks opposed the congress (joined by conciliationists within the Central Committee), the bolsheviks gained the upper hand in this then decisive matter. We, the main supporters of the majority, Doroshenko wrote from Petersburg, have long pointed out that a congress is the only possible solution to the party crisis created by the mensheviks. It is precisely a congress which can and should put an end to the discord within the party (see 2, p 160). This, for instance, was also the belief of the Kostroma circle of workers' organizers. At its meeting the circle adopted a resolution emphasizing that it recognized the "need for convening immediately an extraordinary third congress" (Ibid., p 17).

Equally typical is the letter sent by an Odessa worker (unidentified). He addressed his group of ten workers and explained to them the reason for which the bolsheviks wanted to hold a congress. "Having heard my arguments," the letter ended, "those present join me in this letter demanding that a third congress be held to put an end to all discord within the party." The letter is unattractively and in places even coarsely written, but each word is imbued with concern for the party. It ends as follows: "As a worker I cannot rest when I see how our workers' social democratic party is being torn apart. My heart aches, and so do those of all honest workers who are concerned with workers' interests. I therefore beg and insist that a third congress be held. My comradely greetings to those comrades who

are in favor of it. I disassociate myself from those who oppose it and do not believe that they are concerned with the liberation of the people" (Ibid., p 184).

It is interesting that Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy, member of the Petersburg committee, wrote to Geneva on the same subject, also from Odessa (letter published for the first time). "I am writing this letter as a person who experienced deeply the Petersburg revolutionary days. Events in which I participated unraveled in front of me. In those days, through its powerful actions the Petersburg proletariat showed its strength. It openly called for a change of governmental regime in Russia, and sealed its demands with its blood. At the same time we, the social democrats, proved our disorganization and our weak and divided forces." After mentioning the efforts to conciliate the majority with the minority, he added: "However, it was precisely these attempts that proved the utopian nature of finding any solution to the party crisis other than holding a congress, for these attempts were as sad as they were unsuccessful. I am writing this letter as a person who has personally gone through all kinds of "conciliation attempts" and has become convinced through practical experience of their futility. Although I am considered insufficiently firm, comrades, there are matters in which one cannot be soft. There are problems on whose firm formulation the life of our party depends. One of them is that of holding a congress, for this is a problem of the party's integrity, of its life....A congress alone can provide the party with the opportunity to lead the proletarian mass to victory systematically and energetically, and only a congress can tell the party what to do and how to do it. That is why all of us must insist now on the holding of a party congress without delay. Any further struggle by the minority...against a congress means committing a crime against the working class which is awaiting our instructions and our leadership" (1, pp 170-173).

The letters from Russia helped Lenin to see the entire picture of the revolutionary events in the homeland and the state of affairs in the party organizations. On 18 January he asked comrades from the Moscow RSDWP Committee: "What is happening with you? Do we have forces in the committee? Are there worker members of the committee? How is the work? Do you have equipment? ... What is the committee's attitude toward VPERED?" "Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection XXXVII], p 12). Toward the middle of February Krupskaya reminded Gusev (letter to Petersburg) that "We need to know the breakdown of forces. By not knowing who stands where we cannot determine the true capability of the committees" (2, p 7). By the end of February she wrote to Odessa: "Olin (P. N. Lepeshinskiy, reviewer's note) will be visiting you. ...He is a good worker and will be able to organize the work properly" (Ibid., p 105). To the BKB in Petersburg she wrote: "Spitsyn will be coming to see you, unless he has already arrived. You can trust him completely...."(Ibid. p 97. "Spitsyn" or "Spitsa" were V. I. Nevskiy's aliases).

The support which experienced party workers gave the local organizations was more than timely. As the books under review clearly show, the revolutionary upsurge was spreading among new popular strata. In the middle of January "Margarita" (V. S. Bobrovskiy) wrote from Baku that the committee had managed the strike of the workers at the machine building plants (see 1, p 105).

Ever more adamantly the workers demanded to be armed for the struggle against the tsarist satraps. Less than 1 week after Bloody Sunday, Gusev wrote: "The mood of the workers is terribly militant. They demand weapons and there are no weapons"

(1, p 55). In the middle of March M. M. Borodin opened his letter to Geneva with the report that the Riga workers "are in an extremely revolutionary mood," and "are ready to rush into battle at any time" (2, p 242). Let us cite in this connection a significant sentence in the letter from Tula, dated 8 March, decoded by Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "In Tula a substantial quantity of weapons has been stockpiled and more can be obtained" (Ibid., p 179).

We also find in the work reports on the collection of funds, some contributed by foreign workers, for the widows and orphans of the 9 January demonstration, for aid to strikers, etc.

As a whole, the topics covered in the first volume of the new series of "Perepiski....1905-1907 Gg." are so extensive and instructive that it is only by reading one letter after another that one realizes the extent to which the actual data found in the book exceed one's previous expectations.

Following are some figures which prove this. The two books, which make up the first volume, contain 462 documents, 228 of which previously unpublished. The entire new series will consist of five volumes (two books each). Need we prove that the readers are in a hurry to see the subsequent publication of this priceless Leninist correspondence? Let us hope that all those involved in this project will try to satisfy this lively interest.

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SOCIALIST LABOR AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS

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[Review by V. Ignatovskiy of the books "Trud na Poroge Tret'yego Tysyacheletiya (Trud i NTR: Politiko-Ekonomicheskii Aspekt)" [Labor on the Threshold of the Third Millennium (Labor and the Scientific and Technical Revolution: Political and Economic Aspects)]. By V. K. Vrublevskiy. Politizdat Ukrainy, Kiev, 1980, 450 pages; "Dialektika Stanovleniya Kommunisticheskogo Truda" [Dialectics of the Establishment of Communist Labor]. Naukova Dumka, Kiev, 1978, 303 pages; and "Trudovaya Deyatel'nost' kak Osnova Sotsialisticheskogo Obraza Zhizni" [Labor as the Foundation of the Socialist Way of Life]. By N. M. Blinov. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 143 pages]

[Text] Labor is the basis of social progress, a source of means of existence and a prerequisite for the development of man himself and of his creative self-assertion. The real liberation of the toiling person and the reorganization of social relations on a collectivistic basis inaugurated a new age in the life of the peoples, the development of science and technology, material and spiritual output and all human culture.

Labor, its scientific organization, the elimination of the vestiges of its old divisions into manual, heavy and monotonous, the rapprochement between mental and physical work, the intensification of its creative principles, its increased productivity and effectiveness and its changed nature and content are some of the most topical research subjects. They are legitimately paid increasing attention in scientific literature, as confirmed by the substantial number of monographs published lately. We shall discuss those among them which reflect, to one or another extent, the contemporary level of research in the labor area.

In his work, V. K. Vrublevskiy analyzes social labor as a whole and its various areas of application, such as industry, agriculture and science. He raises important methodological questions. The collective monograph deals with the establishment of communist labor, its socioeconomic characteristics, the contradictions which arise in this respect, the means of resolving them and so on. The book by N. M. Blinov, based on extensive sociological research, deals with labor as a component of the socialist way of life, and the further development and improvement of the latter under the influence of changes in labor activities and the progress made in terms of the personality of the worker.

The main topic of these works is the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on social labor and on the entire system of productive forces, whose basic element is man himself. First of all, as V. K. Vrublevskiy justifiably notes, a true revolution is taking place in the technological function of labor itself. However, against this background the unfinished nature of the industrial revolution on the level of the mechanization of the production process becomes apparent. This is confirmed by the high percentage of manual, non-mechanized labor. In material production sectors, for example, and excluding repair operations, more than 40 million people are engaged in performing manual labor. Under such circumstances, therefore, the scientific and technical revolution must perform a double function: on the one hand, "complete" the unfinished portions of the previous stages of scientific and technical progress and, on the other, expand the area of application of science in production, one of whose manifestations is the automation of production processes. We are faced with two conflicting trends: through the mechanization of labor processes the industrial revolution reduces the content of the worker's labor to the simplest performing functions of the participant in the conveyor-belt production process while, at the same time, many labor processes become integrated on the basis of comprehensive automation, which increases the role of the individual in the production process.

The conflicting nature of the development of public labor is not determined by these circumstances alone. The process of the scientific and technical revolution is contradictory in itself, since, for example, the installation of semiautomatic and automatic machinery contributes to production intensification and raises labor productivity (the use of assembly-line systems has the same function). At the same time, however, the monotony created by a strict technological rhythm is not conducive to making labor more harmonious.

The scientific and technical revolution is a many-tiered process. V. K. Vrublevskiy has set himself an important and methodologically complex task: to single out its most important characteristics among the entire variety of its manifestations. "The most general characteristic feature (sign) of the scientific and technical revolution is the fact that it has become a revolution in the development of production forces and, above all, of their material element" (p 70). A specific feature (characteristic) of the scientific and technical revolution is the new role of science, which has become a direct production force (Ibid.). In defining the most characteristic feature which has a decisive influence on public production, V. K. Vrublevskiy points out that "Public production automation and control, based on universal electrification, is this kind of specific single characteristic and a pivotal aspect of the scientific and technical revolution" (p 74). In the author's opinion this makes it possible to define the chronological divisions in the scientific and technical revolution in our country. In his view it began in the 1950s, and its end may be expected by the beginning of the next century, i.e., when, from his viewpoint, the automation of the national economy will have become complete and all-embracing.

Equally noteworthy is the attempt by the author to formulate criteria for determining the degree of development of the scientific and technical revolution. He considers as one such criterion the changed place and role of man in the production process, and the use of management machines, which ensures mass production automation. The author singles out among all the laws governing the scientific and technical revolution the "single universal law" according to which,

"the need for creative toil increases as the vital needs of society are met" (p 104). In tracing this law in the course of his analysis of the scientific and technical revolution and its economic, social and political consequences, the author proceeds from the fact that whereas production automation represents the technological aspect of the scientific and technical revolution, the changed status of man in production, i.e., the changed content and nature of his work, is its social aspect.

In our view, some problems considered by the author require somewhat greater clarification. Unquestionably, the development of production forces is experiencing substantial changes. The automation of production processes, use of new types of energy, development of man-made materials with predetermined properties, the use of lasers, radioelectronics, space technology, biological achievements, etc., are all visible features of today's production process. They became possible thanks to the new role played by science, which is becoming a direct production force. However, it would be hardly correct to reduce it merely to the role of a factor for the automation of public production or to proclaim automation the technological essence of the scientific and technical revolution. It is true that automation is of great importance in the development of the production forces of the socialist society. However, as a rule it depends on the type of production technology rather than vice versa. No automatic system can be applied unless it is consistent with a tried and, naturally, a changing method of influencing the object of labor and its processing. It cannot become part of the economical technological process. We believe that the essence of the scientific and technical revolution lies, above all, in the radical transformation of the technological production method, i.e., in the change in the historical type of "man-equipment-raw material" relation, which brings about a change in the historical position and role of man in the production process.

The industrial revolution of the turn of the 19th century opened the way to new technology: machine production. It thus created the material base for the dissemination of the then new social relations -- the capitalist. As a natural stage in the improvement of social production forces automation contributes, in our view, to the further development of the now traditional machine technology in production. This is expressed in the conversion from the three- to the four-step machine system. In his time, Academician S. G. Strumilin expressed the idea that "Production automation may be considered the highest and final level of machine technology, or the completion of the comprehensive mechanization of output." Today, the scientific and technical revolution is creating a qualitatively new technological production method consistent with communist social relations. The use of superhigh and superlow temperatures, electromagnetic fields, high pressures, biochemical synthesis, and others makes it possible to convert ever more extensively from a mechanical to a nonmechanical influence on the labor object. The changed place and role of man in production on the basis of new equipment and essentially new technological processes may be considered a criterion of the scientific and technical revolution. In the final account, this leads to greater "technological freedom" for the main productive force in society. Naturally, the temporal limits of the scientific and technical revolution must be considered as well in this connection. That is why V. K. Vrublevskiy's attempt at deriving a "single universal law" of the scientific and technical revolution and to proclaim the greater need for creative labor as such is controversial. This need appears as an individual trend in a great variety of social conditions, and acquires full

scope for its development only with the elimination of the exploitation of labor and thanks to its intellectualization and enrichment with creative functions. In itself the scientific and technical revolution does not create all of these social conditions. Therefore, is it accurate to say that all labor will become creative under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution? The revolutionizing nature of scientific and technical progress creates material prerequisites for bringing physical labor closer to mental work and contributes to the elimination of the old division of labor, which tied the producer to a single function, and opens an area for the application of the law of labor change. However, the radical premise for the implementation of these prerequisites is a matter for the social, socialist and communist revolution and the building of the new society.

In the monograph "Dialektika Stanovleniya Kommunisticheskogo Truda" comprehensive automation of the social production process is considered a necessary prerequisite for the shaping of the basic features of the labor process in the new socioeconomic system and the conversion of labor into a prime vital need. The authors emphasize the need for steady enhancement of the meaningfulness of labor processes through the elimination of heavy and harmful work, monotonous and simple operations and the organization of extensive educational work aimed at the development of a creative attitude toward labor on the part of all the members of society.

Let us note that the major disparities in the technical level of socialist production development are a big obstacle in the pursuit of this objective. Thus, its current stage is characterized by the interaction between two technological production methods: the factory-machine and the automated. There still exist enterprises where almost one half of the entire personnel are engaged in performing non-mechanized or insufficiently mechanized operations. An obstructing factor hindering the elimination of this situation is the fact that the process of mechanization and automation of the basic process is not always accompanied by required similar changes in support or auxiliary operations. Furthermore, as we pointed out, by themselves mechanization and automation do not mean in the least an increased share of creative functions. Therefore, the problems of reducing the share of the old division of labor and of increasing the share of creative functions are not identical. Nevertheless, a certain oversimplified approach to their resolution is apparent. Thus, the job of a machine-tool operator is frequently cited as an example of manual, mechanical and not very meaningful labor, whereas, as a rule, the work of an operator of a semi-automatic or automatic machine-tool is idealized. In reality, the installation of semi-automatic or automatic machinery does not automatically increase the number of creative functions but frequently even contributes to the elimination of existing elements of a creative approach to the work of the machine-tool operator. Thus, the use of programmed machine tools reduces the level of requirements and the degree of skill of the operator, for at this point the complexity and precision of the machined parts no longer depend on the professional skill needed by the operator but on the technical parameters of the machine tool itself. Semi-passive supervision of a technological process is one thing and direct involvement with the process, adjustment and continuing study of it is another. The latter calls for a decision on how to machine the part, selecting the proper tools, computing the cutting angle, establishing a cutting sequence and so on. That is why the problem of the ratio between manual and mental work and between its creative and routine functions cannot be oversimplified. To begin with many types of work, which are not part of mechanized assembly-line production include both routine operations and elements

of creative activity. Secondly, in its initial period production automation does not mandatorily contribute to the intensification of the creative principle, although, in some cases, it eliminates manual labor. Thirdly, under the influence of automation (passive button-pushing and observation), the increased share of mental effort enhances the monotony of the work. Therefore, we can agree with the conclusion drawn in the collective monograph on the need for a deep and systematic study of changes in the production cycle under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and of the content and nature of the work. This will enable us to identify dialectically conflicting trends in their development, to earmark ways and means for their optimizing and to delete existing contradictions between the natural advent of communist-type labor and the factors and circumstances which restrain it (p 141-142).

The scientific and technical revolution is characterized not only by technical and economic achievements and indicators. It has requirements concerning man and his way of life. It actively influences the shaping and education of the worker of a new type. The book by N. M. Blinov traces the various aspects of the development of the personality of the worker against a broad sociological background and proves the importance of his professional and educational standards under contemporary conditions.

The analysis of the results of sociological studies made by the author confirms that the steady and considerable improvement of labor conditions is directly proportional to the solution of the problems of increasing the mechanization of production processes by converting to comprehensive mechanization and automation. However, N. M. Blinov believes, we cannot ignore the possible worsening of labor conditions in a number of production sectors as a result of the effect of some new technological processes, materials and so on on the health of the workers. Thus, about three percent of the workers surveyed at industrial enterprises indicated that labor conditions had changed for the worse (see p 105). For this reason the planned technical and economic results must be mandatorily related to their social consequences.

Naturally, the scientific and technical revolution is merely a material prerequisite for resolving the problem of the conversion of labor into a prime vital necessity and for the comprehensive development of the individual. The practical implementation of these tasks is a social relations function. It is they, in the final account, which determine the nature of man's development, the "humanizing" of his working and living conditions and the creation of prerequisites for the organization of communist-type labor. This includes the surmounting of the negative aspects of scientific and technical progress and changes in the existing forms of division of labor.

The books under review offer a thorough study of the various aspects of the social nature and content of labor. As V. K. Vrublevskiy points out, the content of labor reflects the level of development of material and personal aspects of the labor process and technological relations, while its nature appears through the general features of production relations and their impact on the development of the social qualities of labor. Therefore, the content is determined by the material and personal aspects of the labor process: their level of development, nature of reciprocal relations and interaction, basic improvement trends and so on. Labor certification in terms of its social aspect is the evaluation of the type of social

relations established among people in the process of joint work in each distinct historical period and under specific economic conditions (see p 34).

The nature and content of social labor are always in a state of dialectical unity and interconnection. The development of production technology, rise in professional skills and changes in the functions performed by the workers result in the transformation of the old technological relations. In the final account, this requires the establishment of new socioeconomic relations as well. Thus, the conversion from manual to machine production technology and the latter's consolidation brought about the replacement of the feudal by the capitalist production method. Therefore, the content of social labor comes first, followed by its social form, whose nature, in turn, actively influences the entire production method. In our view, this approach makes it possible to provide a methodologically accurate study of the labor process and to systematize its study more adequately.

The authors of the collective monograph take as their starting point the value of social labor which, in their view, is determined by its socioeconomic significance under specific historical circumstances. In discussing the meaning of labor as a sum total of elements, aspects, ties and relations in expedient human activities, the authors remind us of its twin nature: "For this reason," they point out, "as we investigate the value of labor it is important to bear in mind that its content is subdivided into technical-organizational and socioeconomic aspects" (p 23). The technical-organizational content of labor includes labor operations based on equipment and technology, organization of the production process, the technical standard of the labor objects and the skill and cultural standard of the worker. In their view the main socioeconomic components include relations of productive capital ownership, the link between the work of the individual and that of society (direct or indirect, through the sale of manpower) and the link between the objective for the sake of which the individual is working and the objective of the production process. In our view such a separation of the "socioeconomic" content of labor may lead to confusing this concept with that of "the nature of labor."

In his study of the social functions of labor N. M. Blinov considers it as the basis of the socialist way of life. In his classification of labor he gives priority to the creation of material and spiritual wealth, i.e., to activities in which man acts indirectly and regulates and controls the exchange of matter between himself and nature. He then proceeds to describe its function, which is the satisfaction of social human needs, including the need for creative activity. The consideration of the social functions of labor gives the author the possibility of undertaking a close study of the socialist way of life, the basis of which, in his view, is the satisfaction of the following needs of the member of the new society: need to work for its own sake, material needs, need to have confidence in the future and to belong to the collective, need for self-assertion and for the realization of his creative potential (see pp 28-29).

The development of the need to work is a complex process. The monograph authors consider in detail the contradictions in the process of the development of communist labor. In describing one such contradiction they write: "In positively assessing the social nature of his work and its social significance, and considering himself the master of the production process and the creator of the social wealth, the working person's attitude toward labor is one of conscientiousness and

respect. However, he is not always satisfied with its content, which depends on the technical standard of the work process and its organization" (p 44-45).

Both the collective monograph and N. M. Blinov's work provide a substantiated study of the similarities and differences between socialist and communist labor which, as the authors justifiably note, are most closely related to the level of development of production forces and the maturity of production relations. It is on this basis that the essential characteristics of communist labor are derived and the features of the communist attitude toward labor activity shown. The molding of such features is the main, the pivotal problem facing educational work in the labor collective. N. M. Blinov emphasizes the importance and need for its solution, particularly in the light of the radical changes taking place in the production process under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and, in this connection, the increased role of the subjective factor.

The authors of the collective monograph consider in detail the material and technical, economic and social prerequisites leading to the development of a communist attitude toward labor. They use the experience of the frontranking production collectives in singling out the most important elements within this process, such as comprehensive labor mobility of the workers (acquisition of related skills); collective material incentive (collective-piece rate wages); social self-management and collective responsibility; some forms of labor integration of unpaid work, labor assistance and mutual aid; and the harmonizing and humanizing of labor.

What is the real attitude on the part of man toward his job, and to what extent does it meet the criteria of a communist attitude toward labor? N. M. Blinov makes an attempt to answer this question on the basis of a sociological study. Thus, at machine-tool building enterprises in Moscow 17 percent of the surveyed workers considerably overfulfill their production norms and 43 percent overfulfill them systematically. Such overfulfillment is not achieved at the expense of quality. Most workers (68 percent) produce good quality items. Most of the working people are interested in the affairs of the collective and show concern for further production improvements. One third are involved in various progressive initiatives and 40 percent have submitted suggestions aimed at improving the work organization and conditions. One out of each six or seven workers is engaged in creative activities or participates in the movement of rationalizers and inventors.

The new attitude toward labor is defined in terms of social and political activeness as well. According to the survey, 60 percent are involved in various aspects of production management. This has led N. M. Blinov to the conclusion that considerable further opportunities exist for upgrading labor activeness, improving the attitude toward the job and the collective, and improving the distribution system. In this connection the study of the material and moral incentive system is of great interest. Specifically, the workers are not pleased by the small amounts of the bonuses and the times at which they are paid (8.1 and 7.8 percent of those surveyed, respectively). Adding to them the 13.1 percent who are dissatisfied with the material incentive system for the reason that the bonus is given to every one, regardless of his work and even to those "who do not even know why they are being given a bonus" (4.1 percent) or "why their comrade is being given a bonus" (11.5 percent), the result is that in the case of more than 30 percent of the workers the existing bonus system is not an incentive for better and superior quality work. This, we believe, requires a certain reorganization of the system.

The development of a communist attitude toward labor is a vital task of the socialist society. The rapidly expanding real socialization of labor and production provides the material base for its implementation. In this process the social aspect is becoming increasingly important, alongside the material one. It is precisely the social aspect that has been developed in the collective monograph. The authors note that occasionally socialization is considered a purely economic category. For example, there is a view that the level of the real socialization of labor and production offers an idea of the development of the economy alone, without characterizing progress in other areas of social life -- the social, political and spiritual. Some scientists reduce the socialization process merely to the development of the social nature of production forces, and others to the establishment of socialist ownership and its future progress. However, this process, the monograph stresses, must be considered on the basis of the unity and interaction among all of its aspects.

In the final account, the actual socialization of labor is inseparably tied to the shaping of the overall worker. This meets the requirements of scientific and technical progress and thus increases the productive force of labor. In this connection V. K. Vrublevskiy looks closely at the conditions governing the growth of public labor productivity and the need for the rational utilization of labor resources in the production process. He traces the ratio between productive and nonproductive labor. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution this problem "is closely related to the determination of the optimum means for the further socialist socialization of production and labor" (p 109).

As we know, debates and arguments on this subject have been under way for many years. In analyzing the various viewpoints the author notes that "they do not take fully into consideration the real trends in contemporary social development and the essential changes in the nature and content of labor created by the scientific and technical revolution," and that "the distinction between productive and nonproductive labor can always be made in two different ways -- on the basis of the content and nature of labor" (pp 113-114). The direct and immediate purpose of socialist production is the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people. On this basis V. K. Vrublevskiy assumes that in terms of "the social aspect of its nature most social labor under socialism (other than that share of labor used to serve the class institutions, which will wither away under communism) is productive" (p 125). Within the productive labor process itself the author draws certain distinctions. He treats it as directly productive if it pertains to material production and to sectors servicing the latter, and as indirectly productive if it is invested in other areas. However, the author emphasizes, we must not confuse the concept of "productive labor" with that of "socially useful labor," for a specific type of work may be nonproductive but socially necessary under socialist conditions.

The conclusion which V. K. Vrublevskiy draws on the nature of productive and nonproductive labor stems from his view of the structure of production forces. He includes in the latter, in his characterization of the status of the working people, who are the main productive force, the following: educational level, development of creative potential through science and culture, scientific organization of labor and scientific production management and other areas, such as material and technical procurements, health care and physical culture, public

catering and environmental protection, i. e., areas of human activity directly related both to the social reproduction process and the development of the working man himself (see p 15). According to the author, such an interpretation of social production forces makes it possible to consider them as a developing system, which represents "the unity of purposeful activities on the part of the overall social worker and of all factors which contribute to the multiplication of the productive force of his work" (p 20). This is related to the conclusion that the growing socialization of labor and the shaping of the overall worker eliminate the clear distinctions between material production and the nonproduction sphere (see p 135). Let us mention in this connection that the Soviet scientists have not as yet properly mastered and sufficiently interpreted K. Marx' strictly substantiated methodology as it applies to the characteristics of the socialist production method (described in particular in the fourth volume of "Das Kapital"), which makes it possible to mark the boundaries of productive labor quite accurately (the effort made by V. K. Vrublevskiy in this direction is yet another proof of this). Yet this is exceptionally important not only for the sake of theory but for the practice of economic construction. In our view, in the study of the "productive labor" category, on the one hand, we cannot separate ourselves from contemporary reality and give priority to ethical rather than economic considerations, such as infinitely expanding the scale of productive labor by including in it any type of work useful to society, for the sake of "not insulting" one or another category of workers. On the other hand, it is inadmissible to ignore the new processes and phenomena as this leads to restricting the productive sphere to physical labor alone. At the present time the expanded area of productive labor is a real objective trend and excessively high assessments, which mean anticipating the opening of real conditions, and regressively clutching at familiar norms which hinder social progress, are equally dangerous.

Under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution ever new areas of human activity are becoming structural components of the development of production forces. This applies to the educational system, cadre training and research in physics, chemistry, and biology, space technology and many other scientific disciplines. The funds allocated for such purposes are having an increasing influence on the growth of social production forces and on reaching the final objective of the socialist production process.

We see, therefore, that the range of problems considered in these works is quite broad. Let us also point out that some aspects of the development of socialist labor presented by the authors are controversial and require further studies. Such is the case, for example, with the problems in the changed nature and content of labor in the process of the further socialization of work and production and the elaboration of an efficient methodology for describing the functions of intellectual and physical labor, whether creative or monotonous, for defining production and nonproduction work, and so on. These are problems of key importance in understanding the nature and paths of development of a classless society.

Let us note, as a whole, that these studies strengthen the methodological base for the interpretation of the new phenomena in the area of socialist labor and the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution.

5003
CSO: 1802/17

PROBLEMS OF IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10 Jul 81 pp 124-126

[Review by Prof R. Yevstigneyev, doctor of economic sciences, of the book by P. G. Bunich "Khozyaystvennyy Mekhanizm Razvitogo Sotsializma" [The Economic Mechanism of Developed Socialism]. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 351 pages]

[Text] The monograph under review, by Prof P. G. Bunich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, in which he analyzes the socialist economic mechanism was published by Izdatel'stvo Nauka.

The author does not propose to analyze all the aspects of the economic mechanism on an equal basis. Furthermore, he deliberately avoids some problems, as a result of which the structure of the book is somewhat surprising, considering the title: the part on theory is immediately followed by a section on prices and production costs, in turn followed by a discussion on providing incentives for stressed plans, plan indicators and norms, indicators for assessing enterprise activities, and finally, cost-effectiveness at different management levels, the use of wages as an incentive and self-financing. This structure, however, has a reason: it makes it possible to present in bolder characters problems currently subject to particularly heated arguments and which are most topical in terms of the further improvement of the economic mechanism.

In the section which deals primarily with theoretical problems of management, the author contributes something new to the area of modelling the economic mechanism. The work singles out the functional (general, specialized and support) along with linear-sequential subsystems, the programming and territorial levels of the economic mechanism and their interconnections. In our view, the suggested block system is a step forward in the efforts to systematize the knowledge acquired in the area of the various elements of socialist economic management, taking into consideration both the experience of the USSR and that of the other socialist countries. This is very important in the light of the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the need to bring the structures of economic mechanisms closer to each other and to take the variety of positive experiences in the organization of the production process and management and the solution of national economic problems into consideration.

The section which follows it contains an analysis of prices and production costs from the viewpoint of upgrading production effectiveness. The author accurately points out that effectiveness has an economic as well as a social meaning.

"However, in the framework of integral socioeconomic effectiveness it is economic effectiveness that is the foundation" (p 136). The author considers the problem of its determination thoroughly. He uses the concepts of upper and lower thresholds, compares one with the other and draws a number of interesting conclusions.

The author links effectiveness with incentives. He justifiably criticizes practical shortcuts in which "incentives 'overestimate' rewards for reaching some indicators, but 'underestimate' others compared with their actual contribution to production effectiveness...." (p 136). In connection with incentives he discusses important theoretical and practical problems such as the choice of summarizing indicators in assessing the activities of collectives, which reflect directly and clearly the effectiveness and end production results and the need to "break down" synthetic criteria into systems of analytical criteria, which are usable in identifying specific production results and in some cases may be used directly for incentive purposes. He favors the theoretical and experimental testing of several new and promising approaches to assessing the activities of collectives. In particular, he suggests that under the new conditions we reconsider the indicators of real net output, excluding normative payments to society and the residual wage fund system by using centralized results in breaking down the distributed net output into consumption and accumulation parts.

The trend of increasing the extent to which all production outlays are reflected in production costs is examined thoroughly in the work and many valuable suggestions are formulated. This includes the so-called overamortization in which the amortization is retained until the item has been actually written off (see p 184), the expediency of assessing imported equipment on the basis of purchase price (see p 187), a conversion to technical documentation prices, which reflect its potential usefulness to consumers (see p 191) and so on.

In the section on planning the author discusses only a few of the most topical problems. This is not to say that he ignores other important planning problems in the economic mechanism such as, above all, target setting. Quite the opposite: the first chapter deals with the still rather popular viewpoint according to which the economic mechanism "performs the function of a 'drive belt' in the implementation of targets...while remaining uninvolved with target setting" (p 27). P. G. Bunich justifiably notes that the national economic mechanism is not part of any broader economic system which could set its targets. According to the author, targets are not only part of the economic mechanism but its initial determining aspect. They select the means and check their consistency with the targets.

What potential reserves does the author see in the area of planning improvements? They include, first of all, improvements in incentives for the adoption of stressed plans. Going back to the argument on the purpose of incentives, as to whether they should be provided for the official fulfillment of planned assignments, regardless of their level of stress, for the actual contribution of the collectives to the economy, or on the basis of the differential between results and expenditures, based, naturally, on the implementation of the plans and the observance of contractual discipline, he firmly opts for the third choice, convincingly proving the shortcomings of the first and the advantages of the second approach. "The identification of planned with effective and justified results," he writes, "lowers the national economic deficit. This is due to the fact that socially accepted

enterprise requests for resources are unquestioningly financed, even if they exceed past, present and future revenues" (p 205). For this reason the author rejects the advice to look for some kind of special stress indicators. He supports the general line of developing incentives based on "levels." He suggests that the "level" assessment be introduced gradually and provides some practical examples of the initial application of this approach, citing, above all, the Standard Method for Determining the Economic Effectiveness of Capital Investments and the Method (Basic Stipulations) for Determining the Economic Effectiveness of the of New Equipment, Inventions and Rationalization Proposals in the National Economy. In this respect the conversion to the computation of the wage fund on the basis of identical commodity standards is scheduled to play an important role.

The author also sees many as yet unused possibilities for improving the economic mechanism by improving plan indicators and norms. He notes the progressive trend of expanding the area of action of uniform standards as suitable conditions to this effect are made available, justifiably assuming that their application will expand the rights of collectives substantially.

The final section in the book deals with incentives, "obstructions" and responsibilities. It begins with an explanation of cost effectiveness work methods on all levels of sectorial management. Many useful remarks are expressed on the subject of intensifying cost effectiveness on the level of production units. Let us point out that this trend has become clearly apparent in the European CEMA countries. The practical experience gained through the work of cost-effectiveness brigades is described extensively and its advantages evaluated. Interesting considerations are expressed on the subject of combining brigade with association cost effectiveness (see p 294).

According to the author wages are an economic incentive and a cost effectiveness instrument. This aspect of wages has been discussed relatively little in our economic literature. The author also discusses the enhancement of the role of cost effectiveness in the implementation of the entire reproduction process. "The extension of the principles of cost effectiveness from wages and incentive funds to production financing at large," the author concludes,...."may be taken as a conversion to a closed cost-effectiveness mechanism aimed at comprehensively upgrading production effectiveness" (p 325). In this connection the author develops the idea of cost-effective self-financing and poses the question of the development of systems which ensure "both the primacy of the national economic plan as well as self-financing through the generating of income rather than obtaining advantageous norms" (page 330). The author also submits his detailed and substantiated plan for the solution of this problem.

Let us point out among the shortcomings of the monograph the somewhat fragmentary presentation of data on the economic mechanism as a category of political economy without a description of the development of this category as a system. We fail to notice any difference between "economic mechanism" and "economic management mechanism." Although the author tries to distinguish between the two, he uses them synonymously throughout his text.

5003
CSO: 1802/17

AT THE SOURCE OF RELIGION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 126-127

[Review by I. Grigulevich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Zolotaya Vetv'. Issledovaniye Magii i Religii" [The Golden Bough. A Study of Magic and Religion] by J. J. Frazer. Translated from the English. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 831 pages]

[Text] There are about 3000 different religions in the world. How did they emerge?

The question of the origin of religious beliefs is of prime conceptual significance since it sheds light on the question of the appearance of religion as a whole. A person's attitude toward religion is judged by his answer to this question. Theologians cite supernatural reasons, bypassing the fact of the multiplicity of beliefs, which thoroughly undermines the very idea of the existence of a single omnipotent god. Students of religion seek the answer in a study of the different beliefs, customs and prejudices among ancient peoples or peoples without a written language, by contrasting and comparing religious vestiges from the past, rituals, various taboos, studying the material conditions for the development of man at the initial stage of his existence, and using archeological, ethnographic and folklore data, myths, legends, and other ancient literary monuments.

The founders of Marxism assigned great value to the studies of primitive societies made by progressive bourgeois scientists. The works of L. H. Morgan, in particular, helped F. Engels to write his major work on the origins of the family, private property, and the state. Comparable to Morgan's work, to a certain extent, is the work by James Frazer, the student of religion, published by Politizdat in the "Atheistic Literature Library" series, which has long been of interest to a wide circle of readers. It includes the now classic works of the 18th century French materialistic philosophers and of Yemel'yan Yaroslavskiy, Abrogio Donini, Leo Taxil and others. These works are of invaluable aid to VUZ teachers and students, and to specialists in atheistic education and the shaping of the scientific materialistic outlook of the working people.

Frazer, the greatest of the British anthropologists and an expert on religion, was universally famous even during his lifetime. He was noted for his exceptional capacity for work, and he authored a large number of written works, including substantive studies on folklore in the Old Testament, totemism and exogamy, belief in immortality, the cult of the dead, and other subjects. Frazer was a brilliant expert on ancient culture and authored extensive commentaries on works by others -- Sallustius, Pausanius and Ovid.

Without question, however, "The Golden Bough" is Frazer's most significant work. It sums up the results of his extensive research in the fields of religion, ethnology, folklore and mythology. The work was initially published, in 1890, in two volumes. It was reprinted as a three-volume work that same year, and the expanded 1911-1915 edition came out in 12 volumes. Frazer's work became tremendously popular. He issued a one-volume edition of "The Golden Bough" in 1923 by popular request. The work was translated into the main European languages in the following decade and is still being reissued. The first abridged edition of the work, in a translation into Russian from the French, was published in 1928.

The reason for the success enjoyed by "The Golden Bough" is that this work contains rich ethnographic data providing an adequate idea of the primitive beliefs of many peoples, and it explains the genetic ties linking modern religions such as Christianity, Islam and Buddhism to ancient beliefs in magic, animism, spiritualism, and so on.

Many of the theoretical stipulations and hypotheses of the British expert on religion have already been revised by modern science. However, this does not reduce the value of the facts supplied in "The Golden Bough. In it, a truly vast volume of data shedding light on the earthly and materialistic sources which subsequently became the foundations of the dogmas and cults of modern religion was collected, summarized and systematized. Furthermore, Frazer's study is useful in terms of scientific atheistic propaganda. As Prof S. A. Tokarev justifiably notes in his postscript to the work, the book does not fail to describe the savage cruelty toward people perpetrated in the name of religious tradition, the torture and killing of the unfortunate victims of superstition, or senseless and extremely harsh magical and religious taboos. The book will kill any desire to depict religion in rosy or romantic colors (see p 804).

Let us point out that since Frazer's time, the study of primitive cults has advanced greatly, both in the Soviet Union and abroad. (Here are some of the works published last year alone: N. A. Alekseyev, "Rannyye Formy Religii Tyurkoyazychnykh Narodov Sibiri" [Early Forms of Religion Among the Turkic-Speaking Peoples of Siberia], Novosibirsk, 1980; "Simvolika Kul'tov i Ritualov Narodov Zarubezhnoy Azii" [Cult Symbolism and Rituals of Foreign Asian Peoples], Moscow, 1980; N. K. Timofeyeva, "Religiozno-Mifologicheskaya Kartina Mira Etruskov" [Religious and Mythological Picture of the Etruscan World], Novosibirsk, 1980.) However, there is still no summarizing Marxist work on the origins of religion. In this connection, let us recall Engels' words to the effect that "It would be stupid to present Morgan 'objectively' without interpreting him critically, and, as we utilize newly obtained results, relating them to our views and to conclusions already reached" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 36, p 123). Let us hope that the Russian-language edition of Frazer's classic work on the origins of religious views will contribute to the further development of Soviet studies of religion.

5003

CSO: 1802/17

BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 81 pp 127-128

- [Text] 1. "V.I. Lenin, KPSS o Sovetskom Mnogonatsional'nom Gosudarstve" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on the Soviet Multinational State]. Compiled by Z. V. Tadevosyan. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 558 pages.
2. "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Sotsialisticheskoy Zakonnosti i Pravoporyadke" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Socialist Law and Order]. Anthology. N. I. Savinkin general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 671 pages.
3. "XXVI S'yezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], 23 February-3 March 1981. Shorthand minutes. K. M. Bogolyubov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, Vol I, 382 pages.
4. "Privetstviya XXVI S'yezdu KPSS ot Kommunisticheskikh, Rabochikh, Natsional'no-Demokraticheskikh i Sotsialisticheskikh Partiy" [Greetings Presented at the 26th CPSU Congress by Communist, Workers, National-Democratic and Socialist Parties]. V. V. Zagladin and O. B. Rakhmanin in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 440 pages.
5. "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in three volumes. Vol 3: 1976-March 1981. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 623 pages.
6. "Pust' na Zemle Torzhestvuyet Mir!" [May Peace Triumph on Earth!]. Visit by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman to the city-hero of Kiev for the solemn inauguration of the memorial complex, on 9 May 1981. A. M. Aleksandrov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 47 pages.
7. "Leninskaya Druzhiba Narodov" [Leninist Friendship Among the Peoples]. Visit by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman to the city of Tbilisi for the ceremonies on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia, 21-24 May 1981. A. M. Aleksandrov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 55 pages.
8. Bavrin, Ye. P. "Mongol'skaya Narodnaya Respublika" [The Mongolian People's Republic]. Reference. Second expanded edition. G. Kh. Shakhnazarov general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 125 pages.

9. Blagoev, D. "Kratkiye Zapiski o Moyey Zhizni" [Brief Notes on My Life]. Translated from the Bulgarian with a preface by V. N. Grebennikov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 176 pages.
10. Gramov, M. V., and Korytov, K. G. "Upravleniye Trudovym Kollektivom" [Labor Collective Management]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 288 pages.
11. Gurevich, P. S. "Spaset li Messiya?" [Will the Messiah Save?]. The "Christmania in the Western world. Philosophical-publicistic essay. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 272 pages.
12. Kade, G. "Mif o 'Sovetskoy Ugroze'" [The Myth of the 'Soviet Threat']. Translated from the German. Concluding remarks by V. A. Matveyev. Progress, Moscow, 1981, 208 pages.
13. "Karmanny Slovar' Ateista" [The Atheist's Pocket Dictionary]. M. P. Novikov editor. Third revised and expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 280 pages.
14. Mies, H. "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Translated from the German. Compiled by D. N. Mochalin, translation general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 591 pages.
15. Mitin, M. B. "Idei V. I. Lenin i Sovremennost'" [V. I. Lenin's Ideas and Modern Times]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 391 pages.
16. "Mnogostoronnoye Sotrudnichestvo Akademiy Nauk Sotsialisticheskikh Stran" [Multilateral Cooperation Among Academies of Science of Socialist Countries]. Collection of articles and documents. G. K. Skryabin general editor. Second revised and expanded edition. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 368 pages.
17. "Mnogostoronnoye Ekonomicheskoye Sotrudnichestvo Sotsialisticheskikh Gosudarstv" [Multilateral Economic Cooperation Among Socialist States]. Documents, 1971-1980. P. A. Tokareva, general editor. Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1981, 472 pages.
18. "Pod Znamenem Oktyabrya" [Under the Banner of October]. Collection of documents and materials in two volumes. 25 October (7 November) 1917-7 November 1923. Vol 2. "Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya i Revolyutsionnoye Dvizheniye v Bolgarii" [The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria]. Compiled by L. I. Zharov, K. K. Mironova and T. F. Karyayeva (Soviet side); M. Goranova, I. Krалеva and N. Belousov (Bulgarian side). Politizdat, Moscow; BCP Publishing House, Sofia, 1981, 606 pages.
19. "Politicheskiye Partii" [Political Parties]. Reference. Compiled by V. V. Zagladin and G. A. Kiselev, general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 351 pages.
20. "Rabochiy Klass v Avangarde Bor'by za Demokratiyu" [The Working Class in the Vanguard of the Struggle for Democracy]. B. I. Koval', I. M. Krivogus and A. V. Kondrat'yeva, editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 341 pages.
21. Sedov, P. L. "Razvivayushchiesya Strany i Sovetskiy Soyuz" [The Developing Countries and the Soviet Union]. Truth and fabrications on economic cooperation. Mysl', Moscow, 1981, 173 pages.

22. "Sovetskaya Ekonomika na Novom Etape" [The Soviet Economy at a New Stage]. B. I. Gostev and A. F. Romyantsev general editors. Pravda, Moscow, 1981, 224 pages.
23. "Sovetskiy Soyuz i Organizatsiya Ob'yedinennykh Natsiy" [The Soviet Union and the United Nations]. 1971-1975. A. L. Narochnitskiy et al. editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 471 pages.
24. "SSSR v Tsifrakh v 1980 Godu" [The USSR in Figures in 1980]. Short statistical collection. L. A. Umanskiy in charge of publication. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1981, 220 pages.
25. Stepanov, V. P. "Geroicheskaya Epokha Bor'by za Kommunizm" [The Heroic Epoch in the Struggle for Communism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 78 pages.

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