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16 October 1981

## USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1981

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

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## THE PARTY'S UNIFIED TECHNICAL POLICY AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF COMMUNIST BUILDING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 3-16

[Article by A. Kirilenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] Each day of the Soviet people's creative labor fulfilling the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress convincingly demonstrates the high mobilizing influence of the congress' ideas on all spheres of our society's life. This influence is particularly apparent in the development of the socialist economy.

The report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Next Tasks in the Domestic and Foreign Policy Sphere," and the "Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" approved by the congress were a new contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and to the elaboration of questions relating to the theory and practice of communist building. They established clear reference points on the path of further national economic progress. The congress documents, imbued with the spirit of social optimism, were most enthusiastically received by the Soviet people, who are devoting their labor and talents to implementing the party's plans.

This is indicated by the results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the country's economic and social development in the first 6 months of 1981. Targets were fulfilled on the overall volume of industrial output, labor productivity in industry, freight turnover on the railroads, purchases of livestock and poultry, retail trade turnover and profits. There was an increase in the average monthly pay of workers and employees, in kolkhoz members' pay and in payments and benefits received by the population from social consumption funds. Rural workers are waging an intense struggle for the harvest. They are getting assistance from the whole country. Thus, the five-year plan has gathered the required momentum.

The chief problems discussed at the congress included, as is known, problems relating to the completion of the national economy's transition to the predominantly intensive path of development and to improving economic efficiency by accelerating scientific and technical progress.

At all stages of communist building our party has always based itself on the premise that the creation of a new society is inconceivable without wide utilization

of the achievements of science and technology, without the transformation of the "production process from a simple labor process into a scientific process employing the forces of nature and making them act in the service of human needs..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Essays," Vol 46, Part II, p 208).

The Soviet Union's entry into the stage of developed socialism, the transformation of its economy into a unified national economic complex and the successes achieved in the sphere of science, people's education and cadre training offered new opportunities for utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. There was a sharp increase in the role of science and technology in ensuring the Soviet economy's further growth through the accelerated intensification of social production.

The party sees scientific and technical progress as the main lever for creating communism's material and technical base. The unified technical policy, whose fundamental principles were formulated by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, has the task of making more effective use of scientific and technical achievements in production and raising production itself to a high scientific and technical level.

## I

Making concern for the people's welfare the focus of its practical activity, the party is solving this task in conjunction with social progress and the all-round strengthening of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the molding of the new man. The growth of the people's well-being--the increasing satisfaction of their needs in terms of food and industrial articles and well-appointed housing and also improved working, living and leisure conditions and a better standard of education and culture--is the main aim of the party's long-term socioeconomic policy.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "The starting point of the party's political approach to the economy has been and still is the immutable program demand--all for man and all for the good of man."

It is planned to increase the consumption fund's share of the national income to 77.3 percent in 1985, compared with 75.3 percent in 1980. Per capita real incomes will increase by 16-18 percent. The role of social funds will increase, above all in improving living conditions for mothers, the younger generation and young families. Some 530-540 million square meters of housing will be constructed. People's education, health services and culture will be further developed.

The country possesses the mighty economic and scientific and technical potential to solve the social progress tasks set by the congress. In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, fixed production capital increased by 344 billion rubles, which is almost the sum total of these funds in the mid-sixties.

The country's production apparatus is taking shape on a new technical base. In the 5-year period fixed capital in industry was renewed by 36 percent and in agriculture by 47 percent.

There was a considerable increase in industrial output. We extract more oil and produce more cast iron, steel, cement, mineral fertilizers, tractors, leather footwear and woolen fabrics, butter and numerous other items than any other country in the world.

Agriculture has achieved new targets. Its material and technical base is being fundamentally reorganized, the process of industrialization of arable farming and stockraising has intensified, mechanization and chemicalization have expanded and large-scale land reclamation work is being carried out.

The implementation of the economic and social aims set by the 26th CPSU Congress demands a determined improvement in economic efficiency, the rapid introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress to the national economy, progressive structural shifts in production and further labor productivity growth. The congress set the task of taking all sectors of the national economy to the frontiers of science and technology.

These goals are also pursued by the unified technical policy which is being persistently implemented by the party. Taking into account the peculiarities of the specific stages of communist building, it determines the fundamental directions of scientific and technical development, the ways and means of concentrating manpower and resources for this purpose and the expected results and ways of utilizing them.

The technical policy is being implemented through the system of state plans for the country's economic and social development, in the practical activity of all social production management components and in the multifaceted work of each sector and each labor collective. A great deal of attention is paid to this by party organs.

The implementation of the unified technical policy is facilitated by the wider utilization of the targeted program method of planning scientific research and technical development.

The 10th Five-Year Plan saw fulfillment of 210 scientific and technical programs whose implementation permitted the introduction of a number of major, effective scientific and technical achievements into the national economy. For example, the new generation nuclear power stations that are being constructed with channel-type power units and unit capacities of 1.5 million kw will have better technical and economic indicators than power stations of the same type with 1 million-kw units. The accumulated experience of constructing and assimilating power units with 1 million-kw water-cooled nuclear reactors has made it possible to create a more economical and progressive standardized design for power stations equipped with such units, and a number of nuclear power stations are already being constructed in accordance with it. Proportionate capital investments and metal expenditure on the construction of these stations have been reduced by approximately 15 percent and labor expenditure on their construction is reduced by 30 percent.

New wheeled excavators with a productivity of 2,500 and 5,000 cubic meters per hour have been created and are being used in large Siberian opencast coal pits. Using them instead of shovel excavators increases labor productivity 1.5-2 times and reduces the cost of the operation by 20 percent and proportionate metal consumption by 30-40 percent.



The completion of the transition to the predominantly intensive path of economic development in the 1980s is a social and political as well as technical and economic task. In terms of its historical dimensions, significance and consequences the current switch to the path of intensive development, the 26th CPSU Congress stressed, rightly ranks with such a profound transformation as socialist industrialization, which fundamentally changed the face of the country.

The intensive path of economic growth characteristic of the stage of mature socialism means that production results should grow more quickly than expenditure on production. The main emphasis is placed on quality indicators--rational utilization of all types of production resources, steady improvement of labor productivity and improvement of labor organization. All this urgently requires the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system and the equipping of all sectors with equipment and technology and the relevant supreme achievements of Soviet and world scientific thought and practice.

The effective solution of any national economic problem in present-day conditions is possible only through technical progress. Thus, highly productive, reliable equipment for fields and livestock units, processing enterprises and transportation--for the entire multisectorial agroindustrial complex--will provide a real basis for the food program currently being formulated. In this case the technical policy is geared to solving successfully and as rapidly as possible tasks connected with fully supplying the Soviet people with foodstuffs.

The party's technical policy is also solving major socioeconomic tasks such as improving labor conditions, erasing the substantial differences between intellectual and physical labor and between the city and the countryside, reducing the amount of unskilled manual labor and eliminating heavy labor.

This is important both in terms of the consistent transformation of labor into the number one vital requirement and in terms of considerably increasing labor productivity, which is of special significance in conditions of reduced manpower growth. We need a more purposeful search for ways of saving live labor above all in areas where the use of machinery can quickly provide substantial economic and social results and ensure a further improvement in production efficiency.

The environmental conservation problem is playing an increasing part in scientific and technical policy. Billions of rubles are already being spent on it. The 26th party congress outlined a system of nature conservation measures in all areas of social production throughout the country.

Even wider use must be made here of the latest scientific and technical achievements, and available resources must be spent as effectively as possible. The intensification of the social direction of scientific and technical policy is also expressed in the expansion of research and development in the sphere of housing construction and architecture, health and people's education.

In short, a Soviet person's entire life--from the earthly to the cosmic, from spiritual works to the organization of everyday life and leisure--is inconceivable without the technical accomplishments necessary for communist creation and

the all-round development of the individual. All this determines the program of scientific and technical transformations outlined for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

## II

A historic achievement of the Soviet economy is the creation of the world's biggest fuel and energy complex and of the bases for the dynamic development of the entire national economy. The strengthening of the fuel, energy and raw materials base of the national economy will continue to be a subject of priority concern for the party. At the same time, since tremendous, ever-increasing volumes of non-renewable natural raw materials, fuel and various materials are already involved in industrial processing and their extraction and production demand increasingly high expenditure, it is necessary to step up the line of economical and rational utilization of everything at our disposal in technical policy and particularly in economic practice.

As the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Stepping Up Work in Saving and Making Rational Use of Raw Material, Fuel, Energy and Other Material Resources" notes, "scientific, technical and structural policy, capital investments policy, the management, planning and incentives system and the initiative of labor collectives" must be targeted toward savings.

In this connection the center of gravity in scientific and technical policy must be shifted toward increasing the efficiency of extraction sectors of industry, ensuring the comprehensive processing of raw materials, introducing resource-saving and energy-saving machinery and technology in all sectors of the economy and bringing secondary resources and byproducts more widely into economic circulation.

The main directions of the long-term energy program which is being elaborated on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative are the improvement of the structure of the fuel and energy balance by means of a substantial reduction in the consumption of oil as a fuel, its replacement with gas and coal and the accelerated development of the nuclear power industry.

The resolution of these tasks is associated with the opening up of major deposits and the construction of energy facilities based on cheap organic fuel, particularly in the east part of the country, the accelerated development of the nuclear power industry in the European part of the Soviet Union, the erection of high-voltage electricity transmission lines, the quest for fundamentally new energy sources and an extension in the use of renewable energy sources. Exceptionally great significance is attached to experience in running a power unit using a fast-breeder reactor at the Beloyarskaya AES, which opens up a qualitatively new stage in the use of nuclear fuel.

A conference held in the CPSU Central Committee on 14-15 July was devoted to questions of developing the nuclear power industry. The conference discussed a whole range of problems associated with ensuring the complete, timely implementation of tasks set by the party for the accelerated buildup of AES capacities. Concrete measures were outlined for improving the organization of their design, construction and operation and for improving the technical standard and quality of power industry equipment. The development of thermonuclear power, as well as the creation of solar and geothermal stations and the extension of the use of wind energy installations, are promising.



At the same time, the modernization of power industry equipment which has outlived its operational life and is uneconomical merits greater attention. The effectiveness of work in this direction is indicated by the example of the Bratskaya GES, where as a result of the modernization of turbines and generators the station's total capacity was increased by 400 megawatts.

Considerable significance for the national economy is also attached to reducing electricity losses in the networks. A quite realistic reduction in losses of only 1 percent, bringing them down to 8 percent, will make it possible to save about 13 billion kilowatt hours per year, which is the equivalent of a saving of more than 4 million tons of standard fuel. Savings in the networks will be achieved thanks to the extensive use of synchronous and static condensers and by means of the establishment of optimum operational schedules for electricity transmission lines.

The urgent task for the oil industry is to extract oil from the ground more fully. During this five-year period it is planned to increase oil extraction from strata in at least 100 oilfields and to obtain nearly 25 million tons more oil as a result.

An important direction in the development of the gas industry is the construction of gas pipelines using pipes with a diameter of 1,420 mm and a working pressure of 75 and later 100 atmospheres. These are more than three times as productive as the gas pipelines constructed formerly.

In the coal industry, open-cut mining will be developed at preferential rates as will, in underground workings, the hydraulic method, which makes it possible to more than double labor productivity and considerably reduce the metal consumption of cleaning equipment.

One central problem of scientific and technical policy is that of strengthening, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said graphically at the congress, the "top stories" of the sectors concerned--the so-called fourth conversion in metallurgy, finishing work in construction, and product finishing in light industry, and also that of ensuring radical improvements in the qualitative characteristics of basic materials and improving the structure of their production and consumption.

In the foreground is the task of significantly improving the quality of metal and its durability, anticorrosion properties and other technical properties, increasing the range available and increasing the output of the most effective types of metal product. There must be all-round improvements in metallurgical production technology--the accelerated development of such directions as continuous steel teeming, powder metallurgy, which opens up wide opportunities for the use of wastefree technology in the manufacture of diverse machine building components, and so forth. At the same time an increasing proportion of the total volume of metals used must be made up of aluminum, certain other nonferrous metals, semiconductors, high purity and special materials and precision alloys.

The role of the chemical, petrochemical and timber and wood processing industries in the production of construction materials is increasing considerably. Polymer and composition materials, plastics, laminated wooden structures and pressed timber components must be used more widely in industrial and civil construction, the

construction of various communications facilities, machines and equipment and the manufacture of household, cultural and consumer goods. This will also make it possible to extend the limits of effective replacement of traditional materials, above all metals.

One clearly expressed trend in scientific and technical progress is the fulfillment of the greatest possible proportion of work at the initial technological stages of product manufacture. The enrichment of the natural raw materials extracted and a significant qualitative improvement in construction and building materials, chemical and petrochemical industry output and, in a word, any materials on the basis of which production begins can provide a substantial gain to society in terms of expenditure on the production of finished industrial articles and in terms of improvements in their quality.

For instance, a substantial expansion in the production of sheet and slab construction materials based on asbestos cement, gypsum and polymers, roll materials and linoleum with adhesive mastics, articles made from glass with sealants and cover gaskets and so forth will make it possible to release thousands of construction workers now engaged in unproductive manual labor on completing and finishing buildings and structures and will sharply reduce the time taken and improve the quality of construction.

The major and complex tasks set in every sector of our economy and every sphere by the 26th party congress, for all their diversity and specific features in each sector, are implemented by means of machinery and technology, which must reflect the latest scientific achievements.

That is why machine building is a really key sector of the national economy and is called upon above all, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report stressed, to "fling open the doors to innovation." For all the indisputable, well-known achievements of our country's machine building, the sector's tremendous scientific and technical potential is still not being utilized efficiently enough. The "basic guidelines" provide for major measures to accelerate the development of machine building in the interests of supplying the national economy more fully with progressive machinery. It is necessary in a short space of time to ensure the startup of series production of new designs of machinery and equipment, to increase their unit capacities and to expand the output of finished machine systems for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production.

Particular urgency is attached to the question of the technical standard and quality of output produced at machine building enterprises. As is known, alongside the increase in the output of new, more progressive machine tools, machines and equipment, we also produce a considerable quantity of obsolete types of machinery. Thousands of tons of metal and other materials in short supply and a considerable proportion of human labor and production capacities are still not infrequently expended, in machine building, on the manufacture of machine tools and machines which are yesterday's technology. Planning organs, machine building ministries and every association and enterprise should carry out a detailed "review" of the machines, equipment and instruments produced and resolutely set a course of producing output which is up to world standards. There is a considerable reserve here for the rational utilization of material resources and manpower to manufacture progressive, highly efficient machinery, and also for increasing labor productivity in the sectors which are consumers of such output.

The congress set a number of new demands and tasks for machine builders. Machinery being developed must not only ensure a reduction in the number of workers but must create the preconditions for the transition to so-called "unmanned" technology. It is particularly important that the transition to such machinery and technology should be made by enterprises undergoing modernization, which must be guided, as a rule, in extending their production capacities by the manpower resources already at their disposal.

Machine building design workers must proceed on the basis, in their creative work, that today the machine or technological device with the best right to series production is the one whose use does not require the involvement of additional workers. Here great significance is attached to the creation and broad introduction of automatic manipulators of various classes and with various functional potentials--from simple devices up to self-programming industrial robots capable of re-setting themselves depending on the conditions of the manufacturing process.

The basic criterion for work in every machine-building sector is the production of machines and equipment which accord as far as possible with the consumer's needs. For instance, for tractor and agricultural machine building this means that there is a need for qualitative progress in machinery for arable farming, stockraising and fodder production. The industrialization of agricultural production demands an increase in the rate of production of large, high-powered plowing and row-crop tractors, the provision of the full "train" of agricultural equipment for these tractors and the improvement of harvesting machines.

In this connection the main component, the core of technical policy in agricultural machine building is the creation of industrial technologies for the countryside and comprehensive mechanization on the basis of machinery systems. Livestock raising and fodder production already receive 75 sets of machinery and equipment whose use makes labor highly productive and makes it possible to save fodder. Complexes of modern machines are used widely for cultivating and harvesting grain crops.

It is important for similar highly developed machinery to be created for the production of the labor-intensive hulled, melon, fodder, industrial and other crops, for tea plantations and so forth. The machine builders, the creators of machinery for the countryside, must make every effort to fill more rapidly "gaps" in the mechanization of manual labor.

The party and the government pay great attention to developing agricultural machine building. Construction projects in this sector are projects of special state importance. The task of construction ministries, central and territorial planning organs and material and technical supply organizations is to waste no time in starting harmonious and efficient work on agricultural machine building construction projects.

It is common knowledge that some agricultural output is not processed because of the inadequate production potential of the food and light industry. These sectors are still receiving less equipment than they need, especially mechanized and automated lines. In many cases the technical standard of the equipment they do receive leaves something to be desired. However, design thinking in our country can offer many progressive solutions such as, for instance, highly productive pneumatic,



rotary and self-twisting spinning machines in the textile industry. But it often takes such equipment many years to make the journey from prototype to series production. In the light of the 26th CPSU Congress instructions regarding the preferential development of the group "B" sectors of industry during the 11th Five-Year Plan, enterprises in the light and food sectors must within a short time be supplied with the equipment they need for the full processing of agricultural output.

In this five-year plan serious attention will be paid to production automation based on using the achievements of microelectronics and radioelectronics. Automated control systems for industrial processes in resource- and energy-intensive production facilities and in sectors with particularly hard working conditions that are harmful to people's health need to be introduced as a matter of priority.

The considerable growth in the industrial equipment pool, the increase in equipment's complexity and the fact that it is packed with electronics, telemechanics and hydraulic automatics make it pressingly and urgently necessary for machine building enterprises to provide to a far greater extent than hitherto qualified installation supervision and equipment debugging, training of cadres of operating personnel, inspections of the condition of machines and other types of technical services. Otherwise the use of extremely expensive and complex machines will often fail to produce the proper end result.

The reduction of output materials- and energy-intensiveness depends to a great extent on machine building and the production of structural materials. An extremely important avenue in this work is to optimize the standard size structure of machines and articles in series production to match the requirements of the national economy.

In a number of sectors an uneconomic correlation has emerged between the scales of production of machines serving the same industrial purpose. About 70-80 percent of all the components now machined on lathes can be manufactured on comparatively lightweight machine tools. Yet the country's machine tool pool and annual output of machine tools are dominated by much more powerful and more energy-intensive equipment whose technical potential is in practice substantially underutilized.

Many metallurgical plants produce heavy standard sizes of rolled metal articles, which means excessive labor and energy expenditure, an unnecessary load on equipment and a great amount of waste and reduces the metal utilization coefficient. Similar inadequacies exist in the production of certain other types of equipment and materials. The scientifically substantiated definition of real national economic needs for the various types of output and the planned improvement of the standard size structure represent an opportunity to substantially reduce losses of resources in the manufacture and utilization of output.

Taking this into account, the 26th CPSU Congress set the tasks, in particular, of constructing small metallurgical plants and creating at major machine building enterprises capacities for the production of the requisite range of economical rolled metal sections. The resolution of these tasks must be reflected in the plans of the relevant ministries, production associations, research institutes and design organizations.

A great role must also be played here by contracts with consumers providing for the production of the range of output, with technical parameters specified in advance, which the consumer needs.

An active lever for carrying out a unified technical policy is the improvement of capital construction. Nowadays prime significance in this sphere is attached to qualitative indicators--commissioning production capacities and fixed capital on time, increasing the return on capital investments, and reducing construction times and the amount of uncompleted construction. These questions were the focus of attention at the conference held at the CPSU Central Committee on 24 July this year, which discussed questions of expediting the commissioning of capacities and projects scheduled for completion in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In many sectors of industry during the 11th Five-Year Plan the minority direction in capital investments will be improving the technical standards of existing enterprises and modernizing them--the outlay on this is recovered, on average, in one-third the time it would be were similar production capacities to be created through new construction. The plan is to limit the construction of new enterprises in every possible way--it will happen primarily in sectors and production processes that ensure progressive shifts in the structure of social production and also bring into economic circulation the fuels, energy, mineral and raw material resources of the country's eastern and northern regions.

The need for the advance, comprehensive and time-coordinated formulation of scientific and technical programs and plans of capital investment is now increasing more than ever. In the process consideration must be given to the prospects of forming territorial production complexes and industrial centers making it possible to shorten transportation and engineering communications and to increase the concentration of the ancillary production and service facilities of the enterprises that are being constructed from scratch or modernized.

The scientific and technical revolution demands the radical improvement of the practice of planning. Just as the efficiency of equipment is to a considerable extent determined at the development stage, the technical and economic indicators of new production facilities--return on capital, profitability, working conditions and the nature of work--are determined in the planning stage.

Plans must make more extensive provision for the use of comprehensive raw material processing, technology that conserves resources, and low-waste, waste-free and energy-saving processes, the extensive use of local types of raw and other materials and the utilization of secondary resources. In the process the conditions must be created for the efficient utilization of new generations of progressive technology. Plans completed earlier must be critically assessed from this viewpoint and the relevant changes must be made to them.

High-quality design is the guarantee of rapid and economical construction--efficient exploitation of the production installations which are constructed, sensible organization of people's labor and daily lives, conservation of the natural environment, and beauty and variety in the architecture of the country's cities and settlements.

The party regards the improvement of planning work as a very important and effective means of implementing a unified technical policy. This is shown by last spring's CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Improve Design Estimate Work," in which the tasks facing planning and surveying organizations are formulated in the light of the demands of scientific and technical and social progress and in accord with the conditions of the switch to the intensive path of development in accordance with the decisions of the 26th party congress.

Large-scale tasks face the transportation sectors, which are called upon to satisfy completely and in timely fashion the needs of the national economy and the population for transportation. As the congress noted, these tasks will be resolved on the basis of a long-term comprehensive program. This is to incorporate all the leading achievements of science and technology. For instance, in railroad transportation, which accounts for more than half the total freight turnover in the country, the increase of lines' carrying capacity involves using heavy and long trains and increasing the capacities of shunting and leading stations via extensive mechanization and automation and the introduction of computer equipment.

Powerful and reliable locomotives for trains of 8,000-10,000 tons and 8-axle gondola cars will enter service; the changeover of the freightcar pool to roller bearings will be largely completed and the pool will be equipped with metal bodies. The durability and wear-resistance of rails will improve; a range of new track machines will be created, which will make it possible to increase the level of mechanization of the main track repair and maintenance operations.

Scientists, inventors and rationalizers, leading workers and production innovators must focus their creative efforts to a still greater extent on solving these and other problems of improving the work of transportation on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

### III

The CPSU's scientific and technical policy is full of Leninist concern for ensuring that in our country science takes an active part in building the new society and is the foundation of "unprecedented progress in production forces" (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 36 p 188). Concentrating qualified cadres in the sphere of science and technical creativity and earmarking vast material and financial resources for its needs, the party and the government gear the efforts of scientists and specialists to the solution of key national economic problems.

The practice of genuine socialism has persuasively shown the possibility and the high effectiveness of the planning administration of such a specific sphere of human activity as the scientific-technical sphere, which belongs to the unified economic complex of the country as an integral component part.

Scientific knowledge and new technology do not have strongly defined branches or territorial boundaries. Yesterday's materials which were developed for the utilization of outer space are already widely used today in various fields of life; in the electronic industry microprocessors which have been created open new capabilities for automation of various technological processes in other fields and in



everyday life. The planned economic system allows, in the interests of society as a whole, for the development of scientific efforts where there exist for this the most favorable conditions--scientific projects in process, cadres, a material and technical base--as well as for utilization of their results in areas of activity where they provide the maximum effect.

Henceforth the party considers it necessary to enhance the role of the state plan as the main instrument in implementing a unified technical policy in developing the national economy. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the importance of the development and implementation of a complex program of scientific-technical progress as the basis for the long-term plans of economic and social development of the country. It is the task of the comprehensive program to identify tendencies of social development, the origin of new requirements, and the capabilities of science and technology in solving new problems, as well as to coordinate the efforts of all links of science and production in implementing the outlined goals. It should include those key national-economic problems on which the efforts of scientists, as well as the resources and funds should above all be concentrated, and it should serve as the basis for the formation of large-scale targeted programs.

The application of the targeted program method of planning the development of science and technology is to be further deepened and expanded in the 11th Five-Year Plan; changes are to be made to the procedure for formulating and to the content of the plans for creating new machinery. During 1981-85, it is planned to implement 38 targeted comprehensive scientific-technical programs envisaging the wide-scale introduction of the most efficient achievements of science and technology into the national economy. Their qualitative difference from previous programs consists of the fact that they embrace all work on new machinery and production processes--from the research stage to the creation of capacities and the mass production of output--and are effective levers for intensifying links between science and production.

It is also intended to carry out 132 programs connected with specific projects for new machinery and production processes. This will accelerate the utilization of scientific achievements in national economic sectors. Over 60 percent of the new machinery, instruments and equipment and 45 percent of the new materials and production processes being developed will be assimilated in industry during the 11th Five-Year Plan. According to preliminary estimates, the economic saving from introducing new machinery and production processes resulting from the implementation of the comprehensive programs in 1985 will be over 25 billion rubles.

It is of exceptional importance in this connection to define correctly the basic guidelines for the development of fundamental science. Academic institutes' research must be focused on elaborating those long-term problems which can provide a weighty contribution to restructuring the country's productive apparatus on the latest technical basis. While striving for the ever-increasing development of fundamental research and for increased effectiveness in applied research, it is necessary to step up the efficiency of technical research in every way and to broaden the use of its results in production.

The decisive and most urgent area now, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed in the congress report, is the introduction of scientific discoveries and inventions. It

is important to strengthen in every way the material-technical and, in particular, the experimental-industrial base of scientific research, planning and surveying and design organizations and VUZes and not to occupy its facilities with mass production output. A situation in which a considerable proportion of scientific research establishments lack the necessary test and experimental base cannot be considered normal.

Progressive forms for organizing scientific research should be used more actively; the work of science-and-production associations should be improved; undersized planning and design organizations should be enlarged and intersectorial scientific research centers should be set up.

Science and production must be brought closer together by means of economic levers, too. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Improving the Planning and Stepping Up the Influence of the Economic Mechanism Toward Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality" laid down specific measures along these lines.

Among these measures we should mention the new procedure for financing scientific research from a single fund for the development of science and technology and the switching of scientific research establishments and industrial associations and enterprises to financially autonomous organization of work on creating new machinery on the basis of schedule orders. The new wholesale prices being introduced in industry from January 1982 will increase the interest of associations and enterprises in producing more efficient industrial and technical products. The prices will contain an incentive increment for new articles whose parameters meet the best domestic and foreign models. The creation and assimilation of new machinery is one of the main criteria for evaluating the results of production collectives' work.

In industry as a whole, the transfer of scientific establishments and planning and design organizations to financial autonomy is complete. Now, within the shortest period of time, ministries, departments and their party organizations must introduce the entire package of measures formulated by the party on improving the economic mechanism and master the rich store of methods for accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The conduct of a unified technical policy within the framework of the close cooperation and pooling of efforts with the fraternal socialist countries in the production, scientific and technical spheres is a characteristic feature of the contemporary stage. The implementation of the comprehensive program of CEMA members' socialist economic integration is yielding perceptible results.

Some 200-300 new or improved designs of machinery, instruments and equipment are being created and hundreds of manufacturing processes and new materials are being formulated annually within the framework of the CEMA members' multilateral cooperation. The scientific and industrial base in computer technology is one of the results of cooperation. Joint work has been performed on environmental protection and on making rational use of natural resources. A number of very important practical results has been achieved in the space research sphere. Bilateral scientific and technical cooperation among CEMA members is also being carried out on a large scale.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties are taking a course toward implementing intensive industrial, scientific and technical cooperation between the socialist community countries in the 80s.

The implementation of a unified technical policy during the 11th Five-Year Plan requires the further stepping up of party organizations' activity in mobilizing all the participants in social production to make fuller use of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy. Supporting the advanced experience of assimilating new machinery and production processes and developing creative initiative, they must link this work more closely with improving output quality and saving resources, materials and work time. Labor collectives are directed to search for more efficient ways of developing production efficiency and intensification by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee resolution "On All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan Targets," which gave a new boost to millions of people's labor enthusiasm.

Party committees have much to do in generalizing and disseminating the existing experience of administering scientific and technical progress and in combining science and production fruitfully. In this context, the work practice of the Ukraine's party organizations deserves great attention. Under Ukrainian CP Central Committee leadership, a system of comprehensive republic, oblast and regional scientific and technical programs has been formulated there. This promoted the introduction into the economy of over 3,000 designs with an overall economic saving of more than 1.5 billion rubles during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan, the Ukraine's scientific establishments, together with its enterprises and associations, will carry out such republic programs as "Energokompleks," "Metall," "Materialoyemkost," "Agrokompleks" and "Sakhar." Valuable experience of party leadership of the implementation of comprehensive scientific and technical programs has been accumulated in the Latvian SSR and in Leningradskaya, Novosibirskaya, Sverdlovskaya and a number of other oblasts.

The initiative of the Muscovites who launched a movement for the wide-scale introduction into production of scientific and technical achievements which make it possible to ensure maximum savings of labor, material and energy resources is being increasingly disseminated. In approving the initiative of the capital's advanced enterprises, the CPSU Central Committee recommended that party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and ministries and departments make active use of their experience. It is important that this initiative be embodied at the stage of formulating counterplans and socialist pledges for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

A weighty contribution to implementing the plans for new machinery and socialist pledges for the technical improvement of production is being made by trade union and Komsomol organizations, scientific and technical societies, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers and the Znaniye Society. The fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan's socioeconomic program makes more urgent the need to further activate these mass social organizations toward developing the creative principles of labor and toward fostering in Soviet workers a proprietorial attitude toward social wealth and the thrifty and economical use of all national economic resources. All this work must be directed toward making the economy more economical.



It is gratifying that the theme of scientific and technical progress and of carrying out the party's unified technical policy is a leading one in the work of the mass information and propaganda media. The patronage by certain press organs of the solution of major scientific and technical problems is a practice which merits attention. The efficiency and specific nature of propaganda and agitation and their link with life and with the solution of economic and political tasks called for by the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Educational Work" are a basis of principle in the approach to propagandizing and elucidating the long-term avenues of the party's unified technical policy.

The wide-scale introduction of scientific and technical achievements under contemporary conditions places the highest demands on the training of cadres at all levels. Although a ramified network of institutes for improving the skills of experts in different sectors has been set up in our country, its work is not always linked in the necessary way to the long-term requirements of technical progress. The USSR Academy of the National Economy is called on to play a more active role, particularly on the methodological plane, in determining the best means and methods for improving experts' skills and training leading cadres.

The decisive shift toward intensive methods of management increases many times the significance of the discipline and individual responsibility of every worker--be he a scientific research institute or laboratory assistant, plant engineer, worker or leader of an association or enterprise--for his own particular task. A feeling of innovation and the ability and desire to struggle for it and for all progressive ventures must be second nature to everyone. The 26th CPSU Congress required an increase in the personal demands made on leaders of departments, enterprises and institutions for the manufacture of new types of products and the introduction of new and advanced production processes. Economic cadres, scientists and experts are greatly committed to this. The party believes that they will rise to the occasion. "It is a question of formulating a style of work," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "which will organically combine execution and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise, a practical nature and efficiency with an aspiration to great aims, and a critical attitude to shortcomings with an unshakable confidence in the historic advantages of our chosen path.

The mobilization of all scientific, technical and industrial potential toward fulfilling the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress of intensifying the economy is a main avenue of implementing the party's economic policy in the 11th Five-Year Plan and for the long term. This is an important, nationwide concern.

CSO: 1802/19

## COMMUNIST PRESS: A CHAMPION OF PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 17-26

[Speech by B. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU secretary, delivered at the international meeting of communist press representatives in Moscow on 6-8 July 1981]

[Text] In an important undertaking, the PRAVDA editorial board arranged a meeting of representatives of communist and workers parties' press. Some communist parties have for years been organizing various projects, including press festivals, and inviting to them representatives of both the newspapers and the central committees of fraternal parties. PRAVDA has always responded readily to invitations to attend such events, which also include various political contacts. This is indeed one of the useful forms of contacts between party journalists, a form of exchanging experience and becoming familiar with party life and the party press.

The participants in this meeting have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the life of our party, to visit the editorial offices of newspapers and other mass media, as well as some party organizations, publishing houses and establishments concerned with culture and the arts. They can see with their own eyes the rich and spiritually full life of the Soviet people, a life which is imbued with peaceful creative labor throughout.

It is "from Moscow to the farthest borders" of our vast country, as a popular song has it, that the nearly 270 million people live and work, building a new world, a new civilization. The salient features of this civilization are most obvious: for half a century now we have been free of the exploitation of man by man, national hostility and strife, unemployment and crisis.

Admittedly, the process of gigantic construction has its difficulties. The party discusses them openly and honestly. The CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "clearly discerns the difficulties, shortcomings and unresolved problems." But these are the pains of growth, and our party is working tirelessly to overcome them.

Some may think that representatives of our party talk too much about living socialism and its achievements. But it is common knowledge that the mass media in the imperialist countries offer their populations a biased and completely negative picture of life in the Soviet Union. They are conducting a permanent anti-Soviet

campaign, in an effort to disparage socialism. This in itself points up the importance of telling the truth about socialism to the working people abroad.

Half a century ago, after visiting the Soviet Union, the great British writer Bernard Shaw declared that the bourgeois newspapers wrote only lies about the USSR. His fellow countrymen, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, after seeing Soviet reality in the same period, described it as a new civilization without a profit drive or unemployment, where the planned development of production served to satisfy social requirements. In speaking of the Soviet Union, the famed American author Upton Sinclair said that never in human history had the masses ever achieved such great successes in culture, politics and economics.

And though the Soviet people have multiplied these achievements many times over since then, antisocialist and anti-Soviet propaganda is continued and even stepped up. And the deeper the contradictions of capitalism, the fiercer the attacks of its ideologists and mass media on living socialism, the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries become.

In order to wage this psychological warfare, a huge propaganda machinery has been set up, costing enormous sums of money. Not so long ago the U. S. Senate approved new allocations for U. S. foreign policy institutions for subversive propaganda. Among these are the International Communications Agency and the International Telecommunications Union. The former got a record sum of a billion dollars, the latter \$ 200 million. The main known mouthpieces of these organizations are the Voice of America and the CIA-controlled Radio Liberty-Free Europe networks. Literally every means is used to slander socialism, its reality, the very ideas of socialism.

The class roots of this "crusade" are obvious. Progressive changes occurring in the world and the peoples' growing thirst for socialist and communist ideals are disturbing the exploiting crust, striking fear and hatred into the hearts of monopoly bosses, captains of capitalist business, millionaires and multi-millionaires who epitomize the ominous alliance of manufacturers of lies and of weapons. The same forces that are making profits out of war preparations are also interested in blackening socialism. So spreading the truth about the Soviet Union and the socialist comity and defending real socialism rank together with the struggle against the danger of war and the arms race, and to save mankind from a global thermonuclear war.

The ideological struggle, which is an essential and integral part of the confrontation between capitalism and socialism, is now concentrated mainly on the issues of war and peace.

Of late there has been a marked intensification in this confrontation. There are many reasons for this but the two main ones will suffice.

The first is one of an enduring nature: the role of public opinion in political life has grown immeasurably in the postwar decades, with mass information and propaganda media becoming a major factor in shaping it. The influence they exert on the character of political problems, including international problems, is great indeed. That is why the battle for public opinion is part of the political strategy of the opposing class forces.



The second reason has to do with the way events have developed at the beginning of the 1980s. This was a period which saw the intensification of anticommunism in the West coalescing with the imperialist doctrine of "antidetente," with anticommunism and the mythical "Soviet threat" becoming its main ideological raison d'etre. One cannot fail to see that this clash of slogans and propaganda drives masks a struggle going on between the two trends in world politics.

The international situation further deteriorated after the new American administration had taken office. The United States openly and cynically says that nuclear war is possible. Not a day passes without American official spokesmen using the bad language of the cold war times with respect to the USSR and other socialist nations. We have to deal with moves and statements that are clearly designed to contaminate the international atmosphere.

According to one view, however, the American administration is allegedly "inexperienced," its course has not been completely shaped, and it is necessary to wait yet a while. In politics, however, it is necessary to work with facts, and the facts vividly show to all who do not deliberately turn a blind eye to the obvious that the U. S. ruling circles--the main force of imperialism--are striving to change the course of world development to their advantage, to drive the forces of peace and socialism back and to undermine them. In fact, this is a global strategy aimed at establishing U. S. imperialist hegemony in international affairs.

This strategy has several substantive components.

First, it is aimed at prejudicing the prevailing military-strategic balance which objectively facilitates the maintenance of universal peace, and attaining military superiority. In pursuit of this aim, this course is being pursued with a view to escalating the arms race, renouncing all the positive achievements in the field of control over nuclear-missile weapons and in other fields in the years of detente, and implementing programs for the development of new types of weapons. In a short while, U. S. military expenditures will be doubled.

This course is justified by the "Soviet military threat" specter to which the American "hawks" and some of the U. S. allies in NATO resort in the context of any problem and any region.

But let us examine the facts.

At one time it was recognized by almost all the governments of the world that SALT-1, SALT-2 and the ABM Limitation Treaty had established approximate parity in the strategic sphere. No one has been so far able to furnish any proof that the situation has changed since. The Soviet Union came out and continues to come out in favor of maintaining strategic parity. This is our position of principle.

For a number of years now both sides have maintained an approximately equal number of medium-range nuclear weapons delivery vehicles in Europe--about a thousand units on either side, including, naturally, corresponding U. S. forward-based nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territory of the USSR, not to mention the territories of its allies. The replacement of old missiles with newer ones has not given any supremacy to the Soviet Union in this field. As for the medium-range weapons at NATO's disposal, even now they can carry 50 percent more

nuclear warheads per launching (sortie) than the corresponding Soviet vehicles. If the United States deploys additional missiles in Western Europe, this will upset the parity in the most dangerous manner, both regionally and globally.

The issue is not limited to Europe alone, however. Japan is being drawn into the arms race with a view to turning her into a stronghold of aggressive forces in the Far East. Attempts are made to set up new militaristic blocs under the aegis of the United States: in the South Atlantic Ocean (on the basis of the racist South African regime and with the participation of some Latin American countries) and in the Pacific (Japan, South Korea and the ASEAN countries) and in the Middle East (here is in fact an Egyptian-Israeli bloc there). The United States is striving to draw ever more countries in to the system of imperialist blocs.

Second, the U. S. ruling circles are doing their utmost to make Washington's allies in NATO and Japan give up detente and follow obediently in the wake of its policy. The long-familiar carrot and stick tactic is being used for this purpose. On the one hand, America's allies are under heavier pressure than ever before, and on the other, they are generously fed with promises.

This was eloquently confirmed at the Rome session of the NATO Council. At that session, American diplomats forced the European member countries into "reaffirming" the "right" of the United States to deploy its missiles in Western Europe regardless of whether negotiations with the Soviet Union on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe are resumed, or at least without waiting for their results. The session convincingly showed that the public statements about the "leading role of the United States" in the world were more than just words. The United States is dictating its will to Western European governments, imposing upon them a course which makes Western Europe an American hostage.

This course is again being justified by profuse talk about a "Soviet threat" and by falsified "estimates" which allegedly show that the Soviet Union has upset European parity in the field of medium-range nuclear weapons.

The third component of the U. S. strategy is a counteroffensive against the national liberation movement and the effort to make up in the social sphere for the setbacks in that zone of the world.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, imperialism is again relying on the methods of "power politics." Washington declares extremely vast regions of the world to be "spheres of U. S. vital interest." Demonstrative support is given to antipopular dictatorial regimes and subversive activities are being intensified against progressive forces. The Rapid Deployment Force is being assembled for police purposes and attempts are being made to draw other NATO countries into this dirty venture. In a bid to disguise this, terrorism is being equated with the legitimate struggle of peoples for their national and social liberation by Washington, and the Soviet Union is being accused of being involved in "international terrorism."

The accusations of terrorism made by the United States are absurd. They are so absurd that even bourgeois press organs ridicule the bogus stories cooked up by the CIA and other departments. What is more, this propaganda invention backfires on its authors. It is precisely the capitalist system which has engendered the bloody wave of terror, of which prominent political and religious personalities, including

top statesmen, have lately become the targets. It is American imperialism which finances and supplies arms to Israeli terrorists who drop bombs on peaceful Arab towns.

Not infrequently, the imperialist mass media use very sophisticated, treacherous methods under the guise of cultural and educational work, appealing to local traditions and religious and national sentiments. This is true, for instance, of the American program of so-called assistance in the creation of national information systems in developing countries. This program is a sort of "Marshall Plan" in the field of information. It is aimed at strengthening the positions of Western propaganda in developing countries under the pretext of aid and preventing the creation of truly independent information services in these states. This is what can be called information imperialism.

If we get to the bottom of the whole meaning of this strategy, we can see that it is based on warmongering anticommunism. Moreover, this is more than verbal anticommunism, confined to propaganda, and it finds expression in practical things, in politics. Now, the escalation of the arms buildup against living socialism and pressure on the United States' allies, as well as the counteroffensive in the Third World, are ultimately all directed against the world communist movement and against the entire liberation movement.

The U. S. President recently proclaimed communism a historical contingency and predicted its inevitable "disintegration" before long. He said this at a time when hundreds of millions of people in scores of countries have firmly adopted the positions of socialism and communism and are in no mood to return to the capitalist fold. More and more people in the capitalist countries see socialist reforms and fighting for socialist ideals as a way out of the crisis.

So all these pronouncements by the spokesmen of the U. S. administration would be so many bad jokes if such views did not serve as the basis for political action on a global scale. The men in Washington appear to believe that everybody else in the world must obey the Americans. But that will never come to pass. No one can arrest the objective and intensifying process of change in the world in the interests of the people.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that politics of this kind can cause much misfortune and suffering. That is why it is so important today to let the peoples see clearly all the dangers imperialism holds in store for them.

The Washington politicians continue to count on "erosion" of the socialist community. At one time they used to speak of "bridgebuilding," but today they have set out without concealment to undermine the prestige of the socialist system and to sow seeds of distrust among the socialist nations. This has been spectacularly evidenced in the way the events in Poland have been exploited for anticommunist purposes.

China is cast in a special role by U. S. global strategy. Washington is no longer satisfied with proclaiming "community of strategic interests" with Beijing and supporting its policy of "antidetente." China has been "promoted" from the division of "communist" nations into that of those "friendly" to the United States.



This reclassification has a most practical background--a decision to supply Beijing with American war equipment, including offensive weapons. Following fresh accords between the U. S. and China, the parties concerned have agreed on how to coordinate their efforts against the Soviet Union. That is to say, not only is Beijing being increasingly drawn into the system of military preparations by the United States and her allies, but it is also practically becoming a party to the imperialist war bloc. Suffice it to mention that China, far from making any secret of it any longer, is boasting in public that it has monitoring stations, with American personnel on the staffs, to gather military and technological intelligence on the Soviet Union.

Hegemonic trends in Chinese politics are developing against this background, as is China's threat to neighboring nations. In short, Beijing's foreign policy is evolving negatively, rather than positively.

So the situation in the world is complicated and perilous. "There is only one conclusion to draw from this," as Leonid Brezhnev has said, "and that is that everything must be done today to block the path of those who are much too fond of unlimited armaments and warlike ventures." Soviet communists hold that it is possible to prevent the world from slipping into a further round of the arms race and military confrontation. To make this possibility a reality, the CPSU and the Soviet government are pressing for the implementation of the Peace Program enunciated by the 26th CPSU Congress, which sets forth three major directions for international politics.

First, to stamp out the existing hotbeds of armed conflict and to create safe political guarantees to ensure that there are no more explosive crises.

Second, to ensure real progress toward limiting the arms race, the nuclear arms race first and foremost.

Third, to resume and deepen the political dialog: notably, the Soviet Union is in favor of a U.S.-USSR summit, with the understanding that it will not involve negotiation for the sake of negotiation, but will provide an opportunity to produce tangible positive results.

Right after the 26th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev sent messages to the leaders of many nations with a view to holding specific consultations and negotiations based on the initiatives announced by the congress, in order to work for appropriate agreements and accords for the sake of peace, detente and disarmament.

These initiatives have been crystalized in Leonid Brezhnev's statements and speeches after the congress, and further steps have been taken to defuse the situation and bring about the talks. The following are the most important of these.

On the problems of military detente in Europe:

First, it has been explained that the proposed moratorium on the deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles in Europe is neither a precondition nor an end in itself, but a move to create the most favorable conditions for negotiating a reduction of nuclear systems stored by the parties concerned in Europe;

Second, it has been declared that the USSR is prepared to suspend the deployment of its medium-range missiles in the country's European regions on the day the negotiations on the substance of the matter begin, provided that the U. S. commits itself likewise to refrain from building up its medium-range nuclear capability in Europe while the talks are in progress. Consent to this proposal would, without prejudice to the outcome of the negotiations, allow the nuclear arms race in Europe to be checked before this year is out;

Third, it has been pointed out that a Western reply to the question of extending the zone of confidence-building measures in their direction--since the Western nations are not yet prepared to give one--could be provided not at the Madrid meeting but later on, at a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

On the problems of creating nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world:

First, there has been a proposal concerning steps to be taken to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace and cooperation;

Second, there has been a statement of readiness to offer all the necessary guarantees to Greece and the countries of North Europe if they declare their countries to be nuclear-free zones, and also to consider some other measures applicable to Soviet territory contiguous to such a zone in the north of Europe.

On the problems of curbing the arms race and improving international relations in general:

First, there has been a statement of readiness to consider resuming the SALT process;

Second, there has been a statement of the need to observe a code of behavior in relations between states based on the principle of equality and generally recognized standards of international law.

Many in the West admit that the Soviet Peace Program is a constructive and realistic reaction to Washington's reckless policy.

There are two lines of action in international politics which are quite distinct today, as are the corresponding two conceptions of negotiations on the problems of limiting the arms race.

The Soviet Union has formulated its line in an expressive and concentrated way in the Appeal to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on June 23. It declared for the whole world to hear: "The Soviet Union is not threatening anyone, nor is it seeking any confrontation with any state, either in the West or in the East. The Soviet Union has never sought, nor is it seeking, military superiority. It has never been, nor will it ever be, the one to initiate any further round in the arms race. There is no type of armaments that it would not be willing to see limited or banned reciprocally in agreement with other states."

The line pursued by the new U. S. administration and the NATO leadership is quite different, as we have seen. They cannot simply refuse to negotiate. Both public pressure and the position of a number of Western European governments compel the U. S. to agree to negotiate with the Soviet Union, but it is laying down all kinds of preconditions, including some that are obviously unacceptable. What is behind them? Evidently, the desire to gain time to carry through the military programs already conceived.

Working for peace and for detente while opposing the escalation of the arms race is not a simple thing. This country is countering the adventuristic line of heightened tensions and speeding up the arms race with its invariable and committed foreign policy. As Leonid Brezhnev has said, "The international situation may change for the worse or for the better, but it is very important not to stray from the right track. We shall work persistently so as to reduce the heat of tensions, to maintain detente and to assure its further development. This is a key question."

Opposition to the aggressive course of the U. S. and NATO is mounting in the widest and most diverse sectors of public opinion. In recent months, the antiwar movement in a number of Western European countries has gained more ground than ever before, perhaps, since the days of Joliet-Curie and the emergence of the peace movement. The public outcry against the nuclear decisions of NATO has spread far and wide in West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Britain, Portugal and other countries. A campaign to support the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe is gaining ground in the Scandinavian countries. In Spain, there is growing opposition to the country's joining NATO. Resistance to the dangerous course of the ruling establishment is making itself felt in the United States proper.

What is typical of the antiwar movement at present is its appreciably broadened social and political base. Leftist forces participating in it find themselves cooperating with influential elements in bourgeois political parties, including some that form part of government coalitions, as well as high-place sections of the clergy. Among the organizations involved in it, one finds the environmentalists, known as the "green" force, as well as prominent scientists and servicemen (high-ranking ones, quite often) and representatives of the business world. The increased antiwar sentiment among social democrats is particularly noteworthy.

The partisans of aggressive policies are going all out in a large-scale propaganda effort to reduce the intensity of the antiwar movement. On the one hand, they want to hammer home the idea that there is no reason for concern and that everything will be all right in due course. It is in this sense, in particular, that they have been interpreting the decisions of the NATO ministerial session in Rome in a bid to lull and defraud public opinion.

At the same time, the opponents of detente are seeking to cultivate a feeling of fatalism and disbelief in the possibility of doing anything at all in the face of "superpower" confrontation. Both of these political propaganda lines are designed to demoralize the antiwar movement.

The communist and workers parties are now being challenged to fight a propaganda battle. Those who are imposing it on them aim to falsify and denigrate the course which the communists are pursuing and to justify the aggressive policy of making material preparations for war and intensified confrontation. Therefore, the CPSU focuses its ideological work both at home and abroad on such objectives as:



Conclusive and realistic demonstration of the real danger of thermonuclear war looming over mankind. Well-argued and easy-to-understand explanation of the causes behind the present international tension, identifying those responsible for it, is of paramount importance in this context;

Indication of the possibilities and actual means of preventing a world war. Special emphasis must be given to explanation of the fundamental assessments and conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress and its peace program for the 80s;

Refutation of anticommunist and anti-Soviet bourgeois propaganda fabrications about the foreign policies of and domestic developments in socialist countries.

The experience in the work of the Soviet press is definitely attracting the attention of the progressive foreign press. What is the most essential thing with regard to the role of the press in party life, in our social and political system? The starting point in this connection is the principle formulated by V. I. Lenin: the newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, but it is a collective organizer as well. Through the press, the party communicates with the masses, explains its policies and mobilizes the working people for the accomplishment of practical tasks. The press makes it possible to gain a better knowledge of the people's views and helps mold public opinion. The party directs the work of the press in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles corresponding to the vital interests of socialist society as a whole.

The Soviet press represents an integral and very important component in the system of socialist democracy. The party has a special role to play in making a reality of such features of socialist democracy as the citizens' involvement in running the affairs of society and the state, and in ensuring the publicizing and effectiveness of people's control. This press role has been codified in the Constitution of the USSR, which guarantees freedom of speech and declares persecution for criticism to be inadmissible and punishable.

Here are some figures to illustrate the scope of our press and its prominence in public life. We have over 8,000 newspapers with a total one-time circulation of about 173 million. They include 31 nationally distributed papers, 158 republican and several hundred local papers--territorial, regional, city and district. Many major plants and offices have their own papers. The trade unions, the Young Communist League and other mass organizations have their own periodicals. There are specialized newspapers dealing with industry, construction, transport, agriculture, and other economic activities. Writers, artists, musicians, theatrical workers and people engaged in other areas of cultural activity, as well as in health services, education and sport, have newspapers and magazines of their own. Our country produces over 5,000 magazines and magazine-type periodicals with a total one-time circulation of up to 200 million. Clost to 1.8 billion books and pamphlets come off the press every year.

Thus the spectrum of the Soviet press is exceptionally broad and varied. A feature that is typical of the Soviet press is worth stressing in particular--namely its close ties with the mass of readers--a kind of feedback confirmed by a more than half century of practice. Soviet newspapers receive about 200,000 letters a day--between 60 and 70 million a year. In their letters, readers raise both problems of state and local importance and personal questions, set forth specific

proposals, reveal shortcomings and criticize those to blame. In this connection, it is possible to say that our newspapers are created by the work and intellect of not only career journalists but, in fact, the entire people.

The second feature which should be mentioned is the participation of the press in tackling the tasks advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress in the field of domestic policy. Many sectors of ideological work are being restructured in this context with a view to making the forms of such work correspond to the present-day demands of the Soviet people and its content increasingly deep and diversified. This, by the way, is the chief meaning of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work which was adopted 2 years ago.

Soviet journalists are making a great contribution to the propagandizing of the achievements and advantages of socialism and to the generalization and dissemination of the advanced experience of working collectives, regions and republics, of everything new and valuable which comes into being in the course of socialist competition. The Soviet press popularizes progressive methods of management, labor organization, and the introduction of new technology, as well as ways to enhance labor efficiency and improve work quality. Newspapers have a major role to play in stimulating creative quests in all the spheres of economic and cultural construction.

Our press pays much attention to the cultural life of society, and this attention is increasing constantly. The point at issue is the further boosting of the people's general culture, the high level of which is one of the great gains of socialism, the satisfaction of complex and diversified cultural requirements, the creation of a healthy moral atmosphere in society and the struggle against negative phenomena in the behavior of part of the people and in their attitude toward one another and toward work, among other things. The most burning issues of social life, the assessment of the cultural phenomena of the past and the present, problems of justice, education of youth, the historical legacy of our peoples, their revolutionary traditions and many others are the subject of interesting discussions in the pages of our newspapers, which attract a broad range of participants. Very frequently such discussions are of a rather critical nature, but they are always constructive and businesslike. In a word, the Soviet press plays the most active part in molding the new man based on high ideological and moral principles and the spirit of the internationalist fraternity of the peoples living in our great multiethnic country. At the same time, it fulfills another function--in the sphere of ideological struggle.

Soviet journalists see it as their duty to provide a timely and well-reasoned rebuff to attacks from outside on the socialist system and on the domestic and foreign policies of the party and the state. Graphically speaking, they see it as their duty to take aim at those trends in hostile foreign propaganda which are daily coming to the fore, and to do this aptly and eloquently, in the best traditions of Soviet party journalism.

The CPSU constantly concentrates also on such questions as the reaction of party, public and state organizations to press publications. The CPSU Central Committee demands that all organizations display an attentive attitude to press materials,

and that facts be thoroughly checked and studied. The party makes it incumbent upon them to react to criticisms which appear in the press and to take specific steps to eliminate the shortcomings exposed by the press. Under law, this is an obligation of all establishments and each executive.

The third aspect which should be mentioned is the work of the Soviet press in the international sphere. Our newspapers systematically acquaint readers with life in other socialist countries and actively contribute to the strengthening of international solidarity with their peoples. The press strives to cover various sides of life in these countries, concentrating attention on their specific experience in resolving economic and social problems and on the equal and mutually advantageous character of their cooperation. The 26th CPSU Congress stressed the need to study and utilize the experience of other socialist nations, and the press has much to do in this field. All this is also of tremendous importance for internationalist education and for the acceleration of our common progress.

Soviet journalists working abroad as correspondents strive to cover the life and activities of communist and workers parties in nonsocialist countries and their selfless struggle for the interests of their peoples. They use specific examples to illustrate the struggle full of deprivations and dangers of communists for their ideal. Soviet press organs show constant concern for the strengthening of the internationalist solidarity of the Soviet people with the international working class and the national liberation movements.

The organization of information on other international affairs issues is also being constantly improved. The party orients the press toward the expansion of the themes, volume and geography of reports, toward making information more meaningful and functional, and toward enhancement of the quality of the materials used in the press. It is no exaggeration to say that the Soviet people are very well informed in the field of international affairs. Our people have more and better knowledge of many countries, their policies and problems than the citizens of nonsocialist countries have about us.

An unswerving and lively interest in everything connected with the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism is one of the best traditions of the Soviet press. Our press writes about the most varied themes in this context. A current theme in the Soviet press is solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and support for the just cause of the Palestinians. The Soviet press wrathfully condemns the apartheid regime in South Africa. It resolutely supports the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Mozambique, the Congo, Kampuchea and other Afro-Asian countries against the aggressive activities of imperialism and its accomplices. Another current theme in our press is the situation of Latin American countries and the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against dictatorial regimes and imperialist exploitation, for freedom and independence. In the past few years, newspapers have been paying more and more attention to the problems and experience of the newly-independent countries which have embarked on the road of socialist development.

In the complicated international situation prevailing now that the ideological struggle has sharply intensified, the communist press has a great and responsible

role to play in the international arena. In this context, it is useful to promote cooperation among the newspapers of the fraternal parties and to expand the exchange of experience, using various forms dictated by life.

Cooperation among the organs of the communist press also facilitates greater familiarity for communists with the life and struggle of the fraternal parties, thereby contributing to the cause of the communist movement in general.

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## RESULTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY'S ELECTRIFICATION

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[Article by A. Lalayants, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman]

[Text] The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress paid great attention to the development of the electric power industry and the further electrification of the country as an important factor in the intensive development of the entire national economy.

The fundamental principles of electrification were developed under V. I. Lenin's direct guidance, in the GOELRO Plan. They called for the creation and faster development of the electric power industry, the concentrated and centralized production of electric power through the building of large electric power plants, connected with power transmission cables, and, on this basis, the development of industrial and agricultural production and transportation through the technical retooling of the economy and the orientation toward domestic fuel-energy resources and hydraulic power. This marked the beginning of the comprehensive approach to planning the development of the electric power industry in connection with the development of all economic sectors and the rational deployment and utilization of production forces; the foundations of national economic planning were laid. The systematic implementation of Lenin's ideas ensured the successful development of the domestic electric power industry and of the entire national economy.

The history of the post-October Revolution development of the electric power industry in our country is one of the vivid implementation of Lenin's course in economic development. Starting with the GOELRO Plan, the party considered the electric power industry a structural and inseparable component of the fuel-energy complex of the entire national economy. That is why, initially, when the country had not created as yet a powerful fuel industry and was short of transportation facilities, the building of electric power plants was planned essentially on the basis of the utilization of local types of fuel (coal, peat) and hydraulic power. This approach enabled us radically to reorganize the fuel balance in accordance with the country's economic potential over a 10-15 year period. Sixty percent of the 2 billion kilowatt hours produced in prerevolutionary Russia was based on petroleum; the other 40 percent was produced with Donetsk and imported coal. In 1930 petroleum accounted for no more than 40 percent of the electric power produced. The rest was produced with peat, hydraulic power and local coal. The first big electric power plant--the Volkhov GES imeni V. I. Lenin, the Bozsuyskaya GES near Tashkent, Yerevan GES and Zeml-Avchal'skaya GES near Tbilisi--were commissioned in 1926-1927. The Dneprovskaya GES imeni V. I. Lenin, the biggest in Europe, was commissioned in October 1932.

The basic principles of the GOELRO Plan and the methods for their implementation became the foundations of subsequent five-year plans for the development of the national economy in the prewar period.

By 1940 installed capacity at all electric power plants had already reached 11.2 million kilowatts, including 1.6 million generated by the GES, while electric power production had reached, respectively, 48.6 and 5.2 billion kilowatt hours. The development of centralized heat supplies to cities and industrial enterprises was achieved. Regional power systems were developed in all basic industrial regions. They included heat condensation electric power plants and thermoelectric and hydroelectric power stations. This made it possible not only to increase the production of electric power but to ensure the qualitative reorganization of the power industry.

The electrification of the national economy was the basis for the tempestuously developing existing and the creation of new industrial sectors. Compared with 1913, by 1940 industrial electric power consumption had increased by a factor of 22 and the volume of industrial output had risen by a 7.7 factor. Enterprises producing steam turbines, electric power generators, big electric power engines, metallurgical equipment and tractors were created. The chemical and petrochemical industries developed.

The country's further electrification was disturbed by the attack launched by Fascist Germany against the USSR. Sixty large electric power plants, with a total generating capacity of 5.8 million kilowatts, were made unusable. By 1942 electric power production had dropped to 29 billion kilowatt hours. Operating under difficult wartime conditions, the Soviet power workers dismantled the equipment in the frontal areas and moved it to the rear, where the electric power base of the defense industry was being developed extremely rapidly. Between 1 July 1941 and 1 January 1946 capacities for generating 4.7 million kilowatts had been installed (primarily in the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia).

Side by side with the restoration of industry, the electric power industry was being restored and developed on a priority basis as Soviet territory was being liberated from the enemy and, particularly, after the end of the war.

By 1950 electric power production had already reached 91.2 billion kilowatt hours and installed electric power generating capacities, nearly 20 million kilowatts. The shape of the electric power industry changed unrecognizably in the course of the subsequent 30 years. By the end of 1980 installed electric power plant capacity was about 270 million kilowatts and 1.295 trillion kilowatt hours of electric power were generated. The technical base of the power industry and the structure of the production of electric power had changed radically.

Currently our country's power industry is based on thermoelectric power plants. The role of nuclear power plants is rising steadily. In 1980 thermal and nuclear electric power plants generated more than 1 trillion kilowatt hours, or 86 percent of the entire electric power generation of the country and their installed capacity reached 214 million kilowatts. The same year hydroelectric power plants produced 184 billion kilowatt hours of electric power with an installed capacity of 52 million kilowatts.

The country's growing needs for electric and thermal power, the scale of its output and the rising outlays of organic fuel urgently called for increasing the effectiveness of the production of thermal and electric power, reducing specific fuel outlays for its generation and saving on capital investments while, at the same time, reducing the time needed for the building of electric power plants.

Raising the unit power of the turbines and the parameters of heat carriers, the development of new and more economical thermal systems and equipment prototypes and construction industrialization and mechanization of construction and installation operations became the main means for the solution of these problems.

Between 1950 and 1980 the development of heat power engineering was essentially based on heat condensation electric power plants with power generating units with a capacity of 200,000, 300,000, 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatts, and at heat and electricity generating power plants of 80,000, 100,000, 135,000 and 250,000 kilowatts. The first 1.2 million kilowatt capacity power generating unit in the USSR was installed at the Kostroma GRES in 1980.

At the end of 1980 the overall installed capacity of condensation power generating units developing between 150,000 and 1.2 million kilowatts exceeded 100 billion kilowatts. In other words, it accounted for about 50 percent of the installed capacity of all thermal power stations using organic fuel. The total generating capacity of modern equipment for supercritical steam parameters—power generating units with a capacity ranging between 300,000 and 1.2 million kilowatts—totals more than 50 million kilowatts.

Under the conditions of the economy developing on a planned basis the systematic expansion of centralized production and delivery of electric power to the national economy, the high growth rates of heat-intensive sectors, particularly the chemical, petrochemical, paper manufacturing, machine building and other industries, and the considerable increase in household heat consumption raised a new and most important problem, that of centralized heat supplies as the most advanced and most effective method for supplying the national economy with heat (specific fuel expenditures for the production of electric power in a thermoelectric power station are 35 to 40 percent lower than at condensation stations; in the generation of heat they are 18 to 20 percent lower compared with local boiler facilities which account for 30 percent of the generated thermal energy to this day).

The Soviet Union is the homeland of power-and-heat generation and it is the undisputed world champion in terms of the scale of the combined production of electric and thermal power. Heat and electric power stations account for one-third of all thermoelectric power plants in the country. They generate more than one-half of the entire centralized production of heat. Currently the length of the main heat transport grids has reached 18,000 km. In 1980 centralized heat sources generated 2.262 billion gigacalories of heat. Thermoelectric power plants and peak boiler-rooms accounted for 51 percent. The current installed capacity of thermoelectric power stations is 74 million kilowatts.

The measures which were implemented, such as increasing the individual capacity of power units and raising the parameters of heat-carrying steam, the combined production of heat and electric power at thermoelectric power plants, the production of new economical equipment and the development of more advanced heat-generating



systems made it possible to lower conventional fuel outlays for the generation of electric power from 590 grams per kilowatt hour in 1950 to 328 grams per kilowatt hour in 1980 and, respectively, in the production of heat energy, from 194.9 to 173 kg per gigacalorie. At the current level of output this provides a saving of more than 450 million tons of coal per year for the production of electric and heat power, or nearly 65 percent of the coal extracted by the entire coal mining industry last year.

Extensive research was conducted in our country between 1970 and 1980 on the development of equipment for the production of electric power through more economical means, involving the use of the steam-gas cycle, the magnetohydrodynamic method and gas turbines. A 250,000-kilowatt power generating unit, in which the hot gases which leave the turbine machine unit generating 40,000 kilowatts are used in the boiler of the 210,000-kilowatt power generating unit, was installed at the Moldavian GRES last year. The head MGD-500 magnetohydrodynamic power generating unit, with a 500,000-kilowatt capacity, will be the first such installation in the world to be installed at the Ryazan' in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The use of such power-generating units, produced serially, will make it possible to raise the utilization coefficient of organic fuel between 8 and 30 percent and will inaugurate a qualitatively new stage in the development of electric power engineering.

The need for the accelerated commissioning of capacities at thermoelectric power plants between 1950 and 1980 called for considerably raising the level of construction industrialization, technology and methods. The comprehensive use of prefabricated structures for buildings and installations, reduced construction sites and length of engineering systems of electric power plants, and the increased level of mechanization of construction and installation operations contributed to the solution of this problem. Currently, prefabricated structures for the ground part of main buildings, heat delivery projects and some other auxiliary premises of thermoelectric and region hydroelectric plants has reached 75-80 percent. This confirms the high level reached in construction industrialization.

The great successes achieved in the construction of thermoelectric power plants (Ladyzhin, Zaporozh'ye, Ryazan', Kostroma, Reftinskaya and many others) are the result of the joint and creative efforts of engineering and design organizations of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification--the Teploelektroproyekt and Orgenergostroy institutes, many enterprises and organizations of machine building ministries and construction installation collectives.

Today heat and power generating complexes of national importance, such as the Ekibastuz, Zapadno-Sibirskiy, Kansk-Achinsk and others, are being constructed on the basis of the building of high-capacity electric power stations.

The personnel of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification have made a considerable contribution to the development of thermoelectric power stations. A great deal of credit is due to the builders of the biggest thermoelectric power plants--the construction and installation workers. Thus, Viktor Dmitriyevich Yelizarov, head of a team in a brigade of fitters and installation workers of the Uralenergomontazh Trust, has taken active part in the building of many power plants throughout the country. Since 1969 he has assembled the turbines of the Reftinskaya GRES, the biggest power plant in the country, as the head of the leading



team of the fitter-installation worker brigade which has repeatedly earned the title of "Best Brigade of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification." By 1 May 1979 the collective had completed ahead of schedule its planned assignment for the 10th Five-Year Plan in terms of the volume of work. V. D. Yelizarov, instructor of young people, energetic social activist and party member, was awarded the USSR State Prize in 1980 for outstanding labor accomplishments and the development of creative cooperation with related collectives.

In the 9th and 10th five-year plans governmental awards were bestowed upon leading collectives of power construction workers of the Uglegorsk and Zaporozh'ye GRES and the Uralenergomontazh, Sibelektroset'stroy, Yuzhteploenergomontazh and Yuzhelektroset'stroy trusts.

Hydroelectric power plants have been and will continue to be of tremendous importance in the development of the electric power industry. The development of hydroelectric power in our country is based primarily on the development of comprehensive hydraulic power centers which make it possible, along with the generation of electric energy, to resolve a number of hydrological problems, such as land irrigation, water supplies to cities and industrial projects, development of navigation and flood prevention. Let us recall that the construction of Dneprovskaya GES imeni V. I. Lenin marked the successful beginning of the development of hydraulic power engineering. Dneprostroy was not only a school in terms of the scale, pace and mechanization of operations but also for labor standards and high quality. Dneprostroy became the starting point of the entire subsequent development of hydraulic power engineering in our country.

A big group of hydraulic power construction workers acquired experience and knowledge at Dneprostroy. This made possible the high pace of construction in the subsequent stage of hydroengineering construction which involved the construction of hydroelectric power plants of the Volga-Kama chain—the Volga GES imeni V. I. Lenin, the Volga GES imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS, the Saratov, Gor'kiy, Nizhnekamsk and other GES.

The development of the hydraulic power resources of the Volga and Kama rivers was completed with the construction of the Nizhnekamsk and Cheboksary GES and the creation of a deep navigation channel along their entire length. The construction of the Bratsk GES was undertaken in 1954. This marked the beginning of the development of hydraulic power resources in the eastern part of the country. Additionally, other electric power plants were built such as the 6-million-kilowatt Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, Ust'-Ilim and other GES.

Hydraulic power construction was extensively developed in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Transcaucasus. Very big hydroelectric power plants were built in these areas, such as the Nurek, Bukhtarminskaya, Charvak, Ingurskaya and others. Currently construction is under way in Siberia of the 6.4-million-kilowatt Sayano-Shushenskoye GES on the Yenisey River; its first power-generating units developing a 640,000-kilowatt generating capacity each are in operation. The Zeyskaya, the Vilyuysk and Ust'-Ilim GES will be generating power in the Far East. The Kolyma GES in Magadanskaya Oblast is under construction.

Between 1950 and 1980 the Soviet hydraulic power construction workers successfully resolved problems of building hydraulic power centers on soft foundations, the construction of high concrete dams and dams made of local materials on rock foundations, including some in areas with higher seismic activity.

In our country hydroelectric power construction is of great importance. The point is that hydroelectric stations use permanently renewable hydraulic power resources, thus saving fuel for other national economic needs, and generating the most inexpensive electric power; they are also used as the most effective source for meeting peak daily power requirements. Hydroelectric power plants were the basis for the creation of new industrial centers and territorial production complexes, such as the Bratsk-Ust'-Ilim, Yuzhno-Tadzhikskiy and others. The construction of hydroelectric power stations is a special, very important and outstanding stage in the development of our country's electric power industry. The brigades headed by Heroes of Socialist Labor Aleksey Grigor'yevich Oleynikov, head of a brigade of steelmen at Ingurigesstroy, Valeriy Aleksandrovich Poznyakov, head of a concrete dam building brigade of Krasnoyarskgesstroy, Aleksey Avramovich Lysenko, head of a brigade of excavator workers at Nurekgesstroy and Vasilii Vasil'yevich Antonov, head of a brigade of fitters-assembly workers, Dneprovskiy Installation Sector, Spetsgidroenergomontazh Trust, have covered themselves with unfading glory.

Party member Konstantin Ardem'yevich Dorogov has headed a brigade of electric power transformer assembly workers for more than 16 years. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, the brigade headed by K. A. Dorogov, working at the construction projects of the Gidroelektromontazh Trust, installed more than 50 transformers with an overall generating capacity in excess of 21.6 million kilowatts at the Ust'-Ilim, Zeya and Sayano-Shushenskoye GES and other power projects in Eastern Siberia and the Far East. After signing the "Contract of the 28" (the "Sayanskoye Concord"), his brigade launched the initiative of "Working Without Defects and Rejects and Completing Projects With Good or Excellent Rating." As an experienced instructor of young people, in the 10th Five-Year Plan Dorogov trained 45 young workers and brigade leaders. K. A. Dorogov was awarded the USSR State Prize in 1980 for outstanding labor accomplishments and development of creative cooperation with related collectives.

Due to the increasing scarcity of organic fuel, the construction of nuclear electric power plants assumed particular importance in the last decade. Today our country has great experience in the designing, construction and operation of AES [Nuclear Power Plants] and the designing and manufacturing of the specialized equipment they need. For this reason we can consider nuclear power as a technically mastered and economically competitive new large-scale resource for the production of electric and thermal energy.

In the USSR the development of AES has been based on the use of two types of reactors: plant, with water under pressure (VVER), and canal water-graphite (RBMK). In addition to gaining extensive experience, this solution made it possible to involve in the production of specialized AES equipment a wide circle of machine building enterprises. This was particularly important in the initial stage of the organization of nuclear machine building.

The nuclear power industry in the USSR followed the line of rapid increases in the unit power of energy-generating units. In the case of the VVER reactors, subsequent to the initial experimental-industrial systems installed at the Novovoronezh AES, it was decided to undertake the construction of a series of power units generating 440,000 kilowatts. At the same time, the design and, subsequently, the construction of a big series of AES was undertaken, using VVER-1000 reactors,

developing the unit capacity of 1 million kilowatts, the first of which was completed at the Novovoronezh AES in 1980. Usually, energy units with water-graphite RBMK reactors have a generating capacity of 1 million kilowatts. However, reactors of this type, but with a 1.5 million kilowatt generating capacity, will be used at the Ignalina AES, whose construction is already underway.

In the USSR nuclear electric power plants are being built as big power engineering complexes whose full installed capacity will range between 4 and 6 million kilowatts.

Big nuclear electric power plants, such as the Leningrad AES, with a 3-million-kilowatt capacity, Novovoronezh, with 2.5 million kilowatts, and Chernobyl'skaya and Kursk AES, with 2 million kilowatts each, and others, have been in operation from the beginning of 1981.

New directions in nuclear power engineering were developed in the 10th Five-Year Plan, enabling us to increase drastically nuclear fuel resources: reactors with fast neutrons and liquid-metal cooling. The biggest system of this kind in the world, with a 600,000-kilowatt generating capacity, was commissioned at the Beloyarsk AES.

With a view to raising the level of centralized heat supplies in the immediate future, the development of nuclear heat and electric power centrals (ATETs) and nuclear heat supply stations (AST) has been undertaken along with the development of AES. They will substantially wipe out our resource shortages in the European part of the country, be more economical and, compared with older heat-generating sources, will reduce environmental damages.

Between 1970 and 1980 the organizations of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification did considerable work to industrialize the construction of nuclear power plants. New assembly-monolithic reinforced concrete structures for the main buildings and auxiliary AES projects were developed and used. This considerably reduced construction time.

The envoys of the Leninist Komsomol, which has undertaken to sponsor the development of the country's nuclear power industry, are doing shock work at the building of nuclear electric power plants. Using the best available experience, the brigade of assembly workers at the construction site of the Novovoronezh AES, headed by Aleksandr Makarovich Grigor'yev, applied the system of continuous installation of reinforcing cages and advance consolidation of structures. It used installation of equipment it manufactured itself, thus lowering labor outlays. The Komsomol members fulfilled their 10th Five-Year Plan assignment on the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. In 1980 the Komsomol-youth assembly workers' brigade of the Novovoronezh AES sector was awarded the "From Heroes of the Five-Year Plans and Labor Veterans to the Best Komsomol-Youth Collective" Red Challenge Banner.

A Komsomol-youth brigade of plasterers and painters, headed by Anna Mikhaylovna Kalinina, has been working at the construction site of the Kursk AES since 1974. Her communist labor brigade overfulfills its production norms year after year. In 1979 this collective was awarded the title of best Komsomol-youth brigade of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, while the brigade leader became Lenin Komsomol Prize laureate. The same high title was awarded to Tamara Alekseyevna Vytkina, head of a plasterers' brigade at the Kol'skiy AES.



We must point out, however, that the plan for the commissioning of AES capacities has not been fulfilled for the past 2 years. In 1980 the second 440,000-kilowatt unit at the Rovno AES and 1 million kilowatt generating units at the Chernobyl' and Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES were not commissioned. Unquestionably, this is having an adverse influence on the balance of the generating of power of electric power plants and of power supplies to the European part of the USSR. Insufficient measures are being taken to lower the cost of AES construction. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and its scientific research and design organizations and production and construction subunits must eliminate such serious work shortcomings within the shortest possible time. Naturally, in this connection the efforts of producers and suppliers of power equipment and complementing items--the machine building collectives of the Ministry of Power Machine Building, Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and other ministries--will be very important in this respect.

The development of a widespread system of high-tension electric power grids which make possible the transmission of huge amounts of electric power to consumer areas with minimum losses and with the stable parallel work of electric power plants and entire power generating systems is a most important prerequisite for the efficient utilization of the steadily increasing generating capacities of power plants and for upgrading their operational effectiveness. The GOELRO Plan itself called for the installation of 110-kilovolt power transmission cables. The first 220-kilovolt power transmission cables were laid for the first time by the postwar power industry in the country. At the beginning of 1980 the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification had 111,000 km of 220- and 330-kilovolt power transmission cables, 25,000 km of 400- and 500-kilovolt power transmission cables and 2,500 km of 750-kilovolt power transmission cables. The overall length of electric power grids of all tensions in the country exceeded 4 million km.

Such developments in electric power grids enabled us not only to provide regional electric power supplies from a single center but also to create the necessary conditions for the organization of the USSR Unified Power System (EES) which covers today a territory in excess of 10 million square km with a population of about 220 million people.

Currently the EES (European part, Siberia and Kazakhstan) includes the parallel work within a unified regimen of more than 900 power plants whose installed capacity accounts for 83 percent of the generating power of all electric power stations in the country. This power system, one of the biggest in the world, is controlled from a single center equipped with modern computers and using an automated control system.

In 1978 the USSR power system was linked with the joint systems of the European CEMA-member countries, on a parallel basis, and was linked with the power grids of Mongolia, Finland, Norway and Turkey. The development of the EES in the USSR considerably improved the reliability and effectiveness of power production and supply. The use of this combined system alone saved 12 million kilowatts of installed capacity.

The achievements of the electric power industry in our country have been inseparably linked with the creation and development of capital construction and machine building bases. Currently power projects are constructed essentially by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, which is one of the biggest contracting ministries with



a volume of construction and installation work worth about 6.5 billion rubles per year and with a developed construction industry base and skilled cadres with extremely rich and unique experience in power industry construction. The existence of a developed construction industry base enabled the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification to ensure on a modern technical level the construction and commissioning of powerful electric power plants and of heavy duty 500- and 700-kilovolt power transmission lines.

A number of noteworthy fully equipped cities and urban type settlements and communal and cultural-consumer facilities have been built in order to provide housing and living conditions to workers engaged in power construction, operation of electric power plants and power system, design and scientific research organizations, plants and industrial power construction enterprises. A good reputation is enjoyed by the cities and settlements built at the Novovoronezh and Beloyarsk nuclear electric power plants, the Zaporozh'ye and Kostroma GRES, the Bratsk and Sayano-Shushenskoye GES and many others. However, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification is not providing a prompt solution to such problems everywhere. The construction of housing at the Chernobyl' and Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES and elsewhere is experiencing considerable delays.

The power engineering industry of the USSR is entirely based on domestic equipment, whose features match the best world standards and, in many cases, are superior to them. A separate ministry--the Ministry of Power Machine Building--was set up for the production of thermoengineering equipment for thermoelectric, hydraulic and nuclear power plants. It includes big enterprises such as the "Izhorskiy Zavod" imeni A. A. Zhdanov Production Association, which is the main supplier of reactor equipment for the AES; the Atomash Plant, the first section of which was commissioned in the 10th Five-Year Plan; the "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Turbine Manufacturing Production Association; the "Khar'kovskiy Turbinnyy Zavod" imeni S. M. Kirov Nuclear Turbine Manufacturing Production Association; the Krasnyy Kotel'shchik Production Association; the Machine Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze in Podol'sk and many other enterprises and associations.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone the Ministry of Power and Electrification enterprises produced steam generating turbines with an overall generating capacity of 63 million kilowatts, and hydraulic turbines with a 15.5-million-kilowatt generating capacity, steam boilers with an output in excess of 10 tons of steam per hour and an overall steam production capacity of 267,000 tons per hour, high-pressure station and turbine pipelines for 242,000 tons and large quantities of other equipment.

The "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Production Association mastered the manufacturing of single-shaft turbines for the Kostroma GRES, with a 1.2-million-kilowatt generating capacity for 250-atmosphere steam pressure, 540/540 degree temperature and 3,000 revolutions per minute. The same plant is preparing the manufacturing of a K-1000-60/3000 type turbine, generating 1 million kilowatts with 3,000 rpm for work at AES.

The Ministry of Power Machine Building has developed the necessary capacities for the production of generators, transformers, high-tension equipment, cables and other items. It operates big enterprises such as the Elektrosila Electrical Machine Building Association in Leningrad, which produces turbogenerators with a capacity ranging from 60,000 to 1.2 million kilowatts, hydraulic power generators

for the biggest domestic and foreign hydroelectric power plants, nuclear reactor control and safety systems and other types of electric power equipment; the Elektrot'yazhmash imeni V. I. Lenin plant in Khar'kov; the Sibelektrot'yazhmash Heavy Electrical Machine Building Plant in Siberia; the Uralektrot'yazhmash imeni V. I. Lenin Heavy Electrical Machine Building Plant in the Urals, and many others.

Plans were drafted and capacities created for the manufacture of the necessary instruments and equipment jointly by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, with a view to automating control in the production of electric and thermal power. This drastically improves the economic effectiveness of power engineering manufacturing. The creation of major capacities of construction and machine building organizations, under the direct guidance of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, will enable us to ensure the further independent development of our electric power industry--one of the main components of the fuel and energy complex and of the entire national economy.

The efficient structure of the heat and power balance is a most important prerequisite for the normal functioning of the electric power industry and the economy at large. Because of the high effectiveness and convenience of electrification, the growth rates of electrical consumption outstrip the pace of increased consumption of fuel and energy resources by a factor of almost 3 over the past 30 years. Currently more than one-half of the entire amount of fuel used goes to the production of electric and thermal power. Clearly, this predetermines the strong and dynamic ties between the electric power industry and the sectors of the fuel and energy complex.

In the 1960's, following the discovery of major petroleum and natural gas deposits, the need to increase the pace of economic development and, something of particular importance, the requirement of considerably improving its effectiveness, particularly that of agriculture and transportation, it was deemed expedient to expand the use of gas and fuel oil at electric power plants, in addition to its use for industrial and household purposes. In this connection, starting in the mid-1970's, the share of gas and fuel oil in the fuel balance of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification rose from 8-8.5 percent in 1950 to 42-43 percent in 1970 and, for the national economy as a whole, from 10 to 42.4 percent respectively.

The Communist Party and Soviet government, which ascribe prime significance to the development of the sectors within the fuel and energy complex, pay particular attention to the development of the coal industry, along with that of the petroleum and gas industries. They considered it as the main base for the power industry. Whereas many mines were closed down and coal extraction was considerably lowered in France, the FRG, Great Britain and the United States in the 1950's, coal extraction rose steadily in the USSR (261 million tons in 1950 and 716 million tons in 1980). The reasons for the somewhat reduced growth rate of coal extraction in recent years in our country have been essentially the delays in the commissioning of new underground and strip mines and the unsatisfactory utilization of capacities at operating ones. A certain lowering of labor productivity at mines, due mainly to worsened mining-geological conditions, the unsatisfactory utilization of available mining equipment and the substantial lag in the installation of new and more progressive equipment for underground and open air work also had a negative influence on increased coal extraction.

A new fuel and energy situation developed in the mid-1970's: as a result of the reduced petroleum and natural gas supplies at developed sites in the European part of the USSR, worsened mining-geological coal extraction conditions in the Donetsk Basin and the reallocation of considerable peat deposits from a number of areas in the center of the RSFSR, Belorussia, the Ukraine and the Baltic area for use in agriculture, a fuel scarcity rapidly developed over a vast area in which the main fuel consumption is focused.

In this connection, the beginning of a new stage in the development of the power industry was laid during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Despite the great inertia shown by the fuel and energy sectors, the increased use of fuel oil was slowed down and the share of natural gas and stripped coal was increased, mainly from the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk basins; electric power production at AES rose by a factor of almost 3.6 and power production at hydroelectric power plants rose by 46 percent (essentially as a result of commissioning capacities at hydroelectric plants under construction or commissioned in recent years).

The further development of the electric power industry will be based on the indicated characteristics in the country's fuel balance. Over the next decade virtually the entire increase in electric power production in the European part of the USSR will come from AES; the production of electric power by hydroelectric power plants for the country at large will be raised by a 1.5-1.6 factor. All of this will make it possible to ensure that three-quarters of the entire increase in electric power production will come about without increasing organic fuel outlays. The balance will be covered essentially with coal from the eastern deposits, above all by the opening and development of the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz fuel-energy complexes.

Both in the GOELRO Plan and in all subsequent stages in the development of the electric power industry, raising the effectiveness of the sector was considered very important. The solution of this problem was achieved by raising the steam parameters at thermoelectric plants from 90 atmospheres and 490 degrees to 130 atmospheres and 540 degrees, which was achieved in the postwar period, and the application of supercritical parameters: 240 atmospheres and 565 degrees. This year, 85 percent of the equipment at condensation power stations is using high-parameter steam; supercritical parameters are applied in nearly one-half of them.

The raised steam parameters, increased share of combined heat and electric power production at thermoelectric power plants, consolidated unit power equipment and plant capacities and improved technical standards and the exploitation of electric power plants and power systems made the systematic improvement of the sector's efficiency possible.

Over the past 30 years specific conventional fuel outlays per produced electric power have been reduced by a 1.8 factor; power outlays for energy production (household needs) have been reduced by one-quarter; the size of the personnel has been reduced by a factor of almost 4 and the cost of electric power generating has been lowered by a factor of more than 1.3 despite some fuel price increases.

Industry is the main consumer of electric power in our country. It used 751 billion kilowatt hours in 1979. Compared with 1950, this enabled us to increase industrial output by a factor of 12. At the same time, within that period, the electrification of production processes made it possible to increase labor productivity by a factor of 5.



Russia was already using electric power in urban transportation by the turn of the century, and in the operation of railroads since the 1920's. A 15-year general railroad electrification plan was adopted in 1956. It called for converting 40,000 km of track to electric traction. This conversion made possible substantial increases in traffic speeds. It expanded the handling capacity of the railroads and reduced specific fuel outlays in transportation.

In agriculture electrification is of major importance as a basis for increasing labor productivity, applying comprehensive mechanization facilities and ensuring production concentration. Until the mid-1950's agricultural electrification was based on small local hydraulic power plants and small gasoline-powered generators and locomobile engines. At the beginning of the 1960's work was undertaken to link kolkhozes, sovkhoses and rural settlements to the state power grids, for which purpose, by the beginning of 1980, more than 4 million km of 0.4-20-kilovolt power lines had been laid. This provided reliable power supplies to all industrial and residential settlements in rural areas. In 1979 agriculture consumed more than 102 billion kilowatt hours, or tenfold more than in 1960; more than 25 billion kilowatt hours of these were spent for communal and household needs of the rural population, or more than 270 kilowatt hours per person (as compared with 31 kilowatt hours in 1960). The power intensiveness of agricultural output is growing systematically. Between 1975 and 1979 it rose from 470 to 850 kilowatt hours per 1,000 rubles of output. Savings in operational outlays in the production of agricultural commodities average 35-40 kopeks per kilowatt hour.

The growth of the housing-communal economy and the service industry in town and country necessitated a further increase in the allocation of electric power for home and public use. In 1979 about 173 billion kilowatt hours of electric power were spent for such purposes; electric power consumption for communal and residential needs per urban and rural resident quadrupled compared with 1960.

Along with the substantial increase in the consumption of electric power in the most important economic sectors, the development of the power industry provided a reliable base for the growth of the economic potential of all union republics and parts of the country and their proportional development in accordance with their natural resources and characteristics.

The importance of pursuing an energy conservation policy was emphasized in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Compared with 1975, in 1980 fuel savings exceeded 120 million tons of conventional fuel. Such savings were the result of the lowered norms of fuel, heat and electric power expenditures per unit of output, the implementation of organizational and technical measures for the rational utilization of energy consumption and conservation and the increased generation of energy at AES and hydroelectric power plants.

In the final years of the 10th Five-Year Plan work was undertaken to ensure the use of replenishable types of energy--solar, thermal and wind, and of the low potency heat released by industrial effluents and discarded ventilation air, the burning of residential garbage for heat, and the improved heat insulation of industrial, residential and other buildings, both planned and under construction. Preliminary estimates have indicated that the implementation of the planned measures for the conservation and rationalized consumption of fuel and the reduced use of fuel for the generation of electric power at AES and hydroelectric plants will mean that by 1985 fuel savings will reach 160-170 million tons of conventional fuel compared with 1980.



One of the most important measures in the conservation of power resources will be the further increase in the effectiveness of electric power production by lowering specific fuel outlays and reducing losses in electric power and heat grids, improved utilization of installed power plant capacities, removal of obsolete and uneconomical equipment, reduced and improved planned production indicator and sectorial management systems.

Installed power plant capacity will be substantially increased over the next decade. More than 90 percent of all new capacities installed at condensation heat and nuclear power plants will consist of power units generating 500,000 kilowatts or more; 100 power units developing 500,000, 800,000 and 1 million or more kilowatts will be commissioned.

Work on the building of nuclear power plants operating on fast neutrons, steam and gas systems, and magnetohydrodynamic generators developing power of 500,000 kilowatts, will be undertaken. Work on thermonuclear power systems will be continued.

New grades of superhigh tension power transmission lines will be built unparalleled in world power engineering, such as 1,150-kilovolt AC cables and 1,500-kilovolt DC cables. These lines will operate as major power carriers.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress offer a specific program for the further development of the country's electric power industry. The plan calls for the production of 1.55-1.6 trillion kilowatt hours of electric power by 1985; the production of nuclear power plants will be tripled and that of hydraulic power plants will be increased by a factor of almost 1.3. New capacities will be installed at dozens of big electric power plants and the further development of the power systems will be pursued. Electrification has played and will continue to play an important role in our country's economic and social progress. Time has tested Lenin's course to electrification and has confirmed its farsightedness and accuracy.

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## SHOP FOR THE FIELDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 39-50

[Essay by Yu. Makhnenko]

[Text] The flooding of rivers in the forest-steppe area drops at the beginning of May. It is then that the wild plum tree begins to blossom and the farmer begins to plow the moist black spring earth. The advent of the the new agrotechnology has not deprived the old rules of their meaning: plow when the snow melts and sow on the muddy soil and you will be a prince. Grain growing depends on the eternal cycle of nature just as much as it did millenia ago.

Plant work is something entirely different. It may seem that neither its features nor its essence change according to the season. Unlike the work of the farmer, who will look at the fresh green sprouts, the thick yellow-ripe grain or the virgin whiteness of a field in winter, work in a shop makes the people used to looking at the same unchanging environment. However, in a tractor manufacturing shop one can always sense the advent of this itching season when the cranes flow in, when the period of hard work is already past and when white fog settles over valleys and gulleys in the morning. It is then that the flow of visitors increases. It would be difficult to consider many of them as guests, for they have come here not only in the hope of obtaining spare parts but are driven by common interests, such as the sharing of experience. Such experience, acquired on the endless and eternally changing fields, is as important to the hosts as to the visitors.

### 'The KhTZ Grain Producer'

Over the past 5 years the Khar'kov area gave the country 1 million tons of grain on four different occasions. The tractor builders consider this victory as part of their own accomplishments. Their involvement with it is based on the long contribution which the KhTZ [Khar'kov Tractor Plant] has made to supplying with technology the most important sector and, furthermore, its direct cooperation with the farms. The participation of this industrial giant in the work of the oblast's farmers represents a kind of "feedback," which contributes to greater familiarity with the consumer and the purposeful cultivation of the feeling of closeness in the plant environment, an inseparable feature of the Soviet way of life in a shop, a field, on earth and in outer space.

In this case the mention of space is not accidental. In that same white-stone palace of culture of the KhTZ, where frontranking big grain producers have been

traditionally honored, plant workers and engineers have frequently met with engineers returning from orbiting around the earth. In a recent talk with Vladimir Lyakhov, who had come to attend an alumni meeting at his old flying school, Hero of Socialist Labor Mikhail Ivanovich Kalashnikov, head of a forging-dieing brigade, noted the amazing similarity between the main features of the history of the plant and the school which trained many of our cosmonauts-to-be. The history of both establishments may be traced to the same heroic period--the First Five-Year Plan.

On the eve of the plant's semicentennial anniversary, events are taking place here which revive on a modern basis the very spirit of the legendary Traktorostroy: radical reconstruction and construction of specialized related plants with a view to increasing production capacity and ensuring the series production of power-saturated tractors which are as vital to today's village as the air.

Both Mikhail Ivanovich Kalashnikov and Valentin Vasil'yevich Biblik, the association's general director, who was also awarded the gold star of Hero of Socialist Labor after the congress, had the good fortune to attend as delegates the highest Soviet communist forum. At a meeting of the oblast party aktiv, where the results of the work of the 26th party congress were discussed, V. V. Biblik described the high spirit and charge of optimism which the congress' resolutions gave to the tractor manufacturing collective, and its readiness honorably to resolve the complex problems of the starting year of the five-year plan. The director also mentioned the new initiative of M. I. Kalashnikov: increasing output on the basis of material savings, as well as other initiatives triggered by the powerful impact of the congress' ideas and conclusions.

The simple line "the KhtZ grain producer" is frequently mentioned at the tractor plant. Accurately so, for the battle for grain and for abundant food begins here, in the monotonous grumble of the shops, where the plowing machine of the scientific and technical revolution is born.

The plant produced its 1 millionth tractor as early as the end of the 1960's. The mechanizers loved the T-74 caterpillar models. Life, however, formulated new requirements, and in order to keep up with them and ensure agricultural production intensification, the tractor builders invested a great deal of effort in the development of an essentially new model, the T-150 K. Its productivity is 50 percent higher than the previous model. It is more reliable and more comfortable, which is important. One does not have to be a specialist seeing this noble white and blue machine at work in the field to note its advantages compared to older equipment. Actually, the period of initial estimates has ended. The T-150 K is at work and has made its contribution to the production of millions of tons of grain in the Khar'kov and other areas. It is being sold in 30 foreign countries on all 5 continents, as the "Gold Mercury," recently awarded to the collective, reminds us. The wheel variant of the T-150 has been successfully tested in the state of Nebraska, in the United States.

The plant's museum exhibits photographs from the 1960's: Gitalov and Biblik testing one of the first models of the present tractor. Both are looking not at the tractor but at the furrows, where life-giving grain will grow.... It is said that the T-150 K took good roots in A. V. Gitalov's brigade. Anyone who knows Aleksandr Vasil'yevich's farmer's thriftiness considers this fact as the strictest confirmation of the value of this Khar'kov offspring. In the period which preceded

the 26th CPSU Congress, the reputation of the T-150 K champion of the steppe was recognized juridically, so to speak, when it was awarded the state Emblem of Quality badge. At the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev profoundly substantiated the role of agricultural machine building in achieving the party's main objective: upgrading the well-being of the Soviet people and improving population food supplies. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," ratified by the 26th CPSU Congress, stipulates that "in the field of tractor and agricultural machine building, the further increase in the production of powerful tractors of the K-700, T-150 and other models and of the entire set of machines and attachments for them must be ensured." All this accounts for the great importance of today's efforts of the tractor manufacturers who bear a great share of the responsibility for the technical retooling of agriculture.

### The First Component

Awareness of responsibility inevitably leads to thoughts concerning the role of the human factor, of that "basic capital" which, as expressed in K. Marx's familiar formula, is, in terms of the production process, "man himself." Dozens of thousands of people, pursuing a tremendous variety of projects, are engaged in the solution of the common problem of expanding capacities for the manufacture of a power-saturated tractor. Day after day, they are also concerned with problems related to the tractor itself and to its current and future improvements.

Even a brief view of the numerous concerns felt today by this huge collective would show that increased attention is being paid to problems of social and cultural development, improving the psychological climate and stimulating social and labor activeness. The party organization pays unwavering attention to the mainstay which is the "golden base" of the factory, i.e., its cadre nucleus--the living bearer of heroic tradition and invaluable experience. Let us point out that a consideration of the cadre's unquestionable influence was made part of the entire great initiative and proved to be decisive in resolving the dilemma of whether a new enterprise should be built to produce the new model or whether the existing plant should be reconstructed. It was taken for granted that there would be difficulties and complications related to the need not only to continue but even to expand the volume of output. Faith in the people and in their collectivistic training, skills and loyalty to the plant compensated for the expected (and, in many cases, unforeseen) losses incurred as a result of the inevitable decisions which had to be made related to the temporary or, as it is also known, bypassing technology.

Today the association has reached the highest point of its radical reorganization. However, its people confidently claim that practical experience confirmed the accuracy of the chosen strategy. This was discussed in a meeting with the general director. Let us note that V. V. Biblik has the best possible reasons for being a confident judge of the influence of traditions. His career is part of the plant's history. At the tractor builders' settlement he attended the school which was built at the same time as the plant and could not fail to react to the romanticism of the period and to the great heroes of Traktorostroy, such as Mel'nikov, the "iron clerk of the works," and Sidorenko, commander of a Komsomol battalion of concrete layers. Later, in the 1960's, Hero of Socialist Labor Pavel Yefimovich Sablev, a veteran of our industry and director of the KhTZ of that time, wrote in a newspaper that "we have a number of specialists who were trained



at the plant.... Let us take as an example Valentin Biblik. He operated a machine tool; he attended courses for working youth and subsequently graduated from an institute.... And now, for many years, he has worked as the plant's chief engineer."

Valentin Vasil'yevich has been at the head of the tractor manufacturing collective for more than a decade. It is natural, therefore, that despite the complete novelty and unusual kinds of decisions which are dictated by the development of the scientific and technical revolution the director checks today's problems against past experience.

"It would be no exaggeration to say that in the course of the reconstruction the collective of the head enterprise proved capable of accomplishments as great as those of the First Five-Year Plan. Fifty years ago the task was to create production capacities for 50,000 tractors per year. At that time such a figure was striking. Today, in the immediate future, the task will be the same, the production of 50,000 tractors of a single model. However, compared with the past, these tractors will be more powerful by a factor of 5.5! The comparison between the tractor and the horse has been abandoned, as it would prove to be very detrimental to the horse. As we progress, a profound tie develops between the past and the present. As in the past, the nature of the task has raised every worker to a new level of practical thinking and mobilization of undiscovered resources. One has now merely to look at all the alternatives involved in the temporary changes made in one or another operation as a result of the need to dismantle the equipment and reorganize plant facilities. Let us say that there were no possibilities of expanding the territory of the plant, which is quite substantial. We had to raise the height of the building and improve the layout. We tried to keep anything which could still be used properly and at length, although obsolete. Frequently machine tool operators had to work side by side with construction workers as they built the walls and the ceilings."

Aware of the need for such work in terms of future developments, the people accepted the temporary inconveniences and suggested means for improving labor conditions. For this they deserve tremendous gratitude! Whenever the organization of the production process or living conditions worsened because of someone's inefficiency or shortsightedness, the plant personnel sharply raised the question within the administration and the public organizations and submitted constructive suggestions. As we note the understanding and responsiveness of thousands of rank and file working people, we must bear in mind not their occasional shortcomings but their readiness to apply their experience and cunning to the joint efforts to surmount difficulties. It was at this point that the long efforts of the party organization and the entire public to awaken in every working person a creative attitude toward the work, aspiration toward professional advancement and enhancement of cultural standards paid off....

Therefore, the human factor is the most important component of the strategy which calls for making unparalleled efforts for the radical reorganization of the production base and the extensive utilization of new machines. Naturally, the latter includes the active growth of output and its operative improvement and work with a view to the future, based on the most scrupulous and uncompromising study of operational lessons. It was in this area that the direct relations established with the farms, the bold approach of the consumers at large and the ability of the collective to maneuver flexibly paid off.

## The Art of Maneuvering

Mastery of this art is a mandatory prerequisite for reconstruction. Any conversion of one or another operation or use of a technological method on a temporary basis is a simple maneuver. One can judge the number of such maneuvers during the period of reconstruction by considering that the KhTZ was able to install without any interruption of the production process 900 modern machine units and automated and semiautomated machine tools, 15 automated machining lines and more than 120 mechanized assembly lines! The overall length of the current 13 assembly conveyor belts is 3,000 meters. It would hardly be possible to perceive of such an abundance of processing equipment and it would be difficult even to imagine it. Let us add to this hundreds of units of mechanized instruments and five automated production lines in the casting shops, which are the most difficult to update, but where a progressive technological process for mold manufacturing has been applied. All in all, more than 6,000 processes were organized at the head plant, based on new technological charts. Naturally, this is impressive. Something else is equally important, however: today's results are not considered the limit of the work. This approach is perhaps the most promising gain achieved in recent years in the strictly human area.

At the head enterprise, in addition to 19,000 square meters of rebuilt industrial area, in the 10th Five-Year Plan the construction workers built 55,000 new square meters for industrial use. This is only a part of the industrial construction undertaken in connection with the development of the tractor manufacturing complex. Five related plants have been built in the oblast: the forging-machine plant in Lozovaya, the casting plant in Kupyansk, the fuel equipment plant in Chuguyev, the turbocompressors plant in Dergachi and the tractor engines plant in Khar'kov. This involved the efforts of dozens of powerful construction organizations. A great deal more remains to be done: in addition to the work already done, hundreds of thousands of square meters of plant premises, housing and several schools and hospitals must be built. In order to have a better idea of the concentration of efforts in this battle for the people's well-being, let us add to these facilities a long list of enterprises in Kiev, Sumy, Vinnitsa and the Donbass, which are major suppliers of the KhTZ.

The endless fields, which are one of the most amazing resources of the planet and which remain the sources of the highly poetic joys and many concerns of mankind, demand ever more adamantly industrial support. As comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th congress, upgrading agricultural effectiveness and quality presumes "the planned conversion of this sector onto an industrial track." Effective utilization of the land and higher yields are impossible without the intensification and improvement of relations between agricultural and all other sectors of the agro-industrial complex. "It is also a question," Leonid Il'ich said, "of further improvements in technical supplies to agriculture and higher productivity, durability and reliability of machines and equipment supplied to the countryside...." These words contain a clear program for action for the tractor builders and the party's instruction for the 1980's. They also help us to realize that our economic life is a single organism in which ideological and moral factors become as much a part of reality as the laws of economics. Naturally, any labor collective would confirm this. However, the "shop for the fields" is of particular interest because of its involvement in the world of rural concerns.

The working days of the tractor builders generously provide particularly clear manifestations of involvement in the major project, in the common objective which affects the national interest. We realize this when we hear someone in a shop mention something read in a newspaper on the number of millions of hectares which must be plowed in spring because of the rains which prevented plowing the previous autumn, and the amount of feed grain crops which must be planted according to the plan. The same figures will be mentioned later at a party meeting as a guideline for defining the workers' labor positions and will thus link in a common concern many thousands of people practicing a great variety of skills and many different regions in the country.

There was a time when Kupyansk, Lozovaya, Chuguyev and Dergachi were a modest part of the area served by the plant, and then they valued the possibility of obtaining aid in the renovation of their machine fleet, thanks to their closeness to their famous neighbor and their helpfulness to it in sharing their operational experience.... Today, as we mentioned, these cities and villages have become the centers of the related production facilities which must satisfy the drastically increased hunger of the assembly lines of the KhTZ. The river of practical experience seems to be flowing back from the veteran enterprise to the new plants, which are all 30 years younger and which, in turn, as the old plant did in its time, are increasing the pace of local life.

#### No Exception

At the beginning of 1980, the lag behind the planned pace in construction began to be felt sharply. A meeting held by the oblast party-economic aktiv, with the participation of senior personnel of the CC CPSU and Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and heads of interested ministries, played a most important role in the efforts to surmount it. The impartial exchange of views indicated that the main reasons for the lag were delays in the allocation of farms and the extremely slow utilization of already appropriated capital investments, the lion's share of which was for priority projects. In Lozovaya, for example, the installation of capacities at priority projects did not exceed 55 percent of the planned figure. More than 14,000 square meters of area in the machine plant alone were not completed because of unfinished work and installation delays. In turn, this delayed the reaching of planned capacities at other projects. It became apparent that there was considerable intra-shift idling in construction, that work planning was poor and that the brigade contracting method was being applied timidly. This meeting helped to develop a comprehensive approach to determining the ways for the elimination of the lag. What is the status with the implementation of this program now?

According to Valentin Vasil'yevich Biblik, the reciprocal responsibility of all participants in the reconstruction has become greater. The work of the oblast staff in charge of expanding the capacities of the groups of tractor manufacturing plants, headed by V. P. Mysnichenko, became a real school for management. Understandably, the work of this staff is important, above all, in terms of the adoption of a comprehensive approach to and operative solution of problems directly related to the construction and reconstruction of sectorial enterprises; at the same time, the common concern helps the managers of the entire area to develop a broad approach to the solution of problems and a feeling for future development. Today both construction workers and clients are using a more thoughtful approach to the coordination of the lists of target projects, the refining of schedules and the finding of production reserves.



It is universally acknowledged that exigency and a self-critical attitude are penetrating ever more deeply into the work of dozens of interacting collectives and departmental organs. Today paradoxes which could be noticed only one year or slightly more than one year ago, in which republic ministries, citing as their reason the struggle for streamlining administrative personnel, had closed down two construction trusts, one of which was precisely in Lozovaya, where an alarming situation had developed at the target projects of the machine forging plant, are no longer possible. The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee drew the attention of the republic's Ministry of Industrial Construction and Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work to the unjustifiable nature of these decisions and to the need for a deeper study of Traktorostroy's requirements. Communist Party of the Ukraine Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries personally considered the main problems of the development of the complex. As a result, one of the trusts was restored and other organizations and production sub-units were strengthened. The progress achieved in construction matters is obvious. However, to this day the pace of construction does not always match the planned level. In Lozovaya unrhythmical production and an inadequate construction base let their influence be felt.

A common feature of all descriptions of construction affairs is criticism of suppliers. Alas, this story as well is no exception. Actually, the current task which calls for the accelerated development in the immediate future at enterprises of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building of capacities for the production of T-150 and T-150 K tractors and SMD-60/72 diesel engines is unquestionably known to the senior personnel in the Gosnab system. However, for quite some time these construction projects could not be completed because of unsatisfactory procurements of materials.

The problem of rolled metal goods is particularly grave. Suffice it to say that in the first half of 1980 the Krivoy Rog Metallurgical Plant fulfilled no more than 18 percent of orders for low-alloy sections placed by the Khar'kov workers, while the Yenakiyev plant filled no more than 20 percent of the orders. The Makeyevka Metallurgical Plant frequently failed to fulfill its contractual obligations. The metal structures plants in Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir and Khar'kov underfulfilled their delivery plans. To a certain extent this is a reflection of the general situation with shaped metal which has developed in the country of late. However, what aggravates metal shortages even further is the inefficient work of the supply unit. Occasionally, it operates on the principle of "grab what they give you," which turns into substantial losses. For example, while failing to supply the tractor manufacturing complex with metal structures of technologically required sections, the Ukrainian SSR Gosnab services supplied it with unnecessary quantities of wide beams and thick steel sheets. Such procurement overfulfillments "in terms of tonnage" clearly dooms the construction workers to metal overexpenditures. This was mentioned with concern by V. T. Ivannikov, head of the territorial material and technical supply administration. He is a newcomer at the head of this section. Previously he did party and economic work at the big plant. On the basis of previous experience he is seeking ways to surmount the difficulties by assuming that procurement operations should be protected above all from accidental factors and from reliance on luck, created by the practices of the notorious "pushers" and unrestrained hoarding.



The experience of the new Traktorostroy takes us to another line of thought as well. Does the organization of the work in construction always suffer from "outside" reasons? Last autumn, for example, the commissioning of the first section of the pressing-blanking shop was endangered because of a lack of concrete. With daily requirements of about 30 cubic meters, in 2 entire weeks in September only...45 were received. The weather, as is usually the case at that time of year in the forest-steppe area of the Ukraine, was dry and mild. A very good time for construction. However, the site was quiet. Looking out in a state of amazement, the plant workers mentally looked at something entirely different.

The dust from the construction at the western end of the machine assembly building, where the main conveyor belt was to be installed, had still not settled. Here the people could see a heavy concentration of equipment and efficient organization. This was understandable, for in order to build new stories without disturbing the pace of tractor manufacturing, dozens of decisions had to be coordinated and the interaction of many services organized. At that time Party Committee Secretary A. A. Vikhlyayev advised them of the following:

"You must take a look, for you will not often see such a thing in your life!"

The view was quite impressive. It seemed to represent the materialization of the basic idea: to build and produce on the firm basis of previous accomplishments. Because of this the people at the plant had become used to the old shop, looking like a museum, being in the midst of the spacious new premises, not for preservation purposes but, on the contrary, for the purpose of disassembling its machinery as rapidly as possible. This operation was based on accurate computations and revealed the beauty of the daring maneuver.

As to the pressing-blanking shop, it was built on the released area where suitable work space was to be made available.... There was long idling, however, and the personnel were puzzled: what was the reason the management of the general contracting trust was unable to set things in order at the concrete manufacturing plant, which was its own production subunit?

A decisive change is needed in construction practices everywhere, not merely at Traktorostroy. The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress pointed out that the new five-year plan will be a major test for the construction workers. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction on the need for a comprehensive concentration of forces on the fastest possible completion and commissioning of enterprises which can ensure the highest growth of output and widen economic bottlenecks is most directly related to the solution of the urgent problems of the complex underdevelopment. New planning and crediting methods, rejection of the notorious "gross output," and assessment of construction work on the basis of end results, all of them measures stipulated in party decisions, significantly streamline the implementation of major programs such as the creation of a tractor manufacturing complex.

Improvements in the economic mechanism presume the active interaction between contractor and client. Thus, in order to improve procurements of metal structures manufacturing plants must be supplied with technical documentation on time. The client is not always ready to do this in the course of the complex gradual and multiple-stage process of the measures to be implemented. Worse, sometimes documents for operations which must begin immediately are delayed. Naturally, the

situation of the client is equally difficult; Giprotraktoroselkhoz mash is applying the designs for the KhTZ, and the production association is frequently unable to submit technical solutions to construction and installation workers, not having received the blueprints from the institute. However, the situation makes this necessary. We believe that when major construction programs are being implemented it is precisely the client who must set the example of business partnership and, if you wish, performance inspiration.

#### Heart of the Work and Work of the Heart

Even despite the complications created through the abundance of circuitous technological alternatives and temporary solutions, returns at the head enterprise are quite fast because of strong support and other favorable factors. However, such returns are incomplete because of the unjustifiably low pace of development of specialized related enterprises. This was felt particularly sharply at the tractor engines plant, where difficulties were experienced in developing a leading team and in selecting optimal technologies, and at the Lozovaya plant, where the solution of the cadre problem is based on the construction of housing and sociocultural projects which now must be built at a faster pace. Even the quality of the drinking water proved to be one of the factors which had a visible influence on the people's choice of jobs. Necessary corrections had to be made, unfortunately after the fact.

Naturally, the incomplete commissioning of capacities diminished capital returns. Under such circumstances, the KhTZ engineering services had to show exceptional mobility and ability to focus on the main features and not to lose track of future developments and of the optimum time for conversion from the temporary solution to decisions which would ensure the stable development of the process. What is indicative of the work style of the plant personnel is the instruction which Chief Engineer Anatoliy Mikhylovich Fedyunyayev has frequently repeated to his immediate associates: remember your neighbor who may not be included in a given order. In other words, it is necessary from the very beginning to take into consideration the possibilities of services and production facilities which are not directly involved in a planned measure but which will influence it, for quite frequently this influence proves to be essential in terms of overall results.

As to the main objective, it took shape not on the basis of the developing circumstances or immediate tasks but on the quality of the new models. The production of wheel-driven tractors rose steadily in the 10th five-year plan. Today its annual level exceeds the production of power saturated tractors produced by any foreign company. The increased volume of output was closely linked to the task of applying a comprehensive quality control system and, in some areas, even subordinated to it. The struggle for earning for the tractor the pentagonal honor badge called for superior quality certification of hundreds of assemblies and parts manufactured by dozens of enterprises in the tractor group in the area and beyond it. The enterprises which became involved in this intensive campaign to make this plowing machine not only powerful but reliable in the fields, reveal all its possibilities and have adequate power were located in Kiev, Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, Sumy, Melitopol' and Yelets. According to Yu. P. Boroznyak, head of the agricultural machine building department of the Khar'kovskaya Oblast Party Committee, the work of related enterprises was systematically studied by an interplant staff in charge of organizing the socialist competition for earning for the tractor the Emblem of Quality. It reported the results to the ministries, awarded Red Challenge banners and disseminated the experience of the best workers.

Whereas the start of that long chain which binds together the concern of many collectives for quality is based on the vigilant thinking of designers, naturally, at the end of the chain attention is powerfully drawn to the assembly worker at the main conveyor belt. The main conveyor belt sums up the efforts of the many thousands of workers. It is the mirror of the enterprise. The most advanced equipment, beds and storage systems will be mounted on the main conveyor belts soon. For the time being, the operation is being carried out under more difficult conditions and the temporary technological moving system accounts for many precious minutes for the loading and unloading of parts. Such inconveniences may be eliminated only with the completion of the work done side by side by construction, installation and assembly workers in the first machine assembly plant, carried out without any interruption.

The magic of the transformation of the individual parts into a complete machine, an operation which an outsider may consider easy, is exciting. This tractor, created literally in front of our eyes, comes off the conveyor line and, puffing smoke, begins to roll along the shop. May it have a good trip and long years of service! However, a short stop at the shop and a look at the regular shop report would reveal the tension which precedes and determines such an organization.

In showing the machine assembly plant to visitors, Shop Party Organization Secretary Vladimir Dmitriyevich Movchan estimated the advantages which the completion of the frame sector will bring and how much easier this will make subsequent assembly operations at the point where axles are added to the heavy foundations of the tractor. The youthful-looking secretary, who considers himself a shop veteran, perhaps looks younger because of the stylish jacket he wears which, combined with a nice-looking tie, makes him look like a member of a student construction detachment. The prevailing efficient style, from clothing to forms of address, is perfectly compatible with the atmosphere of the new building, with its high beams, modern layout and barely noticeable vestiges of the old shop, such as bits of darkened girders and traces of pillars.... They have been combined with the new structures, like archeological remnants, and will soon be considered relics.

Naturally, the old shop will always be precious to the hearts of its first builders in the 1930's. However, compared with today's hulls, it was tarred from the spilled fuel oil and crowded. Any manifestation of slackness is far more apparent in the new premises. Understandably, however, the situation changes with the circumstances; organization cannot be achieved everywhere without constant effort, particularly during the completion of the reconstruction, where the piles of scaffolding with their big bridges and pathways will disappear, no longer concealing from our sight our other interlocutor--fitter-assemblyman Stanislav Timofeyevich Serdyuk.

Movchan and Serdyuk have similar histories and ways of thinking. Quite recently, in exchanging impressions on the so-called "operation 'scarcity'"--an unannounced investigation of violations in trade, in which he took part as a rayon soviet deputy, Vladimir Dmitriyevich convincingly proved how important something else is in such matters, finding methods for morally arming young people against the influence of the mentality of amateurs of an easy life and of easy profits, who are imposing on a segment of our society false value guidelines, consumerism and a new philistine code of some kind of special way of life. Naturally, a plant such as the KhTZ can give a great deal to a young person but it would be naive and erroneous to believe that he will be influenced by the workers collective only.



Young people must have around them far more, and not only a club or a night school, but a ballroom, stores, coffeeshops and, finally, a bar.

Stanislav Timofeyevich discusses life problems from the same high level of civic-mindedness, far exceeding the framework of daily interests. Of late many plant workers have moved into new homes. But where? In microrayon No 522, of the Saltovskiy residential district. To go home they must cross two large city rayons. The transportation system remains poor. That is why many of them, after acquiring their premises, leave the plant and easily find work closer to their homes. After the second shift is over, waiting on a cold night at the streetcar stop, trying to guess whether or not a streetcar will appear, one unwittingly thinks that this is an artificial test of loyalty to the plant, a totally unnecessary one. Serdyuk took part in a discussion held by the deputies on the work of the city transport system and left with the firm conviction that it is not merely a case of accelerating the turnaround time of the rolling stock. Radical solutions are needed such as the rational location of housing facilities in relation to jobs and many others.

Serdyuk's photograph is exhibited among the mass production workers because of his stable indicators such as a constant desire to improve himself, his professional conscientiousness and his tireless concern for helping his comrades do as well as he does, for otherwise no satisfactory end results could be achieved.

Actually, this interest is the essence of today's microclimate and its "secret," as the plant workers sometimes say, putting the word in quotes, meaning that actually there is no secret and, therefore, that there is nothing in particular to disclose. However, do unity and a feeling that common results are one's own supertask come by themselves? Is it not true that the personality as such, with its charm, directness and warmth (in addition to long practical experience, a university diploma and experience as a deputy, which are revealed in a brief look at the features of the shop secretary), is the most important factor at work?

Let us recall the part in the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress which states that "a seemingly simple and rather commonplace matter--a thrifty attitude toward the public good, the ability to use fully and expediently everything we have--is the pivot of economic policy.... This should be the target of our technical policy and policy of capital investments, and of the system of plan and accountability indicators."

Simple and commonplace.... The example of the assembly workers proves that the way to achieve this is complex and inconceivable without firm comradeship, a creative streak and true industriousness. It is very important steadily to develop such qualities, achieving this not only through admonitions or reproaches. In this sense, the smoothly moving conveyor belt looks like a symbol of the effective rhythm of economic management toward which we are aspiring and whose mechanism we are perfecting. It is not gratuitously that when we think of the further development of brigade cost effectiveness, ever more frequently the related continuous system aimed at end labor results, it is described as a technological conveyor belt. When it becomes a question of the variety of relations among suppliers, contractors and other partners of the association, is it not proper to consider that the system of their strict economic interdependence, like a conveyor, should be the basis of what the party document defines as the heart of labor--an attitude of personal involvement with the public good?

Let us point out that a great deal of this mood is shared by the collective of the sector in charge of construction operations at the first machine assembly shop. Clearly seeing the relationship between further accomplishments by the tractor assemblymen and their own progress, the plasterers-concrete layers of the brigade headed by A. G. Serdyuk, whose name is the same as that of one of the best fitters along the conveyor belt, adamantly applied progressive labor methods. In honor of the 26th party congress they pledged to lay the foundation for the extension of the conveyor belt ahead of schedule, and kept their word. On several consecutive occasions the head of the plasterers-concrete layers' brigade earned the prize named after the hero of the old Traktorostroy, D. A. Mel'nikov, the "iron clerk of the works" we already mentioned, awarded jointly (this too is indicative!) by the plant trade union committee of the KHTZ and the construction project committee of the construction administration.

#### Normal Procedure

This is the second 5-year period during which the word "reconstruction" has determined the life rhythm of the thousands-strong collective and the thoughts of its party aktiv and of all working people. A great deal of hope rests on the completion of this stage of the work. However, does this mean that when the last contractors and subcontractors leave the territory of the KHTZ, their delivery documents having been signed, no reconstruction will be considered at the plant for some time?

Recently, one could see at one of the suburban farms in the Khar'kov area an unusual tractor at work. It was different from the white and blue T-150 K not only by its color and location of the cabin but, mainly, by the wider span of plowed land behind it. This updated Khar'kov plant tractor has a 200-horsepower engine, its controls are equipped with pneumatic attachments; the traditional gasoline ignition has been replaced by an electric starter and the features of the gearbox and driving axles have been improved. Its most important feature is that despite its greater power the tractor has a lower metal intensiveness.

This test model marks the beginning of the future on our fields. However, how will it behave when it is serially produced? Will this call for another reorganization of the production process?

"The new tractor was developed on the basis of the older model," V. V. Biblik emphasizes, "and despite all differences 70 percent of its machine units are those of the old model. We believe that this model will be serially produced mainly on the same equipment installed lately, although there will be additions and a certain reorganization within limits which will be considered optimal for maintaining the steady dynamic development of the plant." Does this mean that reconstruction becomes a "normal procedure" in the period of the scientific and technical revolution in terms of mass traditional types of output? Apparently, this is so. What is important is that the awareness of this fact is beginning to spread among thousands of workers. To the broad workers' mass at the plant reconstruction has become an important school of training....

Today the enterprises within the tractor group must resolve complex problems in order to supply the countryside with a modern plowing machine. They must increase the production of wheel tractors and, at the same time, develop the basic T-150

caterpillar tractor and launch its updated T-150 K Model and adamantly work with a view to a more distant future. This steadily requires daring and farsighted decisions.... In order to obtain maximum returns from the most complex processing centers and automated lines, which took over from the metal-cutting technology of the 1930's, auxiliary services must be improved, services which in the past could not always be dealt with. Most advanced storage systems, automated warehouses, shop-to-shop transport systems will combine all technological processes at the head enterprise; specialization will considerably enhance production effectiveness. A great deal was said about specialization as early as the 1950's and the idea of specialization was literally breathing out of the then popular novel by Galina Nikolayeva "Bitva v Puti" [Battle on the Way]. The scale of specialization at the KhtZ is imagined differently today and the new problems are loudly knocking at the plant's gates.

The KhtZ is half a century old. However, as was the case in the period of its establishment and in the postwar decades, its present life is animated by renovation. However, it is one thing radically to renovate and make an individual enterprise consistent with modern requirements, and something entirely different to reconstruct an entire sector. Today, taking into consideration the particularly important role of the production of machinery for the countryside and the successful implementation of the food program it has been deemed necessary to ensure on a priority basis agricultural machine building projects with the necessary material and manpower resources. Famous combine and tractor plants will experience a rebirth. The Altay plant for agricultural machinery, the Krasnaya Zvezda plant in Kirovograd and the imeni Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya plant in Odessa will assume a new and even more important role. The experience partially acquired as a result of the reconstruction of the Khar'kov plant is a convincing example of the beneficial nature of the charted course.

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## INCREASING CADRE RESPONSIBILITY

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[Article by K. Ragimov, first secretary of the Nakhichevanskaya Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Azerbaijan]

[Text] The historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress provided a powerful impetus to the creative work of the party members and the entire people. The party's program for the social and economic development of our country was enthusiastically accepted by the Soviet people. Their selfless toil at the front edge of the building of communism is a clear confirmation of the nationwide approval and warm support of the policy charted by the party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the true Leninist.

Successes in the building of communism and the great plans for further change profoundly please and, at the same time, force every Soviet person increasingly to feel his responsibility for the common project and common success, and for increasing his individual contribution to the five-year plan. It was emphasized at the congress that under contemporary conditions the importance of discipline and individual responsibility become far greater. In all the sectors the builders of a communist society must carry with them the charge of high exigency and self-control. They must be intolerant of phenomena such as lack of organization, thriftlessness and complacency.

The party members were, are and remain models of the implementation of social duty. Every party member must do his job on a high level and lead through his personal example all members of the collective.

Under the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the stipulations of the party's Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions and conclusions, the Nakhichevanskaya Oblast party organization is seeing to it that the personal responsibility of all workers is enhanced steadily and that they become ever more profoundly aware of their duty to society. Relying on the daily help and rich experience of the Azerbaijan party organization, acquired after the August 1969 Plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, the oblast party committee is seeing to it that all of those involved in constructive toil gain a clear idea of their role in this process and do everything possible at their assigned sector.

The successful implementation of the tasks facing the labor collectives depends largely on the leading cadres, on their attitude toward assignments and their work style and methods. While paying prime attention to them, we are steadily increasing

our exigency toward every manager, specialist, foreman and brigade and team leader, developing in them a feeling of social duty.

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The increased responsibility of cadres for assignments is ensured above all by improving the practice of their selection, placement and upbringing. The principles developed in V. I. Lenin's works on the selection and placement of cadres have been consolidated in party documents, including the CPSU bylaws. They were creatively developed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses and in his outstanding books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land].

These books by our party's general secretary, deservedly awarded the Lenin Prize, represent Marxism-Leninism in action. They are a brilliant example of its creative development. They embody the tremendous durable experience gained by our party. The principles of party cadre policy have been developed in them most profoundly and enriched with new experience. In his works, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that management is not only a science but a true art which demands of the manager a highly developed feeling of social responsibility and the ability to work with people and to inspire them with his confidence in victory.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's books were discussed throughout the country, including by our oblast party aktiv. The recommendations it drafted became the base of the activities of party organizations in the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR for implementation of the Leninist principles of cadre policy and economic management. Unfortunately, not so long ago major errors in cadre selection and placement were allowed to occur in our autonomous republic. Frequently immature, politically untrained and unscrupulous people were appointed to responsible positions. As a result of this, a number of enterprises and collectives and the republic at large fell behind and complex moral problems arose.

The party organization told all working people openly and directly of the shortcomings and errors in the work, violations of party and state discipline and abuses of official position. A self-critical assessment of the situation was required such as to lay firm and reliable foundations for the advancement of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR to leading positions in all realms of life. Extensive work was done to eliminate previous gross errors in and violations of cadre policy. Between 1976 and 1980, 45 farm managers were dismissed for failure to do their jobs or for allowing serious shortcomings. We are pleased to note that today the collectives of these farms are successfully fulfilling their plans and that a healthy moral atmosphere prevails in them.

The party organs did a great deal to strengthen all units with knowledgeable and ideologically trained people with a good reputation among party and non-party members. Basically, we have capable and reputable organizers in the various sectors who are setting the example of conscientious and skillful implementation of obligations and high responsibility for assignments.

Many managers are energetic and creatively thinking comrades. They proved themselves to be mature organizers. They were able to lead the people in the implementation of the tasks facing the collectives.

Here is an example. For a long period of time the Nakhichevan' electrical engineering plant was unable to complete its assignments. It became clear that the first thing to do was to strengthen the enterprise's management. The oblast party committee personnel turned to the party organization and administration of Azelektrosvet Production Association in Baku, whose collective is justifiably considered one of the best not only in the republic but in the electrical engineering sector, with its experienced and highly skilled cadres. The comrades there recommended to us their specialist T. Mamedov, a native of Nakhichevan'. They described him as a knowledgeable engineer who works well with people and has a high feeling of responsibility.

We accepted this candidacy and were right. As director of the Nakhichevan' electrical engineering plant, and with the help of the party organization, T. Mamedov quickly corrected the situation. A creative and efficient atmosphere developed at the enterprise, whose collective initiated a competition for high production standards, improved quality of output, use of progressive methods of labor organization and wages and adoption of comprehensive plans for upgrading productivity. We saw that the collective had gained in T. Mamedov an able and prestigious manager. Persistence, consistency and efficiency and an attentive attitude toward anything new and progressive were part of his character. His work style is characterized by daily and live exchanges with members of the collective and active participation in their ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing. That is why the people have great respect for their director. How not to respect such a manager? The plant, which only recently had fallen behind, fulfilled its 10th five-year plan 8 months ahead of schedule and two of its three types of output bear the state Emblem of Quality.

We tried to conduct our cadre promotion work publicly, so that individual characteristics and the strong and weak sides of a person recommended for a leading position might be properly analyzed with the help of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and individual members of the collective. We ascribed great importance to the candidate's competence and professional knowledge and ability to work with people, understand their demands and be concerned with their needs.

In recent years, a number of party and non-party members have been promoted to various sectors of party, soviet and economic work in the autonomous republic. As a rule, these are experienced managers and able organizers who try to penetrate deeply into the phenomena of reality and who seek means for the solution of economic and sociopolitical problems on a firm scientific basis.

However, we are far from always able to find people with managerial experience for some positions. Occasionally we must promote a person on the basis of our faith in his potential, for managers are not born but made. Many enterprise directors, heads of construction projects and establishments or kolkhoz chairmen, whose names are known in the republic today, were also novices in their work at one point.

Naturally, inexperienced managers need more specific aid so that they may master the situation more rapidly, organize their contacts with the collective and determine the proper approach to be adopted toward the specialists.

In this connection, let us cite the following example: the Il'ichevskiy Rayon Party Committee recommended M. Abbasov, who was released from his position as party organization secretary at the 50 Let SSSR Kolkhoz, for the position of chairman of



the Kolkhoz imeni Mekhti Guseynzade. This farm was lagging and its indicators were far below the rayon average. By no means everything was smooth in the work of the new chairman at first. However, we were ready for this and tried to give the young manager all possible aid. Rayon and oblast party committee workers visited the farm frequently and, together with him, tried to resolve the most complex problems. The collective's affairs began to improve gradually.

With the help of the party organization, M. Abbasov systematically pursued a line of upgrading farming standards and enhancing the reputation of the farm's specialists. At the same time, he displayed a great deal of exigency toward them. In this as well he was steadily supported by the rayon and oblast party committees. Labor discipline in the kolkhoz strengthened and the responsibility of higher and secondary level specialists for farm affairs increased. They began to use more progressive agrotechnical measures at fields and livestock farms. Moral and material incentives to kolkhoz members were improved and good working and living conditions were created. Today the kolkhoz is one of the leading farms not only in the rayon but in the entire autonomous republic. M. Abbasov was promoted to head of the agricultural department of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR Council of Ministers.

Many such examples could be cited. Nevertheless, frankly speaking, we are not always successful in the selection and placement of cadres. Occasionally we recommend for a position a person whose character has not been properly studied but some of whose shortcomings we know, and try to convince ourselves that with some practice and, subsequently, under the steady control on our part, in the course of time, he may improve. Later on, however, distracted by daily concerns, occasionally we forget to check on the work of the person and begin to think about him suddenly, when it is no longer a question of control but of punishment.

In other cases, individuals who had done good work at a lower level and who had been promoted to a leading position are unable to pass the "test of power," become conceited, no longer take the opinion of the collective into consideration and use their official position for self-seeking purposes. It is important to note such a danger on time and to stop a person from going downhill. Particular attention must be paid to the letters, complaints and claims of the working people. As a rule, they inform us of a situation long before matters have reached delinquency level, punishable by the party or even by the courts. Each complaint concerning an official must be checked most closely. Frequently an immediate investigation helps to eliminate abuse on time.

Unfortunately, sometimes we begin to react to reports too late. Such was the case, for example, of A. Abdullayev, an agricultural specialist and candidate of sciences, former first secretary of the Dzhul'finskiy Rayon Party Committee. As rayon party committee secretary, gradually he began to make errors and, subsequently, grossly to violate party management principles. Having received reports and complaints from the working people, the party organs repeatedly pointed out to Abdullayev that he wasn't working with his colleagues, was making errors in his cadre selection and placement and was behaving rudely. His promises to mend his ways were repeatedly accepted on faith. An unhealthy atmosphere developed in the rayon, creating favorable grounds for deception, padding and whitewashing. The oblast party committee bureau removed Abdullayev from his position as first rayon party committee secretary. Subsequently, he was censured and strict measures were applied toward other members of the rayon party committee bureau.

Cadre policy requires strict personal responsibility for assignments. Such responsibility is not anonymous. The party proceeds from Lenin's instructions to the effect that everyone must be responsible for a specific, strictly and precisely stipulated assignment or part of it. In a socialist society the very position of manager, whatever the job, makes it incumbent to display the greatest possible responsibility toward actions and steps and set the example of strict observance of the party's bylaws and of Soviet laws always and in everything. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that "managers are given extensive rights and are expected to exercise them to their fullest extent. However, every manager must also always remember his high responsibility--a responsibility to the people whom he must manage, to the party and to the nation."

Unfortunately, occasionally one or another organization neglects to be exacting toward one and all and to insist on the strict implementation of party and civic obligations. The vitally important interests of society and of all its citizens cannot be fully ensured without the strict observance of the law. That is why our oblast party organization demands of the party members that they be intolerant of irresponsibility and waste, drunkenness, violations of labor discipline or any type of greed, theft of socialist property, bribery or nepotism. Both persuasion and the power of the law must always be used in the struggle against these and other phenomena alien to our society.

We see to it that the party members always remember Lenin's behest of "noting most closely even the slightest disorder or violations of conscientious implementation of Soviet laws" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 155). In the past few years a tremendous amount of legislative work has been accomplished in our country. New laws regulating the life of Soviet society and all economic and cultural areas were passed on the basis of the USSR Constitution. They particularly emphasize the increased responsibility of all officials who must make use of their power for the good of society.

Unfortunately, laws are frequently violated in the area of the economy. It is not a matter of the personal enrichment of one or another manager (although such cases do occur), but of violations of state discipline and of stipulated norms and deadlines for cooperative procurements, breakdown of schedules, and nonfulfillment of variety plans, of anything which hinders interrelated enterprises and economic sectors from working rhythmically and without breakdowns and which, in the final account, influences the quantity and quality of output. In some cases, individuals guilty of such violations, who have justified themselves by citing "objective" conditions, have not been held responsible.

At the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke rather sharply about upgrading cadre responsibility and about the need to develop work initiative.

Guided by these instructions, we are directing the primary party organizations to become intolerant of violations of economic and labor laws. It is important for the party members within each organization to make principled assessments of cases of violations of contractual obligations or attempts to resolve problems not strictly according to the law but "in the judgment of the administration," or violations of ethical norms in relations among people.

Thriftlessness is one of the manifestations of irresponsibility. It is manifested in the careless preservation and loss of material values, uneconomical use of raw and other materials and profligacy. The struggle against thriftlessness is one of the most important lines of work of party committees. We proceed from the fact that the strengthening of socialist ownership and a concerned attitude toward the people's property is not merely a pious wish but the constitutional duty of every Soviet citizen.

Discipline and order are needed everywhere. They can be ensured not only through words and appeals but, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, as the result of painstaking daily organization work, efficient control of execution and planned cadre policy. In the course of its activities the oblast party committee directs all party committees to react operatively and sharply to manifestations of thriftlessness and violations of plans, rules and norms.

The republic's party organizations are encouraging the collectives of enterprises, construction projects and kolkhozes to study progressive experience and the best ways of economic management. The results of past years clearly prove that the further growth of agricultural production in the Nakhichevan' Autonomous Republic is possible only on the basis of labor intensification and improved organization, maximal utilization of the equipment and use of progressive methods in practical work. The intensive work done by the party organizations in this direction made it possible considerably to improve crop yields and livestock productivity.

In the course of our organizational and political-educational work we are trying, above all, to increase our exigency toward cadres and upgrade their responsibility for assignments. It was precisely such an approach that allowed us to achieve radical improvements in the work of Trust No 5 of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction.

The situation of that collective was studied by a construction commission of the party obkom. Obkom members, personnel from its construction department and specialists visited the construction site. The materials drafted by the commission made it possible to assess objectively the cadres' business qualities. The commission also noted that the lack of personal responsibility for assignments had resulted in major delays in construction and installation projects.

The commission also pointed out that the rayon party committees had dealt insufficiently with problems of capital construction and had failed to show proper exigency toward heads of construction organizations and to give them the necessary assistance.

Following a discussion of the materials submitted by the commission, the obkom party bureau passed a resolution. In addition to economic and organizational measures, it called for ways to upgrade the individual responsibility of managers for the construction projects, the development of the creative activeness of party members and all workers and the search for reserves at each workplace.

Unity of word and action and of decision and execution is one of the most important requirements of the Leninist style of leadership. For this reason, from the very first days the oblast party committee organized strict control over the implementation of measures. Special groups were set up at the oblast, city and rayon



party committees to supervise capital construction. Sectorial workers, bureau members and obkom secretaries regularly met with party members at the construction projects, asked what was done for the implementation of the decisions and the measures which had to be taken to eliminate shortcomings. As Lenin had recommended, they tried "to advise and to give practical aid, small perhaps, but real, in everything and in all possible ways" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 53, p 68).

The comprehensive organizational and mass-political work done by the oblast party committee and the trust's party organization made it possible substantially to improve labor conditions, develop effective socialist competition and a creative atmosphere in each brigade, define the place of every working person in the struggle for the timely completion of the construction project and establish individual responsibility. The results of the work speak for themselves. The trust has been regularly fulfilling its housing construction plan over the past three years.

Naturally, the solution of economic problems by improving the work with cadres and developing their feeling of responsibility is no particular discovery. The party has always made use of this tried method. We are seeing to it that party committees and primary party organizations improve their work with people in fact rather than merely proclaim their good intentions. We must point out that in recent years they have studied more and more profoundly and thoroughly economic activities and have been able to improve cadre responsibility for assignments at all levels.

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The development of a feeling of responsibility is inseparable from daily control over the implementation of party and government directives and of the way individuals manage their assigned sectors. Properly organized control is the most important part of this work. It must be carried out systematically in order to ensure the prompt elimination of past errors and to provide the best solutions to problems. This was discussed on a detailed and principled basis at the oblast party committee plenum held last October.

The submission of reports by officials at different levels to plenums and oblast, city and rayon party committee bureaus and the subsequent work for the organization of the implementation of decisions are a good training in developing a feeling of responsibility in party and economic cadres. Such reports are also very useful to the party organs. This gives us a better opportunity to determine the situation in one or another sector of party or economic work, the achieved results or eventual lagging and the reasons for it. It enables us operatively to react to shortcomings, take effective measures for their elimination and increase the responsibility for the implementation of decisions. It enhances the militancy of party organizations and the activeness of party members.

From displaying great exigency toward managers and holding them fully responsible for the state of affairs in all work sectors, the oblast, city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations bear in mind that exigency has nothing in common with developing an atmosphere of fear or endless goading of the personnel. Strict exigency is compatible also with steady supervision or with assuming the functions of economic managers. Exigency must be combined with a well-wishing and sensitive attitude toward people and the creation of proper conditions for the people's productive work. The oblast party organization is doing

a great deal toward making the leading cadres feel themselves confident in their positions, display initiative, take sensible risks daringly and not wait for instructions from above at every step. We are encouraging the comrades to do so as we promote them to one or another position and assume this line in our subsequent work with them.

Problems of work with cadres and of developing a feeling of responsibility for assignments are always discussed at the plenums and meetings of party committee bureaus. Let us emphasize in this connection that they have become substantially more important in the work of the party organizations of the autonomous republic. We can confidently state that the plenums have become the most important means for mobilizing all the efforts of the party organizations for the implementation of party decisions and stipulations.

It is characteristic of the oblast party committee that in the course of its discussion of the assignments for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan we paid prime attention to the work of the party organization on developing socialist labor discipline and upgrading the production and sociopolitical activeness of the working people in the light of the congress' decisions. In accordance with the congress' instructions, the oblast party committee directed the attention of the oblast party organization to the need for developing in the collectives an atmosphere of exigency, for promoting in the cadres feelings of high responsibility, for strengthening party and state discipline, and for radically improving the activities of all party organizations as decisive factors in surmounting the lengthy lag of the autonomous republic.

No plenums are taking place in an atmosphere of strict party exigency. As demanded by the 26th CPSU Congress, the oblast party committee is seeing to it that conditions are created in all party organizations for healthy criticism and self-criticism, for it is precisely this that contributes, more than anything else, to enhancing in every worker feelings of responsibility and uprooting negative phenomena, and which helps every labor collective to progress and reach ever higher levels.

In carrying out our organization work, we are concerned not only with the nature of the circumstances and with making specific decisions but with the organization of their implementation as well. Clearly organized control for the implementation of decisions within the apparatus of the oblast, city and rayon party committees is one of the means for upgrading the effectiveness of this work. In our efforts to improve the organization of the work we rely on party masses and activists for the implementation of the decrees.

To this effect reports are submitted at plenary meetings on the implementation of resolutions passed at previous plenums. This practice increases the responsibility of party committee members for the implementation of the decrees, helps them always to keep track of the basic problems affecting their towns and rayons and to act as active fighters for the practical implementation of jointly reached agreements.

The work of the plenums, bureaus and activists of party committees is covered by the rayon and republic press. Unquestionably, the publication of such materials makes the decision more effective, describes to the party members the experience acquired by the oblast party organization in the individual sectors and contributes to the extensive publicizing of exposed shortcomings. This assists the party members in the better concentration of their efforts for the implementation of their tasks.

The primary party organizations as well play an essential role in upgrading the responsibility of leading cadres. Unfortunately, far from all of them make use of their right to control administrative activities. Not all heads of enterprises and construction projects submit reports on their work at party meetings. Yet practical experience has proved that reports submitted by managers who are party members on the implementation of CPSU bylaws upgrade cadre responsibility for the strict observance of party and state discipline and for ensuring unity between economic and educational work.

Of late the party committees have begun to practice ever more frequently the system of discussing the results of investigations of the situation in collectives and to study the complaints and petitions of the working people either sent by mail or expressed at workers' meetings at enterprises, construction sites and kolkhozes. The joint and objective decisions reached on the basis of such reports enable us to eliminate shortcomings quickly.

For many years requirements governing the selection and placement of middle-level managers, who were frequently guilty of total irresponsibility, were violated at the Sovkhoz imeni 60-Letiya Oktyabrya in Il'ichevskiy Rayon.

The study of the situation in that sovkhov revealed that the rayon and oblast party committees had ignored the situation of the collective, had failed to provide adequate help with management and primary party organization in resolving conflicts and had not promptly strengthened secondary-level cadres. The rayon party committee had ignored the complaints, suggestions and statements submitted by sovkhov workers concerning improvements in their working, living and recreation conditions.

It was decided that the problems affecting the collective would be submitted to the general meeting of the sovkhov collective, in the presence of representatives of the rayon and oblast party committees and senior republic personnel. The recommendations which were drafted at that meeting were subsequently discussed by the oblast party committee bureau. The measures which were taken made it possible to strengthen the cadres of specialists and subdivision managers, to improve the moral-psychological climate of the sovkhov and to substantially redress the situation.

The activities of heads of various units are regularly studied at plenums and meetings of the oblast, city and rayon party committees; their style and methods are studied and their weak and strong sides are defined. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" once again called for upgrading the responsibility of leading cadres for the education consequences of their economic activities. We paid particular attention to this aspect of the matter.

As a rule, in analyzing the activities of managers we try not only to criticize them for their omissions and errors but jointly to define measures for improving the situation and to define methods for giving them effective aid. Our personnel are well aware that party exigency cannot be reduced merely to punishments for errors. The very atmosphere in which discussions are held in party committees should lead the managers to engage in principled discussions and to create in them the need for sharing openly their thoughts and concerns and the confidence that the party committee will give them qualified practical answers and support useful initiatives.



We make a close study of the experience acquired in work with leading cadres. Activities of the party's Leninist Central Committee, which sets a high model of high exigency toward cadres, combined with a careful and responsive attitude toward them, is the best example for all party organs, including those of our republic. Many interesting forms of work may be found in a number of republics, krays and oblasts. In our view, for example, the practice of periodical certifications of managers is noteworthy. In the course of such certifications not only the practical but the political and moral qualities of the comrades are considered, as well as the way they raise their educational and ideological standards. We became interested in this experience and assigned a group of oblast party workers to study it in greater detail in order to apply this method in our oblast as well.

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The process of cadre training and upgrading is quite lengthy. Managers are developing and day after day gaining experience and the necessary knowledge and mastering the art of working with people in the course of comprehensive and stressed practical work. In this case ideological-political training plays a decisive role. The arming of cadres with profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory is a guarantee that they will not slide to narrow practicalism and lose their perspective and feeling of responsibility. Experience has indicated that, as a rule, it is workers who are insufficiently politically mature or lack firm communist convictions who violate party and state discipline.

The oblast party organization considers it very important for leading cadres to increase their theoretical knowledge steadily. Most managers are enrolled in the party training system and many of them are heads of seminars and courses. Three years ago, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism opened a branch in Nakhichevan'. Currently it has more than 700 students. It has a special department where party, soviet and economic managers master the foundations of management. Our cadres acquire profound theoretical knowledge at the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences, the Baku higher party school and the standing interrepublic courses on the retraining of leading party and soviet personnel.

Various ways and means are used in ideological-educational work. Above all, however, we try to raise the cadres in the example of Lenin's life and activities. Lenin was, is and will remain forever our moral ideal against which every Soviet person must check his work and weigh his life.

Lenin's human qualities are a worthy and lofty example for emulation. They include the strict observance of discipline, unhesitating principle-mindedness, profound feeling of responsibility and exigency toward oneself and others.

Today, as we draw the attention of leading workers toward increasing their responsibility for assignments, we are implementing a most important Leninist behest. We are particularly demanding of managers-party members, for their life is defined by the spirit and letter of the CPSU by-laws and not one of them has the right to deviate even by one step from the implementation of the requirements of Leninism and the party's decisions.

The party organization of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR has done a great deal to strengthen moral upbringing in the past few years. We were greatly helped in this by the recommendations of the all-union practical science conference on "Shaping an Active Life Stance: Experience and Topical Problems of Moral Upbringing," held in Baku. A frank and exacting discussion on the state of this work took place at oblast practical science conferences. The first of them, "The Struggle Against the Opposites of Communist Morality," was sponsored by the oblast party committee together with the editors of AZERBAIJAN KOMMUNISTI, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee journal. The conference was characterized by the high activeness, efficiency and principle-mindedness of its participants and by the large number of useful remarks expressed.

As we know, the level of ideological-educational work and its effectiveness depend greatly on the direct participation of leading cadres. The oblast party committee ascribes great importance to this. It encourages all leading workers and economic managers to combine skillfully administrative functions with educational activities and to be concerned on a daily basis with maintaining a healthy and creative atmosphere in their collectives. United policy days and regular addresses by managers of working people have become a tradition and a certain system and planning regarding them have been developed. What is particularly important is that the sharp turn was taken toward problems of moral upbringing, upgrading responsibility and eliminating vestiges of the past.

Problems of moral upbringing and of upgrading responsibility are extensively discussed in the press, television and radio of the autonomous republic. With the help of the mass information and propaganda media we acquaint the party members and the entire population with the measures which the party organization is formulating against negative phenomena and the opposites of communist morality. Through the press and the radio the broad toiling strata are steadily supplied with information on the activities of party committees, people's control organs, the militia, the prosecutor's office and the courts regarding those who have abused their official status for selfish purposes, engaged in moneygrubbing, bribery and theft of public property and committed other crimes. Experience has indicated that publicity has the greatest influence on the fruitful work of management organs and the effectiveness of communist upbringing.

In the final account, all work with cadres is tested by the way the problems of the building of communism are resolved and national economic plans are fulfilled locally. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the working people of the autonomous republic achieved some successes at all sectors of economic and cultural construction. Specific measures were implemented to eliminate the lag in industry and agriculture.

As a result of the measures which were implemented and the increased feeling of responsibility of all of our cadres the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR was able to fulfill its five-year plan in 4 years.

The pace of agricultural development is also good. The autonomous republic fulfilled its five-year plan for grain sales 2 years ahead of schedule while the plan for the sale of garden crops, fruits and vegetables was fulfilled 1 year ahead of schedule. The five-year plan for milk and wool sales was fulfilled in June and that of the sale of grapes, meat and cocoons in August and September 1980.

The Nakhichevanskaya ASSR was declared winner of the all-union socialist competition and awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee on the basis of 1978 and 1980 results. It was awarded the republic's Red Challenge Banner for its 1977 and 1979 results.

All of these results are an indicator of the increased maturity and responsibility of our cadres and of their ability to resolve complex economic-political problems. The working people of the autonomous republic also realize that their accomplishments are not the limit, and that they must not only consolidate these levels but advance and achieve more. The collectives of industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are unanimous in their desire honorably to fulfill the assignments set by the 26th party congress.

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## PASSING KNOWLEDGE AND INSPIRATION TO THE PEOPLE

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[Article by N. Aksenov, first secretary of the Altayskiy Kray CPSU Committee]

[Text] Essentially, the thesis that the success of the scientific and technical revolution and its beneficial influence on all aspects of our social life cannot be ensured exclusively through the efforts of scientific workers is profoundly realistic. The involvement of all participants in social production and of all units in this process of historical significance is assuming an increasingly important role.

The implementation of the great programs for the economic and social reorganization the countryside depends to a certain extent also on the readiness and skill of technological specialists or, generally speaking, of all intellectual workers, to contribute to the effectiveness of social progress. Any scientific idea can become a powerful production force as a result of its material embodiment and adoption by kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The specialists are the middlemen between science and extensive practical work. They also have another major and responsible duty: to assist the steady enhancement of the cultural and technical standard of rural workers and take to the masses the light of knowledge and the high standards of socialist community life. "The Soviet specialist today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "is a person who has properly mastered the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory, can see the political objectives of the party and the country clearly, has extensive scientific and practical training and has mastered his field to perfection.... He can work with people. He values collective experience, listens to the views of his comrades and critically assesses achievements. Naturally, the modern specialist is a highly cultured and erudite person. Generally speaking, he is the true intellectual of the new socialist society."

This fully applies to the rural intelligentsia working in our kray's kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Today we have 31,600 agricultural specialists in various fields alone, 19,000 educators, 9,000 medical workers and as many workers in cultural establishments. For the sake of comparison let us look at the past. What do we see? According to zemstvo statistics, before the October Revolution Altayskiy Kray had 1,212 teachers (primary grades, essentially), 66 physicians and 15 agronomists-land-tenure specialists.

Socialism introduced truly striking changes in the rural environment and the intellectual potential of rural labor collectives is continuing to grow at an

accelerating pace. After the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, the number of graduate specialists in the villages more than doubled; today there are between 35 and 50 such specialists per farm. Along with the increased number of engineering and technical personnel in the villages the effectiveness of their work is rising steadily. This process is largely predetermined and based on the familiar CC CPSU decree on work with agricultural specialists in Altayskiy Kray. The growth of production forces in the agrarian economic sector, the gradual transformation of farm labor into a variety of industrial work, the general cultural upsurge in the countryside and the reorganization of life in the country are programmatic socio-political measures which are being implemented today with the direct participation of the rural intelligentsia.

A great deal has been done in the kray to enhance the labor and political activeness of engineering and technical workers in recent years. At the same time, another practical problem was being resolved: lagging production sectors and entire subunits were strengthened with skilled cadres, consisting essentially of young graduates of VUZs and technical schools. The time has finally come to resolve radically the problem of secondary-level cadres, complicated by contemporary circumstances. Today we can no longer fail to be puzzled by cases in which brigades, livestock farms or sovkhos departments are headed by a manager without secondary education, "commanding" a scientist, agronomist, zootechnician or economist. This is not even a case of hurt pride (although this too must be taken into consideration) but of the very essence of the matter: under such a system a specialist cannot be held responsible for the practical results of economic management. He is left somehow in the shadows. He does not act directly but through a middleman. Therefore, he is not always confident that his order or plan will be carried out properly.... This is a situation which conflicts with the very nature of the deep socioeconomic changes which are taking place in the countryside under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. For this reason all the necessary measures are being taken to put an end to such an abnormal situation. Actually, it is important in this case not to plunge into the other extreme: some so-called practitioners, who occasionally hold responsible command positions, may be very capable managers and all they need is systematic retraining. That is the way the kolkhozes and sovkhos handle old cadres whose experience and knowledge of life are of unquestionably tremendous social value which it would be foolish to neglect.

The educational level of secondary cadres has been substantially raised in the kray through the joint efforts of party and agricultural organs. In 1975, 42 percent of heads of departments, brigades and livestock farms were graduates of higher or secondary specialized schools; today they account for almost 70 percent. An effective means for the professional training of rural managers and specialists is the system of retraining them at respective faculties of VUZs and the courses they offer and at technical schools (on a full- or part-time basis). The rayon training combines have proved their usefulness as well. Highly skilled teachers from higher educational institutions and scientific research centers are asked to deliver lectures and teach practical seminars. Subsequently, such contacts develop into strong friendships between the production workers and the scientists. This feeds the rural workers productive ideas and stimulates their creative aspirations. Regular programmed trips to the best farms in the country are sponsored. This enables the students to master theoretical knowledge more successfully.

Anything related to the activities of agricultural specialists requires competent and timely participation in the solution of production problems and problems related to jobs, living facilities, elimination of labor conflicts and so on. It was deemed expedient, therefore, to set up under the kray party committee a prestigious commission which was given broad rights and is headed by one of the kray party committee secretaries.

Unfortunately, blunders and errors are hard to avoid in life. There are also cases of bureaucratic behavior, not only on the part of economic managers but of some party workers as well. The faulty practice of assigning specialists work outside their field still exists. To the detriment of their main work (either because of their own habits or by the force of circumstances) some of them act as shipping clerks, procurement workers, or representatives of the farm in the delivery of animal husbandry or other goods at procurement centers. Some comrades become accustomed to such essentially auxiliary obligations and forget that their real purpose is to be production organizers, control technological processes and be tireless promoters of progress. Here again the tone which the party organization must set in the labor collective is very important. Intolerance of any violation of the norms and rules of socialist community life and principle-mindedness in major and minor matters lead to the development of an atmosphere of high exigency, comradely cooperation and mutual aid. The rising professional standards, in the broad meaning of the term, and the standards of relations among people, practicality and efficiency, which accompany them, are mandatory elements of this complex.

Demand for creatively thinking people, people who can independently resolve the most complex technological problems, is rising in the villages with every passing year. Production conditions today are such as to demand highly skilled workers. This, actually, is what determines the need for highly skilled specialists in all sectors, for technological and administrative decisions must be perfectly consistent with specific economic management conditions. Any order, instruction or command "from above" which does not involve a basic new aspect or is not created by any exceptional need can only confuse the worker on the spot, create irresponsibility and dull initiative. Nevertheless, there still are amateurs of commands, although they are being fought through social and party measures.

Recently, a commission of specialists in charge of affairs was forced to make a thorough study of the activities of the Altaysemprom Association, based on a report sent by the agronomist of the Kolkhoz imeni Grin'ko. The investigation revealed that here relations among production partners are based on bureaucratic attitudes. Specialists are encouraged to engage in "paper shuffling" and lose a tremendous amount of time gathering data which are subsequently sent to Barnaul. In the midst of the harvest the association issued its subordinate farms the order to answer urgently 36 questions of a survey, although this information could have been obtained painlessly from the rayon or kray statistical administration. Generally speaking, the question of regulating the working time of agronomists, zootechnicians and engineers remains rather urgent. A variety of organizations related to the rural labor collectives thoughtlessly and sometimes for most insignificant reasons are ready to take specialists away from their work. It has been estimated that an agronomist spends as many as 45 "traveling" days per year.



This was a topic for a major discussion which was held by the rayon party committee bureau. A hard punishment was inflicted on the culprits and unseemly facts were publicized. However, these were timely measures, taken in the aftermath of recent cases. Naturally, it is important and necessary to see shortcomings and to assess them accurately. However, it is even more important in the interest of the work to earmark the main ways for the elimination of exposed shortcomings and of the reasons which create them. In this case, it is a question of purposeful preventive work, which is the essence of the organizational activities of any party committee. The kraykom regularly discusses reports submitted by party raykoms on the implementation of organization measures which contribute, directly or indirectly, to upgrading the labor effectiveness of the rural intelligentsia.

The Altay villages fulfilled a rather substantial social and cultural program in the 10th Five-Year Plan. This made it possible to improve substantially the living conditions of all agricultural workers, including specialists. Greater attention continues to be paid to the young generation. Traditionally, new housing is given on a priority basis to graduates of VUZs and technical schools, such as agronomists, zootechnicians, engineers, teachers, physicians or personnel in cultural-educational institutions. Entire streets of cottages for specialists, for demobilized Soviet Army soldiers and for newlywed couples have been built in the central farmsteads of most farms. Over the past 2 years teachers and club workers alone have been given 3,500 apartment units, or over twice the number during the entire 9th Five-Year Plan.

The social program stipulates the extensive construction of schools and children's preschool institutions, cultural centers, consumer services and public catering facilities. Consequently, the village is offering extensive opportunities for the spiritual advancement and creative growth of every individual.

As was pointed out at the 26th party congress, under contemporary conditions interaction between economics and the sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society is becoming ever closer. This is manifested at different levels and in all spheres of human activity. The combination of economics with culture, understood in terms of standards of work, life and relations, is of particular importance in the rural way of life. It has been noted that if a live, a creative atmosphere prevails in a labor collective, ties of comradeship are strong and the work goes well. Everyone tries to make his farm leading and model. Another valuable quality of the true farmer is loyalty to his profession and willingness to accept and share difficulties and complexities which occasionally confront the farmer, for no one is insured against the winds of nature. However, by relying on science and progressive experience the people work with confidence and control elemental processes knowledgeably.

Many such examples could be cited. The Kulundinskiy Sovkhoz is located in a difficult weather zone. However, it has the reputation of a well-organized farm, although in its time it had experienced severe damage from dust storms. Years of intensive work were needed to make the farm unrecognizable: metaphorically speaking, it has become an operating agrotechnical model of agriculture in the Altay. Ye. I. Yemel'yanenko, A. I. Ignatovich, V. I. Savchenko and Ye. T. Krylova, the kolkhoz's managers and production technologists, initiated the comprehensive application of antierosion measures. They studied and creatively applied to the conditions of the droughty steppe a soil-protecting farming system developed by

the famous experimental worker T. S. Mal'tsev, honorary academician of the Higher Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin, and A. I. Barayev, Lenin Prize laureate. The entire collective, including tractor drivers, sowing workers, land reclamation workers, forestry workers and youngsters from the local school, took part in the long experiment. A. I. Ignatovich, who was the chief agronomer at the time, is unanimously acknowledged as the initiator, the soul of this major project. The biography of this unusual specialist, zealous worker and party member is quite typical of the virgin lands. He arrived in these uninhabited areas in the autumn of 1954, from the distant Bryansk area, assigned by the Komsomol. At that time he was only 18. He had no skills. All he had was a secondary school diploma, and Ignatovich spent the first winter in the virgin lands attending a vocational technical school. In the spring he was operating a tractor, and 3 years later he had become one of the best mechanizers in the Altay steppes.

The inquisitive young virgin lands worker tried to expand his knowledge steadily. It was this that led him to the Altay Agricultural Institute. Ignatovich successfully graduated from the agronomy department and returned to the place where he had plowed his first furrow. Anatoliy Ivanovich worked as chief agronomist of the Kulundinskiy Sovkhoz for 8 years, after which he was appointed its director. He combined production-organizational activities with scientific work. He conducted his experiments over a "plot" of hundreds of thousands of hectares; he gathered scientific data, defended his dissertation and became candidate of agricultural sciences. Today he heads the Altay branch of the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Hydroengineering and Reclamation. Ignatovich has the heart of a propagandist. He travels a great deal in the kray and delivers lectures and talks to a great variety of audiences--scientific, economic managers or mechanizers in field camps.

A progressive experience course is operating with the facilities of Kulundinskiy Sovkhoz. Here thousands of agricultural and forestry workers, secondary-level managers and mechanizers have been retrained. The "Kulundinskiy universities" have actively contributed to the fact that today wind erosion has been reliably blocked in the Altay.

The entire range of accomplishments of this farm cannot be precisely listed. For example, what yardstick should be used to measure the spiritual growth of the people who are participating in the complex reorganization of their native land? The more so since scientific research does not yield specific material values only, such as hundreds of thousands of farm and animal husbandry products, but also strengthens the confidence of the rank and file rural workers that they have acquired real power over the land.

The teachers as well deserve a great deal of credit for the upsurge of agriculture. The knowledge and skills which the children acquire at school help the future citizens of the USSR to assume a worthy place in life and be maximally useful to society.

The profession of grain grower is among the most respected in the Altay. To many thousands of people it has become a lifetime project and has helped them to raise themselves to the ranks of our outstanding people. This includes prestigious people such as the legendary combine operator S. Ye. Pyatnitsa, team leader M. Ye. Yefremov, kolkhoz leader F. M. Grin'ko and their followers, such as

Ye. I. Yemel'yanenko, G. A. Fromov, A. A. Bekker, G. N. Bukhan'ko, R. A. Sorokin, V. I. Morozov, I. A. Maksimenko and others. Every generation of grain growers has had a beneficial influence on the subsequent one, accelerating the creative growth of its replacement and enriching it with its experience. No one is born a grain grower, but becomes one under the influence of the environment--parents, educators, instructors, friends and social organizations. Each "side" has its own irreplaceable role in this complex process.

To young people who are entering life contacts with adults are of great importance. The rural social organizations are doing everything possible to encourage business contacts between the students and the local intelligentsia. It has become a tradition for experienced agronomers, engineers, veterinarians and zootechnicians to teach classes in labor education. Hero of Socialist Labor A. N. Tarkayev, zootechnician at the State Cattle Breeding Farm imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, is one of the initiators of a system of optional studies. He set up a training department at the animal husbandry complex and has had three graduating classes: a total of 53 students were issued certificates of professional skill along with their secondary school diplomas. While still at school the children realize the subtleties of farm work. They learn how to be thrifty and to master the secrets of nature. Therefore, their ideas concerning the work of the plowman, livestock breeder, sower, combine operator or truck gardener are firsthand rather than from books. "One can be absolutely certain," says Anatoliy Nikolayevich Tarkayev, "that our graduates will find their labor skills useful, wherever they happen to be. They will not shirk physical work."

This is a good and useful accomplishment. It did not come about immediately. It required a great deal of effort to surmount a certain inertia among economic managers concerning labor resources. Shortsighted managers considered the vocational guidance of secondary school students a chore which only takes up time and materials and yields nothing in return. This led to formalism and duplicity: while acknowledging the value of vocational guidance verbally, some comrades did nothing to support it. At best they sent to student brigades worn-out, unusable equipment. Some party committees would have forced such stubborn people to act, but life itself soon proved the effectiveness and need for this work, for which reason broad public opinion expressed itself in favor of combining labor with student collectives. The local press, television and radio and cultural institutions, in turn, helped to develop an atmosphere of general interest in and attention to school needs in terms of the organization of the training and educational process and the vocational guidance of the young. All of this proved to be to the good!

We must note, incidentally, the work of theater collectives, particularly the youth theater in Barnaul, which is skillfully and vividly disseminating among the youth the lofty ideals of patriotism and loyal service to the homeland, developing the love for the land and rural work in the young people. The "virgin land worker" social-educational clubs are popular among the young (both rural and urban); their organizers are writers, journalists, painters and young artists, together with heroes of socialist labor and winners of the socialist competition. Here interesting encounters are held in an informal atmosphere, sipping tea, and frank discussions develop on vital topics. Everyone can argue, make remarks, discuss life and the prospect of the development of Altay villages and of the entire agrarian complex in the country, the more so since people knowledgeable in such



problems will always be found among their interlocutors. Let us point out that this atmosphere has a beneficial influence on molding the personality of the future grain grower, livestock breeder or agrarian specialist. It is such children who develop essentially into outstanding masters of their work--erudite, with a broad range of thoughts, deeply loyal to their chosen profession and ready to dedicate the best years of their lives to make their native land more beautiful.

Currently the kray has more than 900 student brigades, labor and recreation camps and training forest areas, "small Timiryazevki," as they are lovingly known by the people. In Engel'sskiy Sovkhoz such a student brigade has become an inexhaustible nursery for cadres: it is here that future farmers and livestock breeders undergo their training. Naturally, there were some costs, but they were more than justified. Today the farm managers themselves proudly show the brigade to their guests. They have indeed something to show! The school labor and rest camp is a complex of cultural-production sites. Essentially, it is a small agricultural city of dozens of houses (each can sleep 10), a cafeteria and an administrative building, a club with premises for training and circle activities, sports grounds, open-air stage, shower rooms and so on. The organizational work is provided by a voluntary vocational guidance council which includes representatives of the sovkhos administration and specialists, teachers and parents. The brigade has become an autonomous cost-effectiveness unit. It has its plot of land consisting of 126 hectares in crops and the necessary equipment. At Engel'sskiy Sovkhoz students are entirely in charge of the potato and vegetable crops.

The path from school to production work is typical of most young men and women. In 1980 they accounted for 33.5 percent of the entire growth of manpower in the villages. Rayons such as Aleyskiy, Kamenskiy, Mikhaylovskiy, Tabunskiy and Petropavlovskiy have between 40 and 70 percent of rural school graduates going into farming. Characteristically, it is precisely out of this group that the most skilled graduate specialists, loyal to their profession, come.

The kray party organization always tries to encourage the specialists to keep up their desire for creative work and for proving their value in production and in the spiritual area. One of the effective methods for upgrading the efficiency and sociopolitical activeness of the rural intelligentsia is to organize the work on the basis of individual creative plans. Such plans are based on individual measures for the utilization of new equipment and progressive technology. The individual plans are an organic part of the long-term programs of the socioeconomic development of labor collectives. They have a beneficial influence and help to make use of the latest achievements of science and progressive practical experience.

More than 10,000 specialists and heads of subsections are working on the basis of long-term creative plans; 2,540 of them are engaged in research and experimental work. The 162 progressive technologies applied in 1980 yielded economic results estimated at 43.3 million rubles.

Actually, the formulation of a plan for creative work is only half of the project. The creation of favorable grounds for its implementation is quite important. The kray party committee particularly draws attention to making such conditions available. At the October 1979 plenum the kraykom positively rated the mass organizational work of the Aleysk city party committee among the rural intelligentsia. The reputation of the graduate specialist, wherever he may be employed, has been

greatly enhanced in all farms and enterprises of the rayon. No single measure related to technology or organization of the work on the scale of the sector or the farm is applied unless it has been thoroughly planned and considered in all its aspects. To this effect the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have created standing methodical councils, whose recommendations are guidelines for the implementation of operative assignments and long-term production plans.

We know that the successful development of a sector and, in general, of farm affairs largely depends on the selection of specialists and on their personal practical qualities. This is understandable, for the way of thinking and acting style of the agronomist, zootechnician, engineer or economist is transmitted to those around him and determines to a large extent able and moral relations in the collective. I. A. Merkulov, agronomist at the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Zmeinogorskiy Rayon, is a typical representative of this great cohort. He has been doing his active work for more than 10 years and has justifiably earned a good reputation. As a specialist, I. A. Merkulov displayed persistence and principle-mindedness in the use of a soil-protecting farming system. He did not try to duplicate general information but acted in accordance with local conditions and the characteristics of each individual field. Naturally, this involved a certain amount of risk that a real agronomist cannot avoid. Today the fields of the Rossiya Kolkhoz are a scientific laboratory where everything that is new, progressive and useful is tried. I. A. Merkulov is always among the people. He is a member of the party committee and of the kolkhoz board and a deputy to the rural soviet. He heads the council of specialists and frequently delivers lectures on behalf of the Knowledge Society. He is the bearer of numerous governmental awards for selfless labor.

Such people, trained by the party, are the gold stock of the Altay villages. Their efficiency, experience, willpower and courage are the guarantee for future successes. However, even an educated person will not last long exclusively on the basis of knowledge acquired in his youth, unless such knowledge is expanded on a daily and thorough basis. This can be the result of a variety of motivations. In this case, the certification of intellectual workers plays an important role. In order to earn a skill category the specialist must meet strict professional requirements. He must have a proper understanding of political problems and follow the development of scientific thinking in his area of knowledge. The quality of implementation of his individual creative plan and participation in the cultural measures of the collective are also taken into consideration. However, the certification method did not become widespread quickly. Initially, it was opposed by some comrades who feared that public "reexaminations" (particularly if the person failed) might harm their authority. However, the egotism of isolated individuals was countered by the general view that the collective does not need a person resting on his laurels or out of step with life, for an "intellectual" who has stopped growing is of little use. In a word, this new development was accepted and met all expectations. The kray has certified 12,700 agrarian production specialists and 17,500 teachers. More than 2,000 of them were promoted and 1,500 were classified as promotion reserve. The certification invigorated the creative atmosphere in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and contributed to the assertion of a spirit of socialist competitiveness in labor collectives.

The rayon and kray seminars, theoretical science conferences and trips to leading farms help to upgrade the practical and political activeness of the engineering and technical workers in the villages. Such measures also broaden the outlook of

cadres, increase their interest in new developments and help them to develop taste for educational activities. Thinking, professional interests and the ability to assess soberly complex situation are honed in the course of the exchange of views on vitally important and topical problems.

The network of professionally oriented progressive experience courses, based on the facilities of leading farms and scientific research institutions, is a real help in the training of the rural intelligentsia. An additional 107 courses on cultural problems and 90 on public education were organized in the Altay recently.

The so-called houses of science have a great influence on rural spiritual life. The first such institution was opened in Mamontovskiy Rayon. The story of its founding is worth telling.

Once there was a training-course combine sponsored by the rayon center. It re-trained cadres in the most popular skills. Occasionally, at the request of the rayon party committee, its personnel helped sponsored farms to establish contacts with scientific research institutions or seek advice from their scientists on the use of new technology. As such requests increased with every passing year, the decision was made to organize such activities on a cost-effectiveness basis. It was thus that life itself assigned to the house of science the role of promoter of scientific and technical progress. It has the function of a middleman rather than an administrator. Five scientific research institutes are working on the basis of contracts with kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Mamontovskiy Rayon. The crop-growing section (headed by scientist-agronomist V. I. Gatsenbiller) helped a group of farms to apply scientific crop rotation systems and use the promising "Omskaya-9" and "Almaz" spring wheat strains. More corn for grain is being planted. Many requests are being received for help in connection with interfarm cooperation and specialization, application of the shop system of labor organization and use of the individual elements of a scientific organization of labor. The house of science also supervises the application of recommendations and developments. Above all, we believe this initiative has a great future.

The programmatic objective of our party is to build a classless society. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the development of the socioclass structure in the land of the soviets has entered the final stage of elimination of interclass differences. The Soviet intelligentsia is the fastest growing social group in our society. Essentially, it is coming closer to the highly skilled strata of the working class and the peasantry. "Today in our country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the Central Committee's accountability report to the congress, "one out of four working people is engaged essentially in mental labor. This applies not only to science, education and culture, but to material production as well. The intelligentsia is playing an increasingly important role in all social life. In turn, physical and mental work are becoming increasingly intertwined in the production activities of millions of workers and kolkhoz members. Many of them are rationalizers, inventors, authors of books and articles, or state and public leaders. These are highly educated and intelligent people in the full meaning of the term."

The historical mission of the intelligentsia has been to serve the interests of the masses, to be the outstanding spokesmen for the socialist ideals and to spread among the people all the enthusiasm of its soul, knowledge and practical experience. A great wisdom of life is the following: contacts with the masses offer a new charge of energy and food for the mind and the heart.



The working people of the Moskva Kolkhoz, Khabarskiy Rayon, have good things to say about their intelligentsia. It has earned the respect of the peasants not only for its skill in production affairs, in the schools and in medicine, culture and services, but with its active stance in public life. Specialists regularly deliver lectures and talks to the population, head communist labor courses and participate in the organization of amateur performances. In general, they entirely justify their high purpose. Thanks to this, the lives of the kolkhoz members in this big village in the steppe are becoming brighter and more meaningful.

The intelligentsia is the backbone of the ideological aktiv of party organizations. In the nearly 100,000-strong detachment of rural ideological cadres there are 45,000 political informants, 11,000 propagandists and more than 20,000 lecturers. This year the party kraykom summed up the experience of the economics seminar conducted at the Altayskiy Sovkhoz. For the past 8 years the seminar has been headed by G. P. Babanov, the farm's chief economist. The seminar is attended by people of different professions, united by the desire to make use of the acquired knowledge and personal experience for the sake of improving their own work and the work of the farm as a whole.

Upgrading the scientific training of the rank and file working people is a demand of the times. A proper spiritual disposition is of great importance in the life of a labor collective. Properly organized cadre training also contributes to the successful solution of production problems in the labor collective. For example, party member G. P. Babanov tries to conduct his classes in such a way as to encourage the students to make more effective use of their working time, upgrade labor productivity and look for unused reserves.

The sovkhos seminar students actively participate in the movement "No One Must Fall Behind!" Many of them are rationalizers and inventors and participate in amateur artistic activities.

The comprehensive approach to education, which was developed in recent years, makes it possible to apply a variety of ideological means and to strengthen the communist convictions of the people.

As we know, the development of a purposeful communist awareness is not a smooth process without contradictions. Educational work demands of the educators themselves systematized knowledge, high idea-mindedness, a clear outlook and a deep understanding of processes occurring in the world. It also requires the ability to give a proper assessment to a wide number of facts and to be ready to engage in an irreconcilable struggle against vestiges of the past or petit bourgeois feelings.

The party committees provide extensive information to the rural propaganda apparatus concerning the most important problems of domestic and international life and CPSU ideological and economic activities. The rayon and city party committees and kolkhozes and sovkhoses operate 414 seminars for the party and economic aktiv and 1,748 theoretical problems seminars, attended by a total of 46,000 students. The public activists are regularly provided with topical information. They properly understand the complex phenomena of social life and are aware of events in their area, kray and entire country. The kray party committee, particularly its propaganda and agitation department, follows attentively and closely anything which

develops in the course of party and economic training. Thus, it approved the experience of the drafting and defense of essays and obligations on the part of specialists. Last year alone about 20,000 rationalization suggestions were submitted aimed at improving production work and its organization.

The activities of cultural and educational institutions have a great influence on rural spiritual life. Their number has increased, the material facilities of rural cultural centers have been strengthened and their personnel have improved in recent years. Actually, what makes a club strong is not only its full-time personnel but their volunteer assistants-activists who selflessly dedicate their free time and talent to the general good. Here again, naturally, the tone is set by the members of the intelligentsia. They are not only participants but organizers of mass cultural measures. They head circles for technical creativity and for nature lovers and work as volunteer teachers at culture universities. Today everyone can acquire the skill of mass culture worker. Of late the VUZs and technical schools of Altayskiy Kray have introduced an optional course in the so-called social professions, such as lecturer, propagandist, librarian, rural correspondent, head of amateur collectives or physical culture coach. Young specialists with such training willingly join the ranks of activists in rural clubs or houses of culture.

In turn, the party committees and trade union and Komsomol organization are doing everything possible promptly to notice and support a talented person (and the skillful organizer of club measures), providing everyone with conditions for the development of his intellectual and spiritual forces. Therefore, in the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 3,000 additional amateur circus and hobby clubs appeared in the rural areas.

A characteristic feature in recent years has been the involvement of management cadres in mass cultural work. This is not a social "assignment" in the broad meaning of the term, but the implementation of official duties in the spiritual area. Thanks to this, life in the villages is coming to be brighter and more meaningful, for the example which the leader of the labor collective, the chief farm specialist, the head of the production sector or the brigade leader sets has a general mobilizing effect. Some of the club activists are G. K. Roman'ko, chief veterinarian at the Kur'inskiy State Cattle Breeding Farm, who conducts a folk instrument orchestra, and A. A. Vorotnikov, head of the rayon public education department, who conducts the academic choir at the house of culture. Hero of Socialist Labor N. V. Dergilev, brigade leader at the Zarya Altaya Kolkhoz, Zav'yalovskiy Rayon, dedicates a great deal of his time to the rural club. The choir of Voznesenskoye Village is famous far beyond the surrounding area. In formulating his individual creative plan for the 11th Five-Year Plan, the brigade leader set himself the assignment of paying greater attention to the communist upbringing of the young people. Following N. V. Dergilev's example, more than 5,000 order-bearer leading workers and war and labor veterans, bearers of high government awards, have become spiritual instructors in their labor collectives and are actively assisting the party committees in raising the cultural standards of the rural workers. The kray party committee bureau supported this initiative immediately. Measures are being taken to ensure its further dissemination.

The spiritual potential of the countryside is rising with every passing year. However, even more complex and more responsible tasks lie ahead. They are dictated by the new requirements of life and related to the implementation of the long-term

food program earmarked by the party. Its implementation will require additional material resources and greater intellectual efforts in all agrarian and related production sectors. Here the highly educated segment of the rural society--the intelligentsia--bears particular responsibility and it is ready, as always, to dedicate its knowledge and enthusiasm to this new major project.

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## SPIRAL OF BETRAYAL: BEIJING AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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[Article by B. Pyshkov and B. Staristin]

[Text] The world's progressive public is responding ever more widely to the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress that "Today, there is no more important international task for our party and people and for all nations on earth than that of defending the peace."

The solution of this problem demands a clear understanding of the type of forces in today's world which are helping or obstructing it. Particularly important in this connection is Beijing's policy. Step by step, Beijing is becoming the direct accomplice of imperialism in the implementation of the latter's global anti-people's plans. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, Beijing's policy "continues to be aimed at the aggravation of the international situation and closes up to imperialist policy."

Initially it may seem paradoxical that Beijing would attempt to combine its proimperialist course with tactical steps toward "normalizing" relations with some communist parties.

The worldwide public is closely observing this political balancing act. Global interest became particularly greater following the visit to China of a delegation from the Italian Communist Party in April and of the Communist Party of Spain in November of 1980. The range of assessments given to these visits was exceptionally broad. At its extremes it included mutually exclusive statements: It was said by some that the resumption of contacts between the CPC and the Western European communists was natural in terms of relations among communist parties, and that all it did was to eliminate some past misunderstandings, essentially as a result of the Chinese leadership's reevaluation of its previous positions. Others saw in Beijing's flirtation with the communist movement yet one more attempt to introduce discord in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard of our time and to use it for its national-chauvinistic purposes.

What is the nature of the real underlying cause of Beijing's tactics in its relations with the communist movement? What are the Chinese leadership's targets as it switches from "anger to kindness" and from abuse to flattery toward some communist parties? How to reconcile Beijing's line of accelerated alliances with imperialism and reaction with its aspiration to establish interparty relations

with the communists, who are the most systematic anti-imperialist force. These questions require clear answers backed by facts.

The objective assessment of a political phenomenon requires that it be considered within a historical context, within the framework of broad sociopolitical reality. Obviously, the current changes in CPC tactics can be understood better after a brief look at the antecedents of the problem.

This is made even more pertinent by the fact that today's events in China make it possible to cast a new look at the history of the polemic conducted by the CPC against the international communist movement. Whereas in the past it may have been thought by some that the CPSU and the other communist parties were exaggerating the tragedy of the Chinese people as a result of what was taking place in the period of absolute rule of China by Mao Zedong, and whereas pseudowell-wishers could be heard to say that China was allegedly creating a separate form of socialist democracy, today such illusions or speculations would be obviously out of place. The Chinese leaders themselves, whatever their reason, are forced to acknowledge the accuracy of the qualification of Maoist concepts and practical actions provided by the CPSU and the other communist parties.

#### Beginning of the Discord

If we trace the changes in the views and actions of the leaders of the CPC starting with the second half of the 1950s, it will become clear that this was precisely what triggered the differences and which, subsequently led to a break with the international communist and workers movements and the socialist countries. This did not occur in the least as a result of accidental circumstances. It is true that there were many objective conditions in China which created possibilities for a deformation of the revolutionary process and for the ideological and political degeneration of the party's and the state's leadership. Such possibilities, however, did not mean in the least an inevitability.

Here again, the nature of the political group headed by Mao Zedong, which concentrated party-political power in its hands, came to the fore. It was precisely these people, who repressed the true Chinese revolutionaries, who donned the garb of Marxists, but who, in reality, were imbued with the spirit of reactionary nationalism, infallibility, great-China ambitions, leadership mania and total permissiveness. It was precisely this group, which embodied the anti-Marxist trend, that proved to be dominant in the political line of the CPC leadership at the end of the 1950s, undertook to revise the decisions of the Eighth CPC Congress and mounted campaigns which were fatal to the country, such as "The Great Leap Forward," the coercive communizing of the countryside and "The Cultural Revolution," and which took the path of confrontation against the socialist countries and the communist parties.

The Chinese leadership's abandonment of the Leninist foreign policy principles and the betrayal of proletarian internationalism were the continuation of adventurism in domestic policy, along with the formulation of objectives alien to socialism and the use of methods incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

From the very start of its confrontation with the international communist movement, the CPC leadership formulated special Sinocentrist positions on the most important

problems of contemporary life. It tried to impose its views on the other communist parties as being the absolute truth. Beijing came down with attacks against the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement as a whole and the policy of the socialist countries. It called for a revision of the conclusions which had been drawn at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of communist and workers parties.

As we know, thanks to the collective efforts of the fraternal parties, essential assessments were made at these conferences regarding the creative development of Marxism-Leninism on problems such as understanding the contemporary age and its basic contradiction, the role of the world socialist system, the ways leading to the building of socialism and communism, the possibility of preventing a world war, peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, peaceful and nonpeaceful methods for transition to socialism in developed capitalist and young countries liberated from colonialism, and so on.

Life and political practices confirmed the accuracy of the conclusions drawn by the communists. These conference conclusions and the most valuable experience gained in the course of the political struggle waged by the communists were rejected by the Chinese leadership. Instead, the Maoists suggested a selection of antiscientific, anti-Marxist and nonclass assessments and formulas, presented in the notorious "Motion on the General Line of the International Communist Movement" of 1963. Let us recall briefly the essence of this "motion."

In revising the Marxist-Leninist view of the basic contradiction of our time, the Chinese leadership pitted the national liberation movement against the socialist system, the communist parties and the working class;

Beijing rejected the communist-substantiated conclusion on the possibility of preventing a world war, which it proclaimed inevitable and even useful for the acceleration of the global revolution. It was deemed acceptable to sacrifice, as Mao said, one half of mankind for the sake of creating a "splendid" new civilization;

According to Maoist philosophy, "the truly revolutionary countries and peoples" should commit their full potential to fanning the "global revolutionary fire" and to exporting revolution, regardless of the possibility of starting a thermonuclear war;

Acting in accordance with the Chinese quasi-revolutionary scenario, the communist parties in Europe, America, Asia and Africa, ignoring the specific historical and political conditions of their countries, should rise to the armed struggle under the Maoist slogans claiming that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun," "the country surrounds the city," and so on;

The defense of war and, in general, of armed forms for struggle, was accompanied by increasingly malicious attacks against the policy of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence, the Maoist theoreticians wrote, meets the requirements of imperialism and plays into the hands of the imperialist politicians of aggression and war....It means the substitution of class cooperation for the class struggle on a worldwide scale....It means replacing the global proletarian revolution with pacifism and a withdrawal from proletarian internationalism.



Following the presentation of their theoretical platform, the Beijing leaders passed from words to actions.

In the first stage, at the beginning of the 1960s, the CPC leadership tried to place under its hegemonic rule the communist movement in its entirety, to move it away from Marxist-Leninist positions and to impose upon it the petit bourgeois adventuristic approach to the basic problems of the theory, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle.

On a parallel basis the CPC leaders launched divisive activities within the overwhelming majority of communist parties with a view to undermining and "splitting" them from within and creating parallel political organizations supporting the Maoist stand.

The communist and workers parties which Beijing had labeled a "countercurrent" (in which Beijing included all fraternal parties which rejected the anti-Leninist views of the CPC leadership) were accused of being "revisionist" and "the common enemy of the world's proletariat." They were charged with "social-reformism," "bourgeoisification" and "betrayal of the interests of the working class." Defamatory labels were put on noted leaders of the communist and workers movements. Thus, in the article "The Differences Between Us and Comrade Togliatti," published in RENMIN REBAO in 1962, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party was accused of "deviation from Marxism-Leninism," "embellishment of American imperialism," substituting class cooperation on an international scale for the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism" and so on.

Beijing's divisive and subversive activities within the world communist movement were rebuffed by the overwhelming majority of communist and workers parties. Suffice it to recall the public statements made by the heads of the communist parties and the resolutions their central organs passed at that time.

In particular, the statement issued by the Politbureau of the French Communist Party on the situation in the international communist movement said that "Daily activities, the experience of the hard class battle and the successes achieved on the basis of the ideas contained in the 1957 and 1960 documents prove the extent to which the assertions of the Chinese comrades are wrong."

P. Togliatti, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, said: "Study the positions defended by them (the CPC leaders -- the authors) and you will easily see that after a formal declaration of agreement with the stipulations and positions held by our entire movement, they usually either distort or twist these positions and, having rejected them, reject or try to reject all efforts aimed at achieving comprehension and defining the new aspects of reality and making our policy consistent with these aspects."

The declaration of the Communist Party of Germany Central Committee Politbureau emphasized that "Our party firmly rejects the attempts of the CPC leadership to pit against the jointly developed general line of the global communist movement another general line based on the rejection and arbitrary interpretation of jointly adopted resolutions."

The declaration of the Communist Party of India Central Secretariat stated: "The Indian communists sternly condemn the attempts of the CPC leaders to sow racial and regional discord with a view to dividing the international movement for peace and socialism and creating hatred of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe."

Many other examples of such principled criticism of the divisive course taken by the Beijing leaders in the international communist movement could be cited.

All of this proves that despite their fierce propaganda and political attacks against the communist parties, the Maoists were unable to bring about their internal erosion or ideological degeneration.

#### From Ideological Differences to Total Confrontation

Convinced of its failure, the CPC leadership began to turn to social strata and political forces outside the communist movement and the working class, which followed the communist parties.

It was precisely the strata and groups whose political nature made them petit bourgeois that became the nutritive ground for the dissemination of the Maoist ideas and the recruiting of members of pro-Maoist organizations and "parties."

They included the proanarchic student youth, extremist intellectuals, members of the lower urban strata and the petite bourgeoisie in some developing countries. As a rule, their leaders were renegades and turncoats expelled from the communist parties for factionalism and opportunism, as well as individuals who had left the communist parties in order to engage in an open struggle against them.

There were several dozen such groups in 1967. Beijing started referring to them as "true revolutionaries," and "true Marxist-Leninist parties."

It was essentially at that point that the stage of relations between the CPC and the world communist movement began, a stage of open confrontation against virtually all fraternal parties, against which the splinter groups were pitted. According to the plans of the CPC leaders, they were to set up a kind of new Maoist "world revolutionary movement." They were given the task of engaging in subversive activities against the socialist countries and the communist and workers parties.

Taking up China's propaganda, the foreign Maoists began to shout that "an excellent revolutionary situation" had already developed throughout the world and that the armed seizure of power was the only form of revolution. Such concepts predetermined their cooperation with Trotskyites, anarchists and terrorists in their subversive work against real socialism, the international communist movement and the revolutionary-democratic systems.

The growth of extreme-left aspirations and views among the foreign Maoists was greatly assisted by the so-called "cultural revolution," now debunked in China itself.

For many years the Chinese leaders, including those in power today, enthusiastically endorsed this monstrous experiment. At that time, the Beijing leaders and the

information media stated that in the course of this "great revolution" the "bourgeois command had been defeated," the "restoration of capitalism in the country" had been prevented, "the criminal whirlwind of counterrevolutionary economism" had been eliminated and so on. It was claimed that the "cultural revolution" was a "powerful motive force in production development," that "it strengthens the party to a tremendous extent," and that it contributes to the "broadest possible revolutionary cohesion" of the Chinese people.

The Beijing leadership did not fail to use the Maoist groups abroad to praise the "cultural revolution" and to acclaim its international significance loudly. The Chinese press published a flood of absurd statements by foreign Maoists preaching the most desperate adventurism and anticommunism, which they concealed behind high-falutin revolutionary phraseology. The following are a few examples taken from the information bulletin of the New China News Agency:

F. Dinucci, the leader of the so-called Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) claimed that the "cultural revolution" in China is "one of the greatest exhortations to the peoples of the world." NUOVA UNITA, the organ of the Italian Maoists, praised the "cultural revolution" and preached that the approach to it "is a decisive factor in distinguishing between the true Marxists and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the pseudorevolutionaries."

Their French colleagues expressed themselves in the same vein. J. Jourquet wrote in L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE that "The great proletarian cultural revolution which is currently underway in China, is of more decisive historical significance than the two great events which preceded it, the Paris Commune and the 1917 October Revolution."

Nor did the bourgeois mass information media remain on the sidelines when it came to praising the "cultural revolution" in their own style. They depicted it as a "spontaneous protest of the youth against the dominance of bureaucracy," "a manifestation of mass free thinking," etc.

The propaganda campaign triggered by the "cultural revolution" did not bypass even some communist party leaders. Thus, S. Carrillo, Communist Party of Spain secretary general, claimed, after his trip to China in 1971, that "the cultural revolution has strengthened the positions of socialism in China," "enhanced the combativeness, enthusiasm and revolutionary romanticism of the masses and contributed to the development of the production process," that "it put an end to the process of the development of bureaucratic structures," "restored control of the masses over the cadres," etc. (MUNDO OBRERO, 12 December 1971).

More dangerous than verbal praise were the attempts made outside China to organize something in the nature of "minicultural revolutions." To this effect the Beijing leaders used their "fifth column," the large settlements of ethnic Chinese in a number of Asian countries and some parties which had fallen under Beijing's influence as early as the 1960s.

Even before the "cultural revolution," in the autumn of 1965, China's Maoist leadership struck hard at the most influential and biggest communist party in nonsocialist Asia -- the Indonesian Communist Party. Hundreds of thousands of communists in that country were executed or thrown in jails and concentration camps.



Typically, however, Beijing did not even raise its voice in protest against the bloody reprisals against the Indonesian communists.

In assessing the lessons of these events the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists pointed out that "The defeat of the CPI was largely the consequence of the fatal influence of Maoist policy....We rejected all the attempts of the Maoist elements to isolate the CPI from the international communist movement and to convert our party into a weapon in the struggle against the fraternal parties."

An irreparable blow was dealt to the Communist Party of Burma in 1967-1968 when its pro-Chinese leadership tried to promote a Maoist-style "cultural revolution" in its party. This developed into physical reprisals against anyone who disagreed with Beijing's line. The Communist Party of New Zealand, whose leadership adopted the banner of Maoism, found itself isolated from the development of political life in the country and broke down totally. The positions of the communist parties in Thailand and Malaya, which followed the fairway of Beijing's policy, emerged with drastically weakened positions.

The world then witnessed yet another most loathsome and tragic recurrence of the "cultural revolution." Kampuchea turned out to be the country in which the Maoist "model" of social reorganization was applied outside China, within an entire national state. The main features of this "model" were a military barracks system, violation of basic human rights, socioeconomic experiments carried to the level of absurdity and mass destruction of the population, which reached a genocidal scale. All of this generated such nationwide hatred and indignation in the country that a revolutionary explosion became inevitable.

For the first time in the history of the global revolutionary liberation movement an anti-Maoist revolution took place, and the revolutionary action of the people's masses, aimed against the policy of the present Chinese leadership, represented in Kampuchea by the Pol Pot-Yeng Sari regime, triumphed. The result was a very strong blow to Maoism and the inhuman Maoist social structure models brought to Kampuchea by Chinese "advisers" and their pupils.

In the international arena, the "cultural revolution" worsened China's isolation. Essentially, as it were, the supporters of Maoism were unable to strengthen their organizational and ideological positions not in even one single country. Nevertheless, the period of the "cultural revolution" represented a kind of a peak in the dissemination of Maoism. This, however, was no more than a brief splash. Attempts at exporting Maoism as a strategy and tactic of the revolutionary struggle became a total fiasco.

The point here is that the "cultural revolution" brought on its own rejection as an ideology and as political practice. Both it and the events which followed it inevitably brought about an intensification in the Maoist crisis and clearly exposed its inability to give a meaning to historical reality and offer effective means for the reorganization of society, something which can be accomplished only on the basis of a scientific outlook.

## Turn to Forming a Bloc With Imperialism

The groundlessness of Maoism was proved by the Marxist-Leninists long ago. The real nature of the "cultural revolution" was exposed in the materials of CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums and the speeches of party and Soviet state leaders. Speaking in Gor'kiy in 1967, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "The resolutions of the Ninth CPC Congress Plenum and the political campaign which is taking place in China under the screen of the "great cultural revolution" prove that the great-power anti-Soviet policy pursued by Mao Zedong and his group has entered a new and dangerous phase....Nor can we fail to see the great damage which the present course followed by Mao Zedong and his group is causing to the Chinese people themselves....This is a great tragedy for all true communists in China, and we offer them our deep feelings of sympathy....By exposing the ideology and politics of today's Beijing leaders, who have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, we are fighting not the CPC or China but for the CPC, for its return to the path of internationalism and its unity with all fraternal parties on the principled base of Marxism-Leninism..."

Comrade M. A. Suslov spoke on the absurdity of the struggle launched by Mao Zedong against so-called "economism," which was actually a struggle against the scientific principles of socialism, in May 1968: "The use of commodity-monetary relations in the socialist countries is being attacked...by the 'theoreticians' in the Mao Zedong group. In their writings they are trying to distort Lenin's concepts of material incentive, cost effectiveness and profits, depicting them as bourgeois economic categories."

Members of many communist and workers parties gave a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the "cultural revolution." The policy of the Mao Zedong group was substantively criticized at the June 1969 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. The communist press underscored the antisocialist, antidemocratic and anticonstitutional nature of the "cultural revolution." J. Vidal, the political commentator of L'HUMANITE, wrote the following about the "Red Guards" and their inspirers: "The day will come, however, when reality will force them to wake up and when practical experience will make them realize their error: at that point, woe to those who made them what they are; the false prophets, if they are still alive, will be forced to pay the full price" (J. Vidal, "Kuda Vedet Kitay Grupa Mao Tszeduna" [Where is Mao Zedong's Group Taking China?]. Moscow, 1967, p 147).

Today, 15 years after the "cultural revolution" and several years after Mao's death, the experiments of "the great helmsman" are considered faulty and are openly condemned in China itself. In January 1980 Deng Xiaoping stated that "The entire country was in a state of white terrorism and unparalleled chaos. The party organizations were subjected to major destruction, while the people's masses were cruelly suppressed." Ye. Jianying admitted in 1979 that "extensive counterrevolutionary subversive activities were being conducted in the country, pushing the people toward an abyss of suffering and the cause of socialism to the of difficulties unparalleled since the founding of the republic."

Hu Yaobang, the present chairman of the CPC Central Committee has described the "cultural revolution" as the period of "major counterrevolutionary destruction."

There was an ulterior motive for such assessments. Life convincingly proved the groundlessness of the Maoist interpretation of socialism and the total bankruptcy of the attempts to apply the Maoist "model" in practice. Beijing is engaged in the reassessment of many major aspects of Maoist theory and practice, but not for the sake of the triumph of the truth in the least. As before, this process reflects the uninterrupted struggle for power in the "upper echelons" and at other levels of Chinese society. Thus, the "Resolution on Some Problems of CPC History Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted at the Sixth CC CPC Plenum in June 1981, contains many critical statements about Mao Zedong and his policies. This "Resolution," however, is of a conflicting, a compromising nature. It reflects obvious differences in the views of the members of the Chinese leadership regarding CPC history and Mao Zedong's role in it.. That is precisely why, while pointing out the gross errors made by "the helmsman" and their tragic consequences to China, the authors of the document claim that Mao's merits come first, while his errors are secondary. This proves that similar and other petty political and circumstantial considerations clearly have the upper hand in China. This is confirmed by the aspiration to save Mao Zedong, the main culprit of the antinational policy, from condemnation and to pursue Mao's hegemonistic course of accelerated militarization of the country, intensification of anti-Sovietism, aggravation of international tension and rapprochement with imperialism.

The bankruptcy of Maoism becomes most clear merely by comparing previous statements by Chinese leaders, including those who rule China today, and what they are saying today, with the theses which many years ago the Marxists-Leninists defended in opposition to Maoist distortions.

It is interesting to note that S. Carrillo, who visited China in November 1980, judged the current reforms as being "correct," and gave a high rating to the "democratization" of economic life. He described the trial in Beijing as "a new step in guaranteeing human rights" in China (the reader will recall Carrillo's previous statements on the "cultural revolution," made in 1971).

What assessment can be made of the phenomena currently taking place in China?

Let us consider the facts.

Within the country, as the events of recent years proved, the new Chinese leadership was unable to resolve the very big economic, social and political problems and to correct the harm done to the Chinese people and the cause of socialism.

The PRC's national economy is in a difficult situation and, as RENMIN RIBAO pointed out, the country is threatened with a "serious financial and economic crisis." The level of industrial output is dropping, disproportions among economic sectors are growing and state budget deficits are rising. The "definitive" statistical report on the fulfillment of the 1980 PRC economic plan, published in the Chinese press in May, admits that the so-called economic regulation is developing unsatisfactorily and will not be completed within the planned 3-year term. The published data show that in 1980, according to rough estimates, there were 26 million unemployed and 100 million chronically undernourished people in the country. The political crisis, which has gone on in China for many years, has not been surmounted, but is even worsening in some aspects. The anti-Maoist movement of the masses is spreading various spheres of Chinese society. The petit bourgeois and private-ownership



elements are becoming energized and the prerequisites are being created for the penetration of the Chinese economy by Western and Japanese monopoly capital. Paralleled by talk of law and order and democracy, the "screws are being tightened" further. A purge on all levels is being extended and all officials in the party-state apparatus and the military deemed unsuitable by the Beijing leaders are being removed.

The communist party is not performing the role of a political nucleus of the working class. Its leadership is not representing the interests of the working people. The remaining state and cooperative ownership of capital goods has been placed entirely in the service of the creation of a militaristic superpower and the backing of hegemonistic policy in the international arena.<sup>1</sup> The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress, presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, noted that "The experience in the socioeconomic development of the PRC over the past 20 years is a hard lesson which teaches us the result of distorting the principles of socialism and its essence in domestic and foreign policy."

The negative features of Beijing's political course are apparent in its foreign policy: China's further rapprochement with imperialism and global reaction and its intensified political and ideological struggle against the USSR and the other socialist countries and progressive liberated countries and liberation movements.

Today Beijing is acting even more aggressively than in the past. This is confirmed by the attack mounted by the Chinese hegemonists against socialist Vietnam, the continuing armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border and the intrigues against other neighbors of China. This is also confirmed by Beijing's military doctrine, which, as in the past, proceeds from the fact that "a future war will break out soon...It will be big and even nuclear." Last May, at his meeting with the chairman of the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society, Deng Xiaoping said: "It is being said lately that the view that a world war is inevitable has changed in the PRC. The previous opinion that a war is inevitable, however, remains." Now, however, while retaining as a whole this warmongering slogan, Beijing is trying to avoid an open defense of a thermonuclear conflagration. Statements on this matter are accompanied by the stipulation that, allegedly, a world war could be postponed by intensifying the struggle against...the Soviet Union. Therefore, Beijing's new formulation is no less absurd or dangerous to peace than the old one.

While occasionally condemning the arms race, the Chinese leadership opposes any suggestion on restraining it and strengthening the peace. Beijing has mounted a slanderous propaganda campaign against the peace initiatives at the 26th CPSU Congress. Our suggestions on detente in Europe and measures of trust in the Far East, i.e., those same suggestions which met with the warm approval of all peace-loving forces and realistic government circles, have become the target of brazen attacks. The Chinese leaders are continuing to frighten Western Europe with the myth of the "Soviet threat." They call for "cohesion" and the dispersal of "illusions." In other words, they are urging Western Europe into a confrontation with the Soviet Union and its conversion into an exercise ground for the Pentagon.

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1. For details on China's domestic situation, see O. Borisov. "Some Aspects of China's Policy." KOMMUNIST No 6, 1981.

China's rapprochement with imperialism, military and political alliance with aggressive U. S., Japanese and Western European circles and economic cooperation with monopoly capital, essentially equally subordinated to Beijing's military and political ambitions, are reaching a dangerous point. Possibilities are being created for the sale by the Pentagon and its allies of the latest military ordnance to China. From talk of "parallel" and "coinciding" strategic interests in many areas, China and the United States have moved on to the practical coordination of military-political and diplomatic actions. Beijing and Washington are actually coordinating their efforts in training and arming Afghan rebels. They jointly approve of the actions of antisocialist forces in Poland, of supporting and preserving the Pol Pot gangs, exerting pressure on Iran and undertaking subversive activities against other countries.

We must say that such shameless support of the subversive and aggressive actions of U. S. ruling circles by Beijing came precisely at a time when American imperialism took the path of sharp increase in the arms race and intensification of military preparations. The Beijing leadership is proving its "usefulness" to the new American administration by supporting virtually all foreign policy measures adopted by the White House, including interference in the affairs of El Salvador, support of the Chilean junta, expansion of the American military presence in the Indian Ocean and increased military confrontation on the European continent, with the deployment of new types of American nuclear missiles. Day in and day out the Chinese press carries provocative materials which encourage Washington to adopt a firmer policy toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

One of the consequences of Beijing's switch from pseudorevolutionism to alliance with imperialism and the reaction was the profound demoralization it created among the foreign Maoists, thus aggravating their long-established crisis even further. Many pro-Maoist groups collapsed. Others sharply condemned China's proimperialist course; those which remained loyal to Beijing are losing even the semblance of political organization, becoming Beijing's secret agents.

Many pro-Maoist groups announced that they were disbanding. In breaking with Maoism, its former supporters frequently publish self-expository statements. A recent example of this is the total fiasco of the pro-Beijing so-called "Communist Party of Germany." K. Zemmler, its leader, described the disbanding of the "CPG (M.-L.)" in March 1980 as "a necessary step in connection with our failure to develop a leading nucleus of the communist party unilaterally, without effective consideration of the real development of class battles and political currents in the labor movement."

Many Maoist groups in the FRG, the Scandinavian countries, Spain and other capitalist states which blindly supported Beijing's policy until 1976 are now putting a distance between themselves and the foreign and domestic policy of the PRC and consider the "theory of three worlds," developed, according to them, by Deng Xiaoping, a revision of Maoism from the right.

Against the background of the deepening crisis in the camp of Maoists abroad, of late the Chinese leadership has been focusing its efforts along two lines.

First, it is not weakening its efforts to consolidate the ranks of its foreign stooges and make them an obedient mouthpiece of Beijing's policy. Second, it is clearly trying to improve its relations with some communist parties, flirting with them and trying to weaken counteractions to China's proimperialist foreign policy. The Chinese leadership is showing its readiness to abandon, and is already abandoning, all of the charges of revisionism made against some communist parties. It is merely trying to win acknowledgement that its struggle against the USSR, the CPSU and other socialist countries allegedly does not conflict with the interests of individual parties or of the communist and national liberation movements as a whole.

RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CC CPC, has begun to publish, for the first time in many years, regular news on the activities of some European communist parties, together with the activities of various foreign pro-Beijing dissenting "parties." This seemingly minor fact conceals a new and quite big political game initiated by Beijing toward the international communist movement, while retaining its position of confrontation with the overwhelming majority of communist parties and implementing its "differentiated approach" to the communist movement by separating its member parties into "correct" and "incorrect" categories.

The new tactic adopted by the Chinese leadership toward some Western European communist parties took 3-4 years to mature. It acquired its definite organizational shape, so to say, in 1980. In the spring of 1980 Beijing "normalized" its relations with the Italian Communist Party. In November, in the course of the visit to China of a delegation of the Communist Party of Spain, the "normalizing" of relations between the CPC and CPS was announced as well.

The Chinese leaders behaved as though there had been no lengthy period of attacks mounted by the CPC on these two communist parties. In noting that the differences separating them had nevertheless not been overcome as yet, Deng Xiaoping concluded: "Today, we set such differences aside." Beijing is praising the "normalizing" of relations with these communist parties in every possible way as "an event of historical significance," and "a new stage of development," and proclaims the CPC's intention firmly to support "the restored combat friendship."

#### Double Game

Let me now go back to the question raised at the beginning. What is the reason for Beijing's rather sharp turnabout in its relations with the individual detachments of the communist movement, and what is the nature of what really underlies this new zigzag? A study of the political course pursued by the present Chinese leadership convincingly proves that in terms of the most important problems of international life and the global revolutionary process its positions have not come closer in the least to those held by the socialist countries and the communist and workers parties, but precisely the contrary. Beijing's policy is becoming increasingly dangerous to the cause of peace and socialism.

Beijing is trying to penetrate the international communist movement "through the back door," so to speak, in pursuit of strictly pragmatic, national-chauvinistic and proimperialist objectives. A historical survey of relations between the CPC and that movement indicates that over the past 20 years the Chinese leadership has used a variety of tactics for the Maoizing and subversion of the positions of the



communist parties. However, neither ideological attacks, total political confrontation, nor the implantation of pro-Maoist organizations in different countries yielded the desired results. Under such circumstances, the Chinese leadership charted a course toward setting some communist parties against others through the use of a selective approach to some of them, presented as the "normalizing of relations." Obviously, this is Beijing's first objective. In order to achieve it, the Chinese leadership is trying to make capital of the stand taken by some Western European communist parties, whose leadership is particularly emphasizing "national specifics" in the struggle for socialism, problems of autonomy and independence, and some differences from the other communist parties in its approach to some international problems.

Secondly, in an effort to pit some communist parties against others, the CPSU above all, the Beijing leadership is clearly trying to emasculate the internationalist aspect of their struggle and to impose upon them its own assessments on topical problems of world developments. On the eve of and during S. Carrillo's visit, the Beijing leaders persistently preached the basic slogans of their foreign policy doctrine. Terming detente a "bluff," they tirelessly call upon the American hawks, the NATO military and the Japanese militarists to join China in a "united front" of struggle against the Soviet Union, "one spearhead facing another." Beijing is tirelessly repeating the absurd thesis claiming that "the main threat of war comes from the USSR," that "the Soviet Union will remain a threat to China and the West," and that our country is allegedly concocting plans for "world domination."

Naturally the delegations of the Western European communist parties publicly expressed their disagreement with some aspects of Chinese policy. "We," E. Berlinguer said, for example, "do not agree to consider the Soviet Union the enemy." Differences between representatives of the ICP and the CPC leadership were manifested also in terms of Beijing's military and political rapprochement with the United States, NATO and Japan, the views on the problems of war and peace and China's aggression against Vietnam. S. Carrillo expressed himself in the same spirit. However, the Chinese leaders tried to play down all such objections and even to ignore them. Thus, in commenting on S. Carrillo's visit, Hua Guofeng stated that "the CPC and the CPS share a great deal in common, and differences between the two parties are secondary."

The question is, could the fate of war and peace, problems of correlation and deployment of political forces in the international arena and relations among socialist countries and communist parties be considered secondary matters in talks between political parties? If so, then what is the main, the determining feature of their common positions?

Thirdly, both the reason for and the target of Beijing's new tactics are its anti-Sovietism and the desire to isolate the Soviet Union internationally. The Chinese leaders leave no doubt concerning this intention. During the visit of the CPS delegation, Deng Xiaoping cynically stated in an interview granted to THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR that "Common sense indicates that if China dared to not give in to the Soviet Union when it was poor....why would it need a reconciliation with it after becoming rich?" Before his meeting with S. Carrillo, Deng Xiaoping was interviewed by Spanish journalists to whom he repeated essentially the same thesis.

The CPC leadership has taken it upon itself to judge the propriety or impropriety of the policies of any given party. Hu Yaobang has stated unequivocally that Beijing "will judge the accuracy of the positions" of other parties above all on the extent to which "they put a distance between themselves and the CPSU" (RENMIN REBAO, 16 April 1980). Beijing makes no secret of the fact that it considers winning over to its side a certain share of left-wing forces one of the directions in the creation of the so-called "broadest possible front" against the USSR and the other socialist countries, i.e., precisely the implementation of the intention with which, to judge from their public statements, the leaders of Western European communist parties disagree.

Fourth, in an effort to establish contacts with the communist parties, the Chinese leadership would like to break down the isolation in which China found itself as a result of the Maoist policy, and to improve the reputation it lost among the left-wing forces throughout the world and among the Chinese people themselves, for Beijing's reactionary actions in the international arena have been severely criticized by the broad progressive public. Thus, China's aggression against socialist Vietnam, which was launched with the silent approval of American imperialism, was firmly condemned by virtually all communist, workers and revolutionary democratic parties, by many leaders of developing countries, noted social democrats, trade unions and progressive public organizations of all kinds. With its efforts to establish contact with influential communist parties, Beijing is trying somehow to conceal the proimperialist orientation of its policies, while preserving intact their reactionary and aggressive nature.

Fifth and last, we must not ignore the fact that, in practical terms, the "normalizing" of relations between Beijing and some communist parties is consistent with U. S. interests and is being pursued in the spirit of the same principles of coordination of Sino-American relations which give such actions a subversive nature threatening to peace and international security. This trend is confirmed by both indirect and, occasionally, direct statements by officials in both China and the United States. Thus, the U. S. press has discussed at length the role of the Sino-American alliance as a factor in the struggle against the USSR, the socialist comity and the revolutionary movement at large.

The clarity with which the proimperialist features of China's policy have been manifested precisely of late is clear not only to the communists but to any one who can assess facts soberly. Since such is the case, the communists cannot but ask themselves the following question: under these circumstances, does any step leading to Beijing mean support of those who are sliding with increasing speed into the arms of reactionary imperialist forces? Furthermore, could such actions fail to cause any harm to the struggle for the basic objectives of the communist parties, which hold diametrically opposite views to the Chinese assessments of the most important problems of work developments, war and peace and the roles of the Soviet Union and of American imperialism?

What is left? If it is a question of the principles of autonomy, independence and reciprocal noninterference in intraparty relations which, after the failure of the most shameless pressure exerted on the communist parties, apparently even Beijing accepts, at least verbally, such principles being, so to say, a prerequisite, a condition and a norm of any type of interparty relations, by themselves they cannot constitute a meaningful basis for common objectives and tasks of cooperation.

During the talks in Beijing "reciprocal support and joint discussion of international problems" were discussed. The question is, how and in what does Beijing intend to support the Western European communists? In the struggle against monopoly capital or for European security? Beijing's position on such matters is well known: it is diametrically opposed to that of the communists. We also know on whose side the real sympathies of the Beijing leaders are. When Deng Xiaoping was reminded in the course of the interview we mentioned, in the summer of 1980, of the fact that the first flowers sent for the burial of Franco, the butcher and suppressor of the Spanish communists, were from China, and that the name of Chou Enlai was on the wreath, he not only did not disassociate himself from that fact but even tried to find a justification for it.

Also noteworthy is the circumstance that "normalizing" relations with communist parties does not prevent Beijing from welcoming delegations of pro-Maoist dissidents ceremoniously, despite their double-dyed hostility toward the communists, the Spanish communists included. It seems likely that the Chinese leadership is trying to legitimize its double-faced policy and to develop parallel relations with the communists and the Maoist elements.

Sometimes, as though to justify the development of contacts with the CPC, it is claimed that China and the CPC are such an impressive political force that it would be impossible and unwise to isolate it. Therefore, it is better to develop relations with them, regardless of their political course, than to anathematize them and try to expel them from the movement. History offers convincing proof that neither the CPSU nor the other communist parties have ever anathematized the CPC and have never tried, nor are they trying, to "isolate" China internationally. The situation is precisely the reverse: it was specifically the Soviet Union that made efforts, even after the Chinese leadership had taken anti-Soviet positions, to secure for China its legitimate place in the United Nations, where it could play a great role in the world as suits a great power.

From the very beginning, the Marxist-Leninist parties approached the problem of their differences with the CPC leadership on the basis of a benevolent attitude toward the Chinese people and the cause of socialism in China. They realized the entire complexity of reorganizing social relations in a country as huge as China and the need to find solutions which would be most consistent with the specifics of China. No one imposed upon the Chinese communists ready-made prescriptions or asked them to duplicate anyone else's methods for building socialism. At the same time, however, the Marxists-Leninists noted the main line separating that which works for socialism from that which is radically against it. The Chinese people could have been spared the whirlpool of many tragedies, economic failures, stagnation and regressive developments in social and cultural life had those to whom words of truth were addressed honestly listened to their friends' voices.

It was the Beijing leadership that set itself against the international communist movement, the socialist comity and the other forces of peace and progress by engaging in subversive activities against them along the entire front and mounting a broad propaganda campaign of lies and slanders. That leadership precisely continues indiscriminately to reject any constructive suggestion aimed at the normalizing of Sino-Soviet relations, to formulate groundless demands and to issue ultimata which even include territorial claims against the USSR.



In an effort to justify the development of contacts with the CPC, it is further stated that the USSR as well is allegedly trying to improve relations with the United States and other imperialist countries and that this does not hinder the development of normal interparty relations with the CPSU. This "argument," however, twists most obvious truths. It is one thing to improve intergovernmental relations for the sake of consolidating peace and preserving detente without deviating from an anti-imperialist political course and something entirely different to pursue a military-political alliance with imperialism, as China does, provoking the aggravation of international tension and undermining the positions of socialism and of the international communist and other liberation movements.

To ignore this fact means, to say the least, indirectly to acknowledge the "rightfulness" of Beijing's course of creating a military-political bloc including China, on the one hand, and American imperialism, the NATO military and the Japanese militarists, on the other, and, in the words of the Chinese leaders themselves, a "broad front" against the Soviet Union.

The indistinct nature of the positions adopted concerning Beijing's foreign policy hinders the cohesive support given the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples of the liberated countries by the international communist movement. We know that essentially Beijing is pursuing a policy common to that of imperialism toward the national liberation movement and the developing countries. Together with the imperialist countries, China is taking part in the suppression of liberation movements, interfering in the affairs of the young countries and engaging in subversive activities against progressive and revolutionary-democratic regimes. Such Chinese actions were clearly apparent in the cases of Bangladesh, Chile, Angola, Ethiopia, the countries of Indochina and the Arab East, Nicaragua, Iran and Afghanistan. It was no accident that Beijing's best friends were ousted tyrants hated by their peoples: the shah of Iran, "Emperor" Bokassa and the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza. Today, Beijing's friends are Sadat, Pinochet and Zia-ul-Haq.

To ignore Maoist subversive activities in that part of the world means to pander to the "parallel" activities of China and American imperialism against the developing countries and national liberation movements and to Beijing's own great-power objectives in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Finally, one frequently hears that the establishment of relations with the CPC does not prevent the preservation of the ideological and political positions of the communist parties and that taking note of differences in the assessment of topical problems may positively influence Chinese policy. So far, however, this has not been the case. No positive changes of any kind have taken place in Beijing's policies. Conversely, their negative aspects have strengthened.

The fraternal communist parties are voicing their indignation at China's proimperialist and anti-Soviet course and at its hegemonistic activities of incitement in the international arena. This was reflected in the speeches of many heads of foreign delegations to the 26th CPSU Congress. The communists emphasized the dangerous nature of Beijing's new maneuvers toward the communist parties and its reviving claims to leadership of the world communist movement.

Such significant claims deserve close consideration. Two decades of ideological and political conflict between the CPC leaders and communists throughout the world

have shown quite clearly that the trend toward imposing Beijing's hegemony has always been behind such claims. On each such occasion it turned out that those who tried to adopt and implement Beijing's strategic prescriptions paid a very stiff and frequently irrecoverable political price.

Such historical lessons must not be forgotten.

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## THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SIXTH PLENUM AND BEIJING'S CURRENT POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 83-91

[Article by O. Valdimirov; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee of the 11th Convocation was held at the end of June. It adopted a "Resolution on Some Questions Pertaining to the History of the CCP. Since the Formation of the PRC" which attempts to analyze (from current Beijing position, of course) the 32-year experience of Chinese society's development since 1949 and, effectively, the turning points in the CCP's entire 60-year history.

Analysis of the ground covered often serves as a springboard for a new start, for accelerating ahead, having discarded the errors and mistakes of the past. Unfortunately, the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum, as its decisions and the real situation in the country show, was not that kind of turning point for the CCP. Its purpose was to justify the current course, to validate the country's nationalist line of development, whitewash Mao Zedong and establish his "thoughts" as guidance for the party and state.

The plenum marked a definite stage in the factional struggle which has been going on in the PRC for many years. This conclusion is confirmed, in particular, by what the Chinese papers are writing about the disagreements in assessing the plenum itself and in assessing the main questions discussed at it. The primary purpose of the mass campaign to promote study of the plenum documents is to achieve "full ideological unity," to "defend" its decisions and to prevent statements "at variance" with them. Special attention is devoted to the assembly of Mao Zedong's activity and his "thoughts," accompanied by an appeal to struggle against those who underestimate the "historic" role of Mao and Maoism and against those who unconditionally defend them.

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The protracted period of preparations for the plenum and the course of the plenum itself confirmed the existence of serious crisis phenomena in Chinese society and in the party and the existence of disagreements in the Beijing leadership not only concerning key periods of CCP history, the activity of Mao Zedong and his "thoughts," but also concerning the formulation of China's future sociopolitical and economic course. While in many respects contradictory and in the nature of a compromise, the



plenum materials at the same time clearly demonstrated that Beijing is seeking a way out of the present situation primarily along the lines of consolidating the great-power and nationalist political line and elaborating an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist "model" for the country's development and preserving a revamped Maoism as the ideological platform of the party and state.

In connection with the plenum many arguments appeared in the Western press to the effect that its decisions mark "the end of the Mao Zedong era" and the beginning of the "Deng Xiaoping era." I think this is a hasty conclusion. The fault lies in the fact that Deng Xiaoping is portrayed as a progressive reformer and attempts are made to counterpose him to Mao Zedong. In fact, Deng Xiaoping is a typical mouthpiece of the rightwing nationalist and pro-imperialist trends in Maoism which emerged a long time ago and are now dominant in the country's politics.

On many questions the plenum decisions were patent compromises. As for the cadre problem, the compromise element was manifested in the question of Hua Guofeng who, although he had lost the post of chairman of the CCP Central Committee, nevertheless remained a vice chairman. People such as Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian, whom Deng Xiaoping has long been trying to "put out to pasture," retained their leading posts. The position of new party Chairman Hu Yaobang was seriously weakened by the fact that the chairmanship of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission traditionally held by the top person in the party, passed to Deng Xiaoping. People thrown up by the "Cultural Revolution" remained in the leadership.

All these facts may serve as prerequisites for a new exacerbation of the power struggle against the Beijing elite which will hardly lead to positive changes in the political course. Not for nothing did Zhao Ziyang, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and PRC State Council premier, point out on the eve of the sixth plenum: "The changes in the CCP leadership will not mean changes in China's foreign and domestic policy."

The failures of the Maoist course in the economic and political spheres and the crisis phenomena in the country and party forced the plenum participants to condemn Mao Zedong's many mistakes--that is to say, his "serious mistakes," not crimes. The criticism and enforced self-criticism of the Beijing leadership confirm the correctness of Soviet communists' assessments of the "Cultural Revolution" as a counterrevolutionary, anti-socialist coup and of the 9th, 10th and 11th CCP Congresses as, basically, congresses which undermined the party's authority and the cause of socialism in China. One way or another the Chinese leadership was forced to acknowledge much of this although the leadership itself sticks to Maoist positions, seeking only to clean up Maoism.

The decision on matters relating to CCP history shows the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist parties' conclusions that the current Chinese leadership is incapable of overcoming the legacy of Mao and of drawing the proper conclusions from the crisis and failures of Maoism. Moreover, being itself a vehicle for petty bourgeois, nationalist views, it attempts to reaffirm the revamped, retouched "thoughts" of Mao Zedong as the official ideology of the party and state.

In its commentaries in connection with the sixth plenum the capitalist press states that at the plenum "the Deng Xiaoping line toward completely debunking Mao Zedong was victorious." This argument is remote from reality. The ideological situation in the PRC and the plenum documents indicate that in recent months intensive work was gotten underway again in China to confirm Maoism as the dominant ideology in society.

After Mao Zedong's death, the crisis of Maoism did indeed become particularly obvious. The "Cultural Revolution," which led to the establishment in the country, as the Chinese leaders themselves admitted, of "a most harsh feudal and fascist dictatorship," revealed the petty bourgeois, nationalist, antiscientific essence of Maoism. But now both the "Cultural Revolution" and Mao's crimes during that period, to which around 200 million people (including more than 10 million communists) fell victim, are now depicted merely as a "serious mistake." This description of Mao's monstrous crimes is bound to arouse protests among the Chinese working people.

Hu Yaobang, the new chairman of the CCP Central Committee, who, back in 1980, described the "Cultural Revolution" as a counterrevolution and said that the "thoughts" of Mao were "inapplicable to modern China" and that "few of the thoughts of Mao Zedong, which took shape and developed during the historical process of the Chinese revolution into the quintessence of the collective intellect of our party, are the chronicle of the victories of the Chinese people's great struggle." Addressing a ceremonial meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the CCP, Hu Yaobang maintained that "the thoughts of Mao Zedong have a universal significance" and "are a new contribution to the common treasure house of Marxism."

The plenum documents contradict the decisions of the Eighth CCP Congress (1965) which removed from the rules the thesis which saw the "thoughts of Mao Zedong" as the ideological basis of the party's entire activity and proclaimed that "the guiding ideology of the CCP is Marxism-Leninism." Essentially, they take the party back to the positions of the Seventh CCP Congress (1945) at which, as is known, petty bourgeois, nationalist trends prevailed following a lengthy campaign of persecuting and annihilating internationalist forces in the party in the course of the so-called "movement to put style in order." It was at the Seventh CCP Congress that the "thoughts of Mao" gained their citizenship as "Sinicized Marxism" which was supposed to unite the "universal truths of Marxism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution."

In the sections of the plenum decision in which the Chinese leadership was compelled to engage in self-criticism, it tries its best to justify itself by referring to the "brevity of historical experience of socialism," the "dogmatic approach" to the instruction of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the fact that various problems have not been "theoretically solved." The general law-governed patterns of the building of socialism, the Soviet Union's more than 63 years of experience and the long practice of the other socialist countries are totally ignored.

It is well known that Marxism-Leninism is the common treasure house of the entire international workers movement. It is being constantly enriched both by the revolutionary practice and by the theoretical thought of communists in all countries. At the same time, our party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties have repeatedly demonstrated that there are no theoretical grounds for the concepts of so-called "national Marxism." In fact, Marxism-Leninism is creatively applied by each party in the specific conditions of its own country, depending on specific national features. But in no way does this mean that there is "Russian" Marxism, "Chinese" Marxism, "British" Marxism and so forth. Marxism-Leninism is an international teaching, equally applicable to all countries. Therefore, the very concept "Sinicized Marxism" is totally irrelevant both theoretically and practically. Nevertheless, these fundamental tenets are violated in the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum decision and the idea of "Sinicized Marxism" is dragged in once again, as in the forties.

In this connection the fact that Marxist-Leninist terminology is used extensively in the plenums' decision on questions of history and that many Marxist-Leninist tenets are introduced very skillfully into its text, attracts attention. This has been done not to bring the current Beijing leadership's ideological and political platform more closely into line with the Marxist-Leninist platform, but simply for one purpose: to depict Maoism as the next stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism and thereby to consolidate its existence for the future.

To counterbalance revisionist and bourgeois views of the ideological processes in China, Sinologists who take Marxist-Leninist stances proceed from the fact that a process of the "modernization" and embellishment of Maoism is underway in the PRC. The new pragmatic modification of Maoism creates the ideological basis for the Beijing leadership's ganging-up with the imperialists and all the various kinds of revisionists and opportunists. Great-power hegemonism, anti-Sovietism, "Sinicized Marxism"--these are indispensable components of the ideology of modified Maoism. The whole thrust of the interpretation of Maoism contained in the decision on the history of the CCP confirms this conclusion. The documents of the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum, while reflecting the serious crisis both of the party itself and of its ideological foundation--Maoism--at the same time show that the root causes of the crisis have not been eliminated. It has not been overcome but only partly weakened by means of a temporary compromise in the ruling clique.

Taking account of the alignment of forces in the Chinese leadership, the highly complex situation in the party and Chinese society as a whole and the critical economic situation, it can be said that the compromise achieved at the sixth plenum is of a short-term nature. It will soon run out of steam and an intense struggle will again develop in the country which, in accordance with Maoist practice, will be passed off as a class struggle. During this struggle the questions broached in the plenum's decision may again arise, since it did not and could not provide the objectively scientific, honest answers that are so necessary to Chinese society.

The rehabilitation of Maoism in the form it takes in the plenum's documents in fact runs counter to the sentiments which have been spreading in recent years among the Chinese population. The attempts to separate the "merits" and failures of Mao Zedong are untenable since his "serious errors," which the plenum's decision now mentions, were engendered by Maoism and were the natural result of Mao's entire political activity. The assertion that since the CCP Central Committee Third Plenum (December 1978) the "correctness of Mao Zedong's thoughts" has been "reestablished" is evidence that the basis on which the current Chinese leadership intends to build the "Chinese model" in fact consists of the Maoist ideological platform and the regime established by Mao Zedong during the "Cultural Revolution."

The subterfuges used by the Chinese leadership in order to substantiate the "historical role" of Mao Zedong and his "thoughts" once again confirm the intention of the CCP leadership to continue still further Mao's great-power chauvinist course which is spearheaded against world socialism and at the same time against the fundamental interests of the Chinese people.

This is the main point because /strengthening the Maoist regime in the PRC as a result of rectifying a number of economic and political errors while preserving existing constitutional and statutory provisions and the essentially Maoist political course will be used to exacerbate the confrontation between China and the USSR and its allies and to deepen the military and political alliance between Beijing and world imperialism./



Yet further evidence that the plenum could not resolve many of the highly important questions of the country's internal life is the fact that nothing was said at it about the forthcoming 12th CCP Congress and the deadline for convening it, though it was originally scheduled for 1981. Back at the 5th CCP Central Committee Plenum (February-March 1980) it was decided to complete the elections of delegates to the 12th congress by November of last year. They have still only been held in less than half the provinces.

On the whole the 6th CCP Central Committee Plenum can be regarded as an intermediate stage in the fight which is underway between the various groupings of the Chinese leadership along the road toward the 12th CCP Congress. At the present stage Deng Xiaoping and the pro-imperialist, rightwing nationalist grouping which he heads in the Chinese leadership have managed to strengthen their positions. However this provides no guarantees that China's future development will proceed in an "atmosphere of stability and cohesion," as Beijing propaganda maintains.

All the documents of the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum are imbued with the spirit of anti-Sovietism. The task of combating "hegemonism," by which the Chinese mean the Soviet Union, is regarded as a long-term, strategic task. It is substantiated by the notorious "theory of three worlds" enshrined in the plenum's decision. It must be recalled that the struggle against the Soviet Union, according to the current PRC Constitution and CCP rules, is the constitutional and statutory obligation of every Chinese citizen and every party member.

2.

The documents of the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum do not specifically examine questions of China's present-day foreign policy although they affirm the initial Maoist precepts which lie at the basis of the Chinese rulers' international activity. There is an explanation for this. There are no positive changes in Beijing's foreign policy course, nor are any planned--it remains pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist, aimed at the all-round aggravation of international tension, the intensification of the danger of war and the formation of a bloc with imperialism. This was confirmed once again by U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig's visit to the PRC immediately before the opening of the sixth plenum. The visit revealed graphically both the general direction of Beijing's foreign policy and the designs which Washington is pursuing by playing the "China card."

The U.S. administration has recently been stepping up its efforts to cobble together a new military-political bloc in the Far East. The Washington-Beijing-Tokyo "triangle" is assuming the increasingly clear contours of an aggressive alliance. The intrigues of U.S. imperialism are meeting with complete understanding among the Chinese leadership. As RENMIN RIBAO wrote on 13 February: "Joint strategic interests dictate to these three countries (China, the United States and Japan--O.V.) that, in accordance with their real potential and requirements, they undertake coordinated actions against the Soviet Union."

During his visit, Haig notified the Beijing rulers that China would be accorded the status of a "friendly nonaligned country" and would be allowed to acquire sophisticated technology and equipment in the United States and also modern weapons, including offensive weapons, and the technology for their production.

This is a fundamentally new element in Sino-U.S. military cooperation. A Chinese military delegation headed by Liu Hauqing, deputy chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, is going to Washington to discuss specific questions of cooperation.

The Beijing leadership has made substantial concessions to the Americans on the question of Taiwan, although it has tried, through ostentatious demarches, to justify its new step along the path of national betrayal. On the day Haig's visit to the PRC ended, U.S. President R. Reagan made it clearly understood at a press conference that Washington intends to continue to maintain extensive ties with Taiwan and to give it military aid. In turn, U.S. Secretary of State Haig stated that his explanation of these intentions of Washington's "had been received with understanding" by the Chinese side.

Thus a new situation is emerging before our very eyes, which threatens peace throughout the world. Yet there are people who seek to pass off the Chinese-American military alliance which is being knocked together as some kind of ordinary phenomenon within the framework of the "normal process of the development of relations between China and the United States." Some of the American and Chinese yes-men assure us that Haig's visit to the PRC contained more propaganda ballyhoo than real, practical content. However, a comprehensive analysis makes it possible to assert that /Haig's visit to Beijing denoted an important qualitative change both in Chinese-American relations and in the international situation in general./

In this connection two features attract attention. First, it seems that Deng Xiaoping and his supporters, having seized key posts in the leadership of the country and party, are making the transition from ingratiating themselves with reactionary imperialist circles to the role of ally and military instrument in the hands of international imperialism. Beijing openly seeks to knock together a military-political bloc with the United States, Japan and other imperialist powers, calling this now a "broad united front of struggle against Soviet hegemonism" and now an "international structure for resistance to Soviet hegemonism." Of course, this process is not yet complete. The participants have some way to go before they achieve full military alliance and this path is full of obstacles and contradictions. However, the partners have not only embarked on this path, they are energetically moving more closely toward each other. Second, although the participants in the Chinese-American alliance make no secret of the fact that hostility toward the Soviet Union is the basis of the "coincidence of their strategic interests," their collusion is not confined to anti-Sovietism alone. Even Japan's ruling circles are aware that a militarily strong China constitutes a threat to all neighboring countries, particularly in Southeast and South Asia.

Haig stressed in Beijing that U.S. and Chinese views on the international situation "have never been so close as they are now" and spoke of the importance of Chinese-American cooperation "not only in the region of Asia and the Pacific, but throughout the world." Many international problems were discussed at the Chinese-American talks, including the situation in Southeast Asia and Korea, events in Poland, the situation in Eastern Europe and a number of others.

It is characteristic that on 19 July 1981 XINHUA reported the opinion of Z. Brzezinski, former national security adviser to the U.S. President, who, in a talk with

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Deng Xiaoping, "reached a united assessment of Chinese-American relations and the strategic situation in the world." In this connection it was stressed that at present /"In essence a coalition is becoming established between the United States, China, Japan and Western Europe"/ (our emphasis--O.V.). "This is an objective reality," Brzezinski stated, "and must be recognized as a new, important event in international relations."

In connection with the CCP Central Committee Sixth Plenum it is argued abroad that you can find in the plenum's materials "many rational statements and ideas," primarily on questions of economic activity and domestic political work. They allegedly indicate "radical changes in the PRC's domestic policy" which will inevitably lead to changes in foreign policy too. A whole collection of "arguments" are cited in support of this. Here are the main ones.

Complex processes are, they say, taking place in China and much is being revised. The Chinese leaders condemn a number of Mao Zedong's actions and principles, his personality cult and the "Cultural Revolution." American-Chinese military cooperation is a bluff and the U.S. lifting of restrictions on weapons sales to China, including offensive weapons, is a purely technical matter. It is asserted that Beijing's anti-Sovietism and pro-Americanism is a temporary exaggeration which will pass, and everything will take its rightful place.

But is that really how things stand? The key to a correct understanding of the Chinese leadership's policy can be found in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress. "Changes are now taking place in China's domestic policy. Time will reveal their real meaning. Time will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will succeed in overcoming the Maoist legacy. But unfortunately, the time has not yet come to speak of any changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policy. This is still aimed at exacerbating the international situation and is aligned with imperialism's policy. This, of course, will not bring China back onto a healthy path of development. Imperialists will not be friends to socialism."

3. Washington's and Beijing's expansion of their sphere of coordination of actions against the USSR and its allies emphasizes still more the importance of further intensifying opposition to the policy of a differentiated approach to socialist countries, which is implemented both by China and the United States. The Beijing ruling clique regards the weakening of the socialist community, of which it dreams, as an integral part of the resolution of the strategic task of creating the notorious "international structure of resistance" to the Soviet Union.

New shifts have recently been taking place in this sphere. Above all, the political aspect of Beijing's maneuvers has gained strength. The coordination of actions directed against socialist countries by Beijing and the United States, Japan, the NATO countries and the ASEAN countries has increased.

We are also faced with synchronized subversive activity by imperialism and China against the cause of socialism in Poland. Beijing's maneuvers with respect to that country cover a wide range. They include the kindling of anti-Sovietism through juggling with historical facts, the sweeping denial of socialism's successes in Poland under the PZPR's leadership in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, attempts to present antisocialist and anti-Soviet elements as "true patriots," and so forth.



Beijing seeks to disunite the socialist countries and sow mutual distrust among them. In particular, Chinese representatives make self-critical statements from time to time about their own past undervaluation of the experience of particular socialist states. However, on examination it turns out that these statements are of a pharisaical, hypocritical nature. They are aimed above all at trying to counterpose a particular fraternal country's experience to the common experience of the world socialist community and in particular to Soviet experience, and at pushing through the so-called idea of "national models of socialism."

In the present extremely complex international situation the fraternal countries counterpose to the intrigues and subversive activity of the imperialists and the Beijing hegemonists a united front of actions in defense of peace, progress and socialism. The entire historical experience of the development and strengthening of the socialist community clearly indicates its effectiveness both in upholding the common interests of the socialist family of peoples in general and in defending the honor and prestige of each socialist country individually. It was thanks to the unity of actions and firmness displayed by the Soviet Union and Mongolia that the imperialists and China were forced to acknowledge the sovereignty and independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The struggle to consolidate the results of World War II in the interests of socialism was long and complex. In the course of many years of joint efforts by the socialist community countries, international recognition of the GDR was secured and the ignominious Munich deal was pulled up by the roots. The socialist countries' unity of actions helped thwart imperialist provocations against heroic Cuba and ensured the victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in the struggle against American imperialism and Beijing hegemonism. The cohesion of the fraternal countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties and their conviction of the correctness of the cause they are fighting for are the guarantee of new victories in each socialist country and of the cause of socialism and communism in general.

Anti-Soviet propaganda in the PRC is getting more intense rather than less. Making slanderous attacks against the USSR, China's leaders reject every Soviet initiative aimed at consolidating peace, deepening detente and curbing the arms race. In particular, Beijing claims that the proposals put forward at the 26th CPSU Congress, including those on confidence-building measures in the Far East, are aimed at consolidating the USSR's alleged military superiority and are a "smokescreen" to hide its "military expansion." China calls on the West "not to fall for the tricks" of the USSR, to combat the Soviet "peace offensive," and to "pool efforts" in order to resist the Soviet Union and to prevent it wrecking the "coordinated strategy of the United States, China and Japan." The feelings of respect and friendship for the Chinese people expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress and our willingness to build Soviet-Chinese relations on a foundation of good-neighborliness have been interpreted as "unseemly schemes."

The Chinese side has deadlocked talks on both the normalization of Soviet-Chinese interstate relations and also the settlement of border disputes and shows no desire whatever to resume them. On 17 June RENMIN RIBAO published a lengthy article entitled "The Root of the Difficulties at the Chinese-Soviet Talks." The article, which oozes hypocrisy and duplicity, completely misrepresents the Soviet attitude and reasserts the timeworn theses of Chinese propaganda. In particular, raising once again

the issue of the so-called "inequitable treaties" and the "disputed regions," Beijing makes unsubstantiated territorial claims against the Soviet Union and tries to blame it for the "standstill" in the talks. One is also struck by the fact that whereas prior to 1978 the Chinese-side used to say that the "unresolved border issue" was the main obstacle to normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations, the aforementioned article states that the progress and success of the talks "is directly dependent on a change in the Soviet Union's entire policy."

On one level the appearance of such a Chinese article on the final day of Haig's visit to the PRC can be interpreted as an effort on the Chinese leadership's part to justify to its people the policy of open rapprochement with U.S. imperialism and to shift the blame for the deterioration in Soviet-Chinese relations onto the Soviet Union. On another level, Beijing's leaders are, as it were, assuring their overseas partners that China is willing to maintain a hardline anti-Soviet stance by virtue of the fact that no constructive proposals or measures aimed at a resumption of talks with the USSR have ensued.

On 4 July RENMIN RIBAO carried a signed article touching once again on the issue of the borders with neighboring states. It claims that the resolution of border issues with a number of countries had provided a favorable basis for developing good-neighborly relations. The Soviet-Chinese and Chinese-Vietnamese borders are categorized as "unsettled." The article refers once again to the "inequitable" Chinese-Russian treaties under which czarist Russia is said to have appropriated 1.5 million square meters of "Chinese land," accuses the Soviet Union of "wanting to seize" Chinese territory and continues in a similar vein.

The appearance in the PRC press of materials on settling border issues with its neighbors was prompted first and foremost by attempts to allay their fears that the fact that the United States is giving China military aid can quite reasonably be interpreted as encouraging Beijing's territorial claims against virtually every neighboring state.

Moreover, the Chinese leadership is trying to look more presentable in the eyes of the West and newly liberated countries, as well as its own people, by making out that China is improving relations not only with the United States but also with contiguous states. Beijing needs this demagoguery to underpin its efforts to present its current policy as a peace-loving one.

Beijing's propagandist maneuvers are being picked up not only by the West but also by certain opportunist circles. They allege that Chinese actions of this kind "are giving the Soviet side the signal for talks." The PRC's position with respect to Vietnam is interpreted in the same way. But these are phoney assertions: In reality no positive steps are to be observed on China's part.

The Soviet Union does not rule out the possibility of continuing talks and normalizing relations with China--that is a directive of the 26th CPSU Congress. Our proposals on this score remain in force. However, Beijing is thinking not to much of ways of improving relations with the Soviet Union as a creating even bigger obstacles and piling up obstructions on this path in the form of various preliminary conditions and ultimatums to our country. As is well known, the range of these conditions is quite extensive. The USSR is being required not only to renounce support for Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan but also to weaken its defense in the Far

East unilaterally and in general to behave in its foreign policy virtually as Beijing dictates. Is there any need to say that the Soviet Union has never undertaken and will never undertake to satisfy such ultimatums.

The USSR's course with respect to China, clearly defined by the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, was confirmed by the 26th congress. This course provides for rebuffing Beijing's hegemonistic policy, the defense of the interests of the Soviet state, the entire socialist community and the international communist movement, and a principles struggle against Beijing's anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist ideology and policy, including the present modified version of Maoism. At the same time the Soviet Union is not seeking confrontation and, as before, is prepared to normalize interstate relations with China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, which would accord with the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

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## MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL TASK

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[Article by Yu. Alimov]

[Text] The liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was marked by truly historical events in the 1970s. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the abolishment of colonial empires was actually completed during that period. Presently, even in southern Africa the rule of "classical" colonizers and racists is drawing to an end.

However, the successes achieved by the national liberation movement have not as yet definitively resolved the problem of the total elimination of colonialism, which has faced progressive mankind over many decades. To this day, a variety of vestiges and consequences of colonialism remain in the liberated countries and in their relations with the imperialist states and the monopolies. This predetermines the aspiration of the peoples of such countries to complete the national liberation revolutions. That is precisely why the total elimination of all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, violations of the equality and independence of the peoples and all hotbeds of colonialism and racism was made an intrinsic part of the peace program formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. The 26th CPSU Congress reasserted in its resolutions our party's steady course of strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement. "We support the aspiration of all nations for the fastest possible elimination of the difficult heritage of the colonial past," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted.

Such a formulation of the question is based on reality itself. The young countries are continuing to wage their tireless struggle for total and definitive emancipation, for their "second liberation" -- the extension of the process of elimination of colonialism to the economy and other areas of national development and international relations and prevention of recurrences of colonialism in the policies of the imperialist states. Such a struggle is being waged both within the liberated countries and in the world arena. It is growing with every passing year. A profound process of elimination of the colonial legacy is gathering strength.

The problem of the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial oppression system and infringement on the equality and independence of the peoples has many sides. It is no accident that today the liberated countries are making very frequent mention of the word "decolonization," which only recently was being used as a synonym for the

overthrow of colonial systems. If we look at the young states through the lens of decolonization, we see that their main efforts for strengthening their political independence, economic liberation, elimination of backwardness, ensuring social progress and freedom to choose their way of development, renaissance of national culture, reorganization of the international economic order and gaining full equality in the world arena are focused on eliminating the obstacles and difficulties inherited from the epoch of colonialism and on uprooting its consequences.

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Within a relatively short time after they had gained their national independence, the peoples of yesterday's colonies and semicolonies achieved considerable successes in various fields of life. It is on this basis that the bourgeois scientists and politicians are trying to present matters as though the gaining of independence put an end to the past, and to colonialism. At the same time, the Western press is waging a campaign whose purpose is to relieve the colonizers responsibility for the current difficulties of the young countries and even to prove that colonialism and civilization are one and the same.

According to the defenders of imperialism, peace and tranquility prevailed in their colonial possessions. No annihilation of entire nations took place, nor were any punitive expeditions mounted. The West dares claim, with THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, that "under the colonial system...there was more order and less violence than in the world where all nations have been liberated." Finally, it is endlessly stressed that the liberated countries cannot eliminate their backwardness unless they forget the past, end all confrontation with the imperialist countries and the monopolies and organize comprehensive cooperation with them on the basis of "partnership" and joint struggle against communism.

It is precisely on this that the imperialists rely for strengthening their political positions in the national liberation zone. Thus, last May, U. S. Secretary of State Haig state in his programmatic speech on the policy to be pursued toward the developing world that "The position of the West will improve as the developing countries forget their colonial past..."

The diplomacy and propaganda of Mao's heirs are functioning in virtually the same key. They are trying to suggest to the peoples of the liberated countries that it no longer makes any sense to act against the former mother countries or other capitalist states, but that it is necessary to join them and even to set up a united front with the United States for struggle against the Soviet Union. Thus, imitating the bourgeois ideologs, Beijing essentially proclaims that the national liberation movement has already achieved all the objectives of decolonization and is hastening to replace them with other goals totally alien to the basic interests of the peoples of the young states.

Such falsification of history and present-day reality makes us go back to questions which Marxism-Leninism answered a long time ago. In this connection, as was the case in the past, the questions as to what precisely colonialism was as a system of relations between colonizers and conquered countries, whether all the tasks related to the destruction of this system have been implemented and whether the imperialists have truly and fully abandoned all of its elements are of major importance.

As we know, the imperialist colonial system was a system for the military, political, economic and ideological oppression of the enslaved nations. It consisted of elements such as the forceful inclusion of countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America within the colonial empires of a number of European countries and the United States; military suppression of the aspirations of the enslaved peoples for self-determination, independence and equality; political domination over the native population by white minority colonial-racist systems; overt plunder and merciless exploitation of the colonies' human and natural resources; imposition of Western ideology, culture and laws; and the colonizers' monopoly over the international relations of subordinate countries. The entire socioeconomic and political development of the colonies was adapted to serve the needs of the mother countries. A totally dependent "colonial capitalism" was artificially implanted. The colonial and semicolonial territories became involved in the capitalist global economy, in which they were assigned a subordinate role as agrarian and raw material appendages to the economically developed countries.

It would be impossible to imagine a classical colonial system without a policy of "divide and rule" and without the arbitrary redivision of the territories of the conquered countries and alteration of their boundaries. The dependent status of the colonial peoples within this system meant, as a rule, the preservation of backward social relations, and the "programmed" obstruction of the development of production forces, national political structures, the economy, science, technology, culture, education and health care. On the political level this system meant deprivation of the right of the peoples to self-determination. In its ideological and spiritual aspects it represented the violation of national dignity and forced acknowledgement of the superiority of the way of life of the conquerors.

As a consequence of the tremendous impetus it was given by the Great October Revolution and under the influence of the Leninist ideas of freedom and equality among the peoples, the national liberation movement undermined the foundations of the colonial system, step by step. The changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism after World War II increasingly forced the imperialists to turn from naked force to the use of indirect ruling methods. The breakdown of colonial empires was inevitable, however, and no half measures could satisfy the enslaved peoples. Many among them took up the armed struggle against the colonizers and it was precisely as a result of this that they gained their independence. Meanwhile, the colonizers began to withdraw from a number of territories of their own accord, before they could be removed by force. The appearance of "voluntary" abandonment by the imperialists of the colonial system they had developed was created. Was this the case?

No, it was not. Ever since the UN General Assembly adopted the declaration granting independence to colonial countries and peoples in 1960, which was a historical landmark in the founding of the majority of young countries, the conclusion that the breakdown of colonial empires was a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism became more obvious. The fact that the colonizers were forced to withdraw even from countries in which the national liberation movement had not as yet become widespread most clearly proves both the existence of a new ratio of forces in the international arena and the unprofitability for capitalism of preserving the colonial system and the "classical" colonial methods of ruling these territories.



The colonial systems, which relied on force and coercion, proved to be historically, politically and socioeconomically doomed. They had to collapse and indeed they did collapse, but not because of the "good will" of the imperialist countries or their desire to "do a great favor" to the colonial populations, but because conditions in the world had changed, the broad national liberation movement had gained strength and the time had come to reject the traditional methods of colonialism. It became apparent, at that point, that the world's monopoly capital was unwilling to give up the young countries entirely and that the young countries were unable to get rid of all elements of the colonial system immediately and completely. The imperialists are doing everything possible to preserve these links in the age-old system of exploitation of nations which, under the new circumstances as well, they believe, can still "work for them," and are still able to give them political influence and economic positions in yesterday's colonies and semicolonies.

What are, in fact, today the vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and how is the violation of the equality and independence of the peoples specifically manifested?

Unquestionably, they include above all the racist and puppet regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia, which were the creations of the colonial age and are the continuation of the colonial oppression of their native populations. They also include about 30 small territories and islands whose peoples have not attained their independence as yet, including the trusteeship area of Micronesia annexed by the United States. The people of Puerto Rico, where the full power actually belongs to Washington, remain subjugated.

However, even in the young independent states the colonial past is felt through the numerous problems which the peoples and their governments are forced to face every day. Naturally, the size and nature of the colonial heritage vary from country to country, but it is a fact that it is present everywhere.

The size and "variety" of the colonial legacy is particularly substantial in Africa. However, even in other areas the vestiges of colonialism are more than sufficient. Even in Latin America, many of whose countries are more than 150 years old and have achieved a considerably higher level of development than countries in Asia and Africa, firm and unconditional independence has still not become a reality, in the judgement of the conference of communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, 1975). This applies to an even greater extent to countries in this area which came to be only in recent years.

Having assessed the existing situation, the sixth special UN General Assembly stated in its declaration that "The preserved legacy of foreign and colonial domination...remains one of the biggest obstacles to the total liberation and progress of the developing countries and their peoples."

Noteworthy among the various components of this heritage is above all the comprehensive backwardness of the young countries. Although inhabited by more than 50 percent of the earth's population, they account for no more than 10 percent of the world's industrial output. All in all, the production forces of these countries are underdeveloped and their level of labor productivity is low. Many of them have an archaic socioeconomic structure; 40 percent of the earth's population lives in poverty.

There is no doubt as to who is to be blamed for such a severe lag on the part of the liberated countries. As history proves, in the precolonial period many non-European countries and peoples had reached relatively high levels of development for the period. At the turn of the century, for example, the difference in the per capita income between the now developing and the developed capitalist countries was only 1:1.5, according to the American economist S. Kuznets. Later on, through the "efforts" of the colonizers, the economic progress of vast areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America was obstructed, agriculture was forcibly oriented toward one-crop farming and in industry the mining sector alone was developed. Currently the income gap has reached 1:12 or, according to some estimates, 1:14.

The lag in development is aggravated by yet another equally clear consequence of colonialism: the fact that most young countries are chained to the system of the global capitalist economy and the dependent and subordinate position they hold within it. This is manifested in the industrialization of the young states, their agrarian policy and their foreign trade. This dependence is manifested also in the area of economic relations with the imperialist states. The assessment made at the New Delhi conference of ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries, held in February 1981, stated that the existing system of international economic relations "is unable to ensure the adequate and fair support of the development process in the developing countries and does not allow them to play an effective role in international decision making."

The atavism of the colonial past imposes a heavy burden on international politics. The imperialists have kept military bases in Cyprus, the Philippines, Panama, Djibouti and other currently politically independent countries, which it uses as instruments of foreign intervention in the affairs of these and neighboring countries. Multilateral organizations have been created or retained, joining together the former mother countries and their colonies on a far from equitable basis.

The territorial and border disputes among young countries, frequently complicated by national or religious reasons, are the consequence of arbitrary colonial divisions and redivisions of countries and continents. Today, old and new colonizers are trying to use the discords, frictions and quarrels they themselves originated for their own selfish interests. They are intentionally promoting discord among the young countries, pitting one against another in armed conflicts. This frequently leads to the appearance of new hotbeds of international tension.

Thus, the very practices of many Asian, African and Latin American countries confirm V. I. Lenin's thought that under the guise of granting political independence the imperialists create an entire series of transitional forms of state dependence and "states which are totally dependent on them economically, financially and militarily" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 167). This is no new dependence, which develops after a colony has become a sovereign state, but that same old dependence, whose origins go back to the time of colonial empires, only adapted to current requirements. It is the base for the entire contemporary neocolonialist system.

Like the old colonial system, neocolonialism is founded on the principle of discrimination and exploitation of countries and peoples. Its initial basis is everything remaining from the widespread system of traditional colonialism

which, for objective reasons, could not collapse together with the colonial system or even 15-20 years after it. In this case, the emphasis in "neocolonialism" is not the "neo" part. Essentially, neocolonialism is, above all, the continuation and recurrence of colonialism, while the neocolonizers are interational plunderers who think still in terms of the old categories of "spheres of influence" and are trying to defend their "landlord rights" by all possible means.

As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, imperialism does not find the strengthening of independence of the liberated countries suitable. It tries to tie to itself these countries through thousands of ways and means, in order to have free access to their natural resources and use their territory for its strategic purposes. In this case the old colonial method of "divide and rule" is widely used.

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The study of the current situation in the developing countries and of their relations with the imperialist countries shows that even after the breakdown of colonial empires the decolonization process is far from completed and that, consequently, the liberation revolutions have not ended. Naturally, if we were to compare the national liberation movement as it was before the collapse of colonial empires with what it has become today we would see, along with some similarities, substantial differences in the content, direction, scope and forms of its development. The national liberation revolutions, whose objective is to uproot colonialism in the socioeconomic area and to extend the decolonization process to all areas of development of the young states and to their international relations have entered a new more complex age.

In this connection it is important to note that whatever name it may take, colonialism is inherent only to the exploiting society and that it was and remains an inseparable element of world capitalism. Capitalist countries and monopolies are able to pursue a neocolonialist policy toward the young countries precisely because, as in the case of the colonies in the past, these countries remain tied to the world capitalist economic system. Consequently, the struggle against colonialism, whatever its forms and manifestations, is a struggle within the world capitalist system, in which the adversaries of capitalism are the natural allies of the anticolonialist forces waging it.

At the present stage, the national liberation movement has acquired a number of new features. Some of them are particularly typical of the struggle waged by the young countries for completing decolonization. What are they?

Above all, the process of eliminating the traces of the colonial past in the life of the liberated countries and in their international relations is inseparable from the socioeconomic development and political and cultural growth of their peoples, turned to the future. The young states must resolve the problems of national and social liberation simultaneously. Furthermore, a certain interaction, interconnection and interdependence exist between decolonization and social progress. In the course of the activity of these forces the class forces in the liberated countries become demarcated, the class struggle intensifies and the question of the social and political orientation is settled.



The experience of countries in which the national liberation movement developed into a national democratic revolution proves that social progress and the implementation of profound socioeconomic changes are virtually impossible without the decolonizing of their economies and other areas. Conversely, many negative phenomena in the life of contemporary states in Asia, Africa and Latin America (hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and so on) are a legacy of colonialism and chronic capitalist diseases and cannot be eliminated without the elimination of anachronisms in the social structure and far-reaching progressive social changes. With increasing frequency this interdependence encourages the young countries to choose a socialist orientation and to abandon the capitalist way.

The farther the day on which the colonial system was abolished in one developing country or another retreats into history, the clearer it becomes that its struggle for the completion of its decolonization is now aimed not only against the former mother country but the other imperialist states, monopolies and their associations as well, for they try to preserve the advantageous remnants of colonialism. This is particularly clear as the young countries defend the principles of equality in international political and economic relations. What, for example, does their demand for the establishment of a new economic order on a just and democratic basis mean? It means a demand that global imperialism change the inequitable system of economic relations which developed in the period of colonial domination.

The future breakdown of the neocolonial system created by imperialism on the ruins of the former colonial empires is related to the process of completing the all-embracing decolonization of the developing countries and their international relations. This interconnection is manifested in the growing understanding on the part of the peoples and governments of the young countries of the fact that as long as the vestiges of the colonial past remain the system cannot be destroyed.

Naturally, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, great differences exist among the countries freed from colonial oppression. Some of them took the revolutionary-democratic path after their liberation. Capitalist relations were established in others. Some of them are pursuing a truly independent policy, while others follow in the wake of imperialist policy. In a word, the picture is quite variegated. Naturally, this affects the attitude of the governments of the various young countries toward the colonial legacy and the need to confront the imperialist countries and the monopolies in order to get rid of this legacy.

However, the collapse of colonial empires and systems was also unable to eliminate the objectively existing antagonism between the nations in the liberated countries and world imperialism. Regardless of their social and political orientation, these peoples are suffering from the legacy of colonialism, particularly in the area of international relations. The experience of the creation and activities of the nonalignment movement, of the so-called "Group of 77," proves that the historically legitimate process of definitive elimination of the colonial legacy is today one of the most powerful factors shared by the various young states.

The struggle for a definitive break with the colonial past has been joined not only by countries whose governments recognize the unfinished nature of the national liberation revolution but also, to varying degrees, countries in which the decolonization process has been formally proclaimed as completed. Both countries which have become independent recently and countries which "are not in their

early youth" are struggling for their "second liberation." It was no accident, for instance, that the revolution in Nicaragua turned out to be aimed not only against the fascist Somoza dictatorship but against the domination of the politics and economics of that country by U. S. imperialism.

Another characteristic feature of the struggle waged by the developing countries is the increasing frequency with which they defend their interests jointly in opposing the bloc of imperialist countries and monopolies. In the course of this struggle, the interconnection between the unity of action and the greater activeness and strengthened influence of the young states in the world arena is becoming increasingly apparent. The combination of these three factors is giving real power to the demands of the liberated countries and brings their peoples considerably closer to their total liberation.

In the course of their progress from the past to the future, the young countries naturally ascribe the greatest possible importance to economic liberation, for, as Lenin pointed out, "It is the latter that is the most important" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, p 187). However, this is not all. It is a question of decolonization in the broadest possible meaning of the term, covering all aspects of social life.

If we were to sum up briefly what has already been achieved in resolving the problem of the all-embracing decolonization of the developing countries we would have to note, above all, the fact that the young countries were able to achieve universal recognition of the existence of this problem and the need to resolve it. In principle this has been noted both on the level of associations of nonaligned and other developing countries and in the UN. The 1975 Lima declaration of nonaligned countries states that "Success has been achieved in recognizing the sovereign right of states freely to choose their political, economic and social system, to exercise permanent rights over their natural resources and to engage in other economic activities, including nationalization and revision of prices of exported raw materials and other basic commodities and the acknowledgment by international society of the need for a new type of international economic order which will ensure mutual and equal benefits to all states."

The process of decolonization of the political and administrative system and the management apparatus is continuing. National legislation is being drafted. National specialist cadres are replacing foreigners. It may be said that in many countries a real revolution is taking place in education and culture, within which systems and curricula in higher and public education are being decolonized, a struggle is being waged against illiteracy, national science, culture and art are being restored and native languages and literature are being developed.

National news agencies and press organs are being created in the course of the decolonization of the mass information media. In recent years the nonaligned countries have made energetic efforts to establish a joint information pool in order to put an end to the Western news agency monopoly on the dissemination of news. A process of so-called "decolonizing of minds" or "spiritual decolonization" is under way, and the colonial names of countries and towns and of private citizens are being changed with increasing frequency. The struggle against the "brain drain" or "brain theft" organized by the West and its monopolies in the developing countries is

increasing. The "inferiority complex" and servility toward yesterday's rulers are gradually vanishing.

The young countries are also active in the decolonizing of their international relations, aimed at broadening their foreign political, economic, trade, cultural and other relations and acquiring an equal status in the world. This is most apparent in the UN, in the development of bilateral relations between liberated countries and the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, and in the struggle for the revision of inequitable treaties, withdrawal from imperialist blocs, closing down of foreign bases and withdrawal of foreign troops.

The decolonization of the international relations of the developing countries is manifested also in the rapid organization of cooperation among them, something which the old colonial regimes tried to prevent. The nonalignment movement, which includes some 100 countries and which confirmed its anti-imperialist direction at the 1979 Havana Conference of Nonaligned Countries, has become a major factor in global politics. The "Group of 77" (currently numbering more than 120 countries) and other international associations of anti-imperialist solidarity, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and others, also play a considerable role in international life.

Naturally, the level and pace of decolonization reached by the individual countries vary greatly and the movement itself is progressing unevenly. As a rule, this is determined mainly by the length of the period of independence and the social orientation of the young country. The obstructionist role of the West and of pro-Western forces within the countries themselves is also very substantial.

This is the reason for which socialist-oriented countries, in which the struggle for the elimination of colonial vestiges is being waged along the entire front and is most firmly combined with the struggle for social progress, are advancing more and faster, while countries in which this struggle is still directed only against some aspects and manifestations of colonialism are straggling. On the whole, the greatest changes are noted in politics and the least in economics, particularly in terms of the demand for a reorganization of international economic relations. The question of being compensated for the damages caused by colonizers and neocolonizers, raised by the developing countries, is another one awaiting resolution.

The route to putting an end to colonization is full of difficulties and contradictions. Reality calls for the comprehensive solution of this problem in the economic and social areas, for partial measures do not yield the necessary results. Nor is it possible to eliminate the consequences of colonialism in one fell swoop. For example, "Humanism in Zambia," the programmatic document of the Zambian ruling party and government, emphasizes that "The act of political independence represents merely the first part of an exceptionally lengthy process of decolonization. It is even likely that it may take longer to complete than the life of a single generation."

Therefore, the trend toward accelerated and comprehensive decolonization noted in recent years is objectively based on previous achievements and aimed at problems to be resolved. The possibility and necessity of developing this trend make it a natural one for all young countries, which wish to achieve further progress in international relations.



The imperialist heirs to colonialism refuse to heed the objective changes taking place in the liberated countries. Even timid offshoots of common sense in the West are overwhelmed by facts supporting the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress that the most aggressive imperialist circles "have indeed set themselves the impossible task of erecting a barrier to block progressive changes in the world and regain the role of shapers of national destinies."

The most zealous in this respect are the U. S. imperialists. They are doing their utmost not only to retain control over their own possessions but to take over the former colonial empires of their capitalist competitors. Washington fulminates at social revolutions in Africa and Asia and the accession to power of progressive regimes, say, in Latin America. Meanwhile, as Secretary of State Haig's statement reveals, it holds up the American way of life as an example for emulation by the developing world. Washington's imperial ambitions do not allow it to offer the young states freedom of social and political orientation and equality in international relations. As Fidel Castro noted, "The United States...does not understand the meaning of equality among nations, governments and peoples....When the Arab countries embargoed petroleum supplies the United States bitterly complained to world public opinion and protested. I ask: What kind of moral right does the United States have to condemn this embargo while...maintaining not a partial but a total blockade of Cuba?"

Underscoring the legitimacy of this question is the fact that Washington, London and many other imperialist capitals do not hide that, as in the past, they consider the entire huge national liberation zone the sphere of their "vital interests" -- social, economic, political and military-strategic. Of late, particular importance has been ascribed to the petroleum-rich Middle East and Persian Gulf areas.

Global capitalism considers the socialist orientation chosen by many young countries and their rapprochement with the Soviet Union a most dangerous threat to its vital interests. It is doing everything possible to reduce socialist orientation to naught, promote capitalism, keep the liberated countries within the world's capitalist economy and control their international relations.

We know that, day in and day out, bourgeois propaganda claims that there exists some sort of "Soviet expansion" and that USSR policy aims precisely to "destabilize" the situation in the national liberation zone. In order to conceal its hegemonistic aspirations, American imperialism is attempting ever more energetically to present itself to the peoples of the liberated countries as their "savior" from communism and from the "Soviet military threat," and is blasphemously identifying the national liberation movement with "international terrorism."

Yet if the world and the liberated countries need saving, it is above all from American imperialism, whose policy is the main reason for the aggravation of the situation on earth, the national liberation zone included. Through its actions aimed against the security, sovereignty and independence of the young states, it is introducing a destabilizing factor in their new life and development of internal processes, which are based on their desire for national and social liberation. Obviously, the reasons for instability should be sought above all in the neocolonialist policy of global monopoly capital for, as V. I. Lenin noted in his time, "In

the final account, the tremendous majority of the earth's population is being trained and instructed for the struggle by capitalism itself" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 404).

For example, it was hardly USSR policy that motivated the liberated countries to reject the heavy burden of colonialism, strengthen their independence and achieve not formal but actual equality in relations with former mother countries and other imperialist powers. This desire was created and is being steadily recreated by the imperialists themselves with their attempts to retain control over the territories, natural resources and politics of the liberated countries at all costs.

However carefully concealed, the policy of the new American administration toward the national liberation zone is a clear recurrence of colonialism. The Americans are using the full complement of means used by colonizers of centuries past. They threaten Iran with the use of force and continue to exert economic pressure on it, wage undeclared war on Afghanistan and Angola through third parties and unceremoniously interfere in El Salvador's domestic affairs. With Beijing's help they are promoting a hostile international campaign against Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Libya which, in the final account, is nothing but intervention in the internal affairs of these countries. There is virtually no country in the national liberation zone which has not experienced to one extent or another the entire range of pressures, from economic to that of military threats, whenever some aspects of its politics have not suited the United States.

"The monopolies need foreign petroleum, uranium and nonferrous metals, for which reason the Middle East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are proclaimed spheres of 'vital interest' to the United States. The U. S. military machine is actively penetrating these areas and intends to settle in them for a long while. The island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somali, Egypt, what next?" This is a sharp warning voiced by the 26th CPSU Congress that U. S. actions are threatening the independence of the liberated countries. Washington's encouragement and support of the recent barbaric Israeli attack on Lebanon, the forming of interventionist "rapid deployment forces," the plans for the deployment of American forces as part of so-called "multinational forces" in the Sinai, Washington's clear reluctance to heed the wish of countries and nations around the Indian Ocean to make the area a zone of peace and many other facts clearly prove that American neocolonialism is a major threat to international security.

It is no secret that the Reagan administration is asking the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity to drop their support of the national liberation movement and is trying to draft for their benefit "rules of behavior" which would perpetuate the existence of Western "spheres of influence" in the world of the liberated countries.

Was the reason for which the peoples freed themselves from colonial oppression and are pursuing their efforts at equality in the world so as to fall into someone's "sphere of influence" and confront the forces of imperialism alone? Naturally, such a situation does not suit the peoples and governments of the young countries which are fighting all vestiges and consequences of colonialism and to strengthen their independence and social progress.

The Soviet Union will never accept the kind of "rules" which would perpetuate imperialist robbery, diktat toward the liberated countries, the establishment of "spheres of influence" or anything similar. The principles which invariably guide our party and state in relations with these countries are well known. They were once against formulated with extreme clarity and comprehensiveness by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his 27 April speech at the dinner in honor of M. Qadhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. The observance of these principles by the Western countries also would not only be consistent with the basic interests of the liberated countries but would allow the peoples to face the future with greater confidence.

The basis of the Soviet position is the belief that the completion of the decolonization of the developing countries and of international relations is inseparable from the tasks of ensuring peace, security, disarmament and detente. "...Peace," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "is not only a matter of security. It is also a most important prerequisite for the solution of the biggest problems of modern civilization, which affect the very future of mankind." Naturally, one of them is the elimination of the backwardness and dependence of the liberated countries, that heavy legacy of colonialism. Many recent events prove that the preservation of the consequences of colonialism is extremely dangerous to the cause of peace, peaceful coexistence and equal and mutually profitable cooperation among countries.

Today the anti-imperialism of the liberated countries is manifested ever more strongly in their struggle for the elimination of the vestiges and consequences of colonialism in international political and economic relations. It is precisely along this line that one of the foundations of the anti-imperialist unity among these countries and their solidarity with the socialist comity is being laid.

The fundamental interests of the socialist and the liberated countries in the struggle against the vestiges of colonialism did and still do coincide. The Soviet Union was the first to initiate the struggle for the reorganization of international political and economic relations. It welcomed and has invariably supported the joining of this struggle by the young countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their struggle for comprehensive and definitive decolonization has become a structural component of the global revolutionary process. Its further development contains a tremendous revolutionary potential which can change the socioeconomic and political shape of the world even further. The uprooting of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations undermines the foundations of world imperialism and opens the way to the acceleration of social progress, democratization and reorganization of political and economic relations on the principles of justice and true equality.

The definitive rescue of mankind from the vestiges and legacy of the system of colonial oppression, like the elimination of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism, is one of the most important international tasks to the achievement of which the world's revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces are contributing their major support. Given their cohesion and mutual support, no forces of the past will be able to halt the steady progress of the liberated countries toward the future.

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## LET US SUPPORT INDEPENDENT TECHNICAL CREATIVITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 104-106

[Letter to the editor by B. Danilov, turner-gauge maker, inventor, Moscow]

[Text] As pointed out in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, the conditions under which the national economy will be developing in the 1980s make the acceleration of scientific and technical progress even more urgent. This progress is inseparably linked with the powerful invention and rationalization movement which has developed in the country.

The participation of the working people in technical improvements is one of the mass manifestations of the creative activeness of the Soviet people. Exposed to the qualities and shortcomings of modern equipment and technology directly at the enterprises, rationalizers and inventors are frequently the first to think of what could be improved and how. Naturally, most of their technical innovations cannot be compared in terms of significance to the discoveries and developments made by the scientists. However, there are many such innovations which are developed in literally every enterprise. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the economic results for the national economy from the utilization of inventions and rationalizations equalled 29 billion rubles.

The creative cooperation between production innovators and scientific workers plays a tremendous role in technical progress. For example, I took one of my first inventions to the VNIInstrument [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Instrument Making]. Here, they listened to me, an unknown turner, carefully. I was taken to the experimental plant where my new instrument was carefully studied and where I was helped to perfect it. As a result, from a "raw" invention, I was able to develop an essentially new industrial prototype which considerably increases the productive work of the turner in many operations. However, the scientists did not stop there. They helped to organize the series production of the new instrument at the Sverdlovsk Instruments Plant. The same sympathetic and party-minded attitude is displayed at that institute toward other inventors who come here from various parts of the country.

Let us also take the scientists at the Ukrainian Institute of Synthetic Extra-Hard Materials and Instruments, with whom I have been cooperating for the past 15

years. I visit the institute quite frequently and meet with engineers, workers, inventors and plant managers. All of them receive extensive advice and are frequently given practical assistance in how to raise an invention to the level at which its series production is possible.

However, many examples could be cited of delays in the utilization of highly effective developments. At the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "We must eliminate anything which makes the use of a new development difficult, slow and painful.... Naturally, the solution of this problem is no simple matter. It requires a break with obsolete habits and indicators. However, it is entirely necessary for the country, the people and our future." In order for the work of rationalizers and inventors to be even more effective it would be expedient to improve the management of the technical creativity process and to implement a number of organizational and economic measures, some of which I would like to discuss. A substantial percentage of requests for granting invention status deal merely with rationalization suggestions and improvements of existing equipment and technology. As a result, the deadlines for the consideration of requests by the expert subunits of a scientific research institute are violated. It may be worth it to introduce an intermediary level, the level of the "minor invention," with clearly defined characteristics and conditions for the legal protection of the rights of the inventor and stipulations governing his reward. This would make it possible to relieve scientific institute experts of dealing with a mass of requests.

The familiar patent bureaus, the VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers] councils and the plant rationalization and invention bureaus are of great help to the innovators. The expert and the inventor should not find themselves on different sides of the barricade but use a familiar patent-style language. The people must be trained in the use of this language so that either side can understand the other. In the opposite case, a technical expertise may take years.

The effectiveness of the work of an innovator largely depends on the existence of proper organizational conditions and the availability of materials and complementing goods needed for the development of a technical novelty. Naturally, frequently the enterprises have no reserve capabilities for their development. That is why the creation of special experimental bases, laboratories and sectors at plants and factories is so important. It is precisely here that the innovators would be able to implement a new idea and reduce the risk related to its technical implementation to a minimum.

For example, application sectors have been organized at some plants in Kalinin and Kalininskaya Oblast. They operate 2 to 3 hours every day. After work, rationalizers and inventors use the free machine tools for the development of new instruments and attachments. Workers are given credit for these 2 to 3 hours and engineers are guaranteed additional bonuses. The people work when they can: someone may come today and someone else tomorrow. Several years ago the Frezer Instruments Plant in Moscow set up a workshop at the rationalizations and inventions bureau. Here four experienced workers possessing different skills make systems and attachments based on rationalization suggestions, used quite effectively by the shops. Such a workshop, staffed by eight people, has been set up at the rationalizations and inventions bureau of the Svetlana Plant in Leningrad.

In my view, workers laboratories have a great future. They are headed by production workers already famous for their rationalization accomplishments. The importance of such laboratories is rapidly outgrowing the limits of their enterprises, and ministries are beginning to issue them assignments for the solution of sectorial problems. At this point, conflicts arise. The innovators frequently find themselves in the crossfire. On the one hand, instructions signed by the minister have been issued on the various assignments of the laboratory; on the other, the plant management frequently reassigns such specialists whenever deadlines of monthly or quarterly plans are to be met. It is because of such conflicts that V. Bush from the VEF Plant in Riga and B. Yegorov from the SAM Plant in Moscow left their laboratories; at the Vibrator Plant in Leningrad there is constant friction between the administration and the collective headed by N. Vasil'yev. In my view, the time has come to formulate and issue a specific regulation on laboratory workers, clearly defining the rights and obligations of the parties.

The technical creativity of the working people is one of the outstanding manifestations of the profoundly felt and interested participation of the masses in resolving the problems of communist construction assigned by the party. The innovator's labor day is not 8 but 14 hours; on his way to the plant or at home he keeps thinking of his offspring, sitting up late at night over his drawings. That is why such work must be given timely encouragement. "Our material and moral incentive system," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "must always and comprehensively ensure the equitable and objective assessment of individual labor contributions."

Expressions of trust in the people who have voluntarily undertaken a truly heroic job, patience in the case of possible failures and ceremonious presentation of rationalization and authorship certificates and diplomas give the innovators a moral satisfaction with the results of their work. When labor competition results are summed up at most Leningrad or Leningrad Oblast enterprises, the indicators of invention and rationalization work are considered basic rather than "contributing." However good an association, plant or factory may be in its work, if it has done a poor job in the application of innovations, it loses its standing when competition results are summed up.

Many shortcomings exist in the area of material rewards. Rationalization suggestions (which account for the overwhelming share of results of the application of technical innovations) are classified, as we know, into two classes: those applied at the enterprise only, and those of general sectorial significance. The number of the former is tremendous. Frequently, their economic results are not computed, in which case the rationalizer is paid a minimum bonus which is frequently inconsistent with the significance of the innovation or the work which its development required. Such a situation can be entirely avoided if the enterprise plans for savings on the basis of the use of inventions and rationalization suggestions become a structural part of the plan for reducing production costs and if the savings indicator becomes part of the production competition conditions.

Rationalization suggestions which could be applied at several enterprises should be considered on the sectorial level. The current rule is that all enterprises and organizations must report to the statistical organs inventions they have applied



and indicate the resulting savings over a 5-year period. However, this procedure is rarely observed.

Practical experience exists in the country on rewarding innovators on a centralized basis. The USSR State Committee of Inventions and Discoveries has set up a cost-effectiveness administration in charge of the centralized payment of bonuses for inventions applied in the Latvian SSR and Gor'kovskaya and Sverdlovskaya Oblasts. This successful experiment should be extended to the entire country.

Technical creativity demands steady support in terms of the formulation of topical assignments, systematic exchange of views and availability of new information. The creation of clubs of innovators at major industrial centers, where new publications could be exhibited, consultation centers on various invention problems established, lectures organized and ideas shared has become an immediate need.

The voluntary and conscientious initiative of workers, aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, organically related to a person's social interests, is of major national economic significance. Encouraging everyone to become a creative worker and putting to use new reserves without increasing capital investments means achieving even greater successes in the struggle for upgrading production effectiveness and labor productivity and improving work quality in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

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## IMMINENT PROBLEMS OF REPAIR WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 106-108

[Letter to the editor by L. Gabay, chief of the Scientific Organization of Labor Laboratory, Azot Production Association, Kemerovo]

[Text] The documents of the 26th party congress direct our attention to the rising significance of the all-round improvement of public production effectiveness. Success in this area depends on the way the tremendous available possibilities will be used and the extent to which economic managers and party organizations will be able to ensure the efficient and organized work of all economic units. I would like to discuss one of them--repair services--which has a great influence on capital returns. Furthermore, however rapidly scientific and technical progress may develop and however greatly the production process may become mechanized and automated, repair workers such as fitters and tuners will always be needed. All expedient means should be used to facilitate their work and make it highly organized and more productive.

I have been dealing with repair problems for more than 20 years (I have worked as fitter-repairman and engineer-mechanic of shops and departments) and, unlike many skeptical production workers, I can firmly say that there have been changes for the better. For example, repair and operational documentation is based on state standards. Outlay norms for spare parts have been drafted for many types of equipment (taking into consideration the active life of one or another part or assembly under poor circumstances), and the classifications and prices of such parts have been defined. In the past, when no such norms were available, many mechanics ordered spare parts on the basis of personal experience or for insurance purposes, based on the principle that it never hurts to have spares. In many sectors technical stipulations (TU)--norms and regulations governing equipment repairs--have been drafted. In particular, technological stipulations governing repairs of virtually all types of compressors, even the most complex ones, and powerful and expensive chemical machinery and many other sets of equipment have been drafted for chemical enterprises by the GIAP (State Scientific Research and Design Institute of the Nitrogen Industry and of Organic Synthesis Products) and the VNIPIIM (All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute of Monomers).

In a word, the idea that "repair work is also production work, rather complex, labor intensive and important at that," is beginning to make its way. Therefore, it should have all the necessary attributes of any type of production process: planning by volume and type of work, elaboration of norms of outlays of materials

and spare parts, the amount of time needed and firm backing with financial, material and manpower resources on the basis of such norms as well as specialization and centralization of repairs in accordance with sectorial, regional and national economic interests and so on.

Unfortunately, this mandatory stipulation is rarely observed. For quite some time the question of spare parts has been the talk of the town as one of the difficulties encountered by repair workers. Let me cite an example borrowed from the Azot Production Association in Kemerovo. After determining its needs, based on norms, in the 10th Five-Year Plan the association ordered spare parts for chemical equipment in the following quantities: 117,000 rubles for 1976, 120,000 for 1977, 106,000 for 1978, 104,000 for 1979 and 112,000 for 1980. However, the funds which the ministry allocated did not exceed 90,000, 75,000, 44,000, 50,000 and 43,000 rubles respectively. However, even in this case no more than 70-80 percent of these funds were secured. A roughly similar situation prevailed in the case of other orders related to repair-operational requirements. That is why the association deems it useless to gather data from the shops or to make a scrupulous assessment of needs on the basis of manuals and standards: requests would be either rejected or reduced by one-half or more. Naturally, contracts can be concluded only for parts and assemblies without which the association cannot operate. The plant's lists of spare parts submitted to manufacturing plants do not include items in very short supply or which wear out rapidly but more expensive or less labor intensive ones, the manufacturing of which is profitable to the producer.

The following question may be asked: There are no spare parts, very few attachments and mechanisms are issued, few materials are allocated for repair needs, yet production goes on. True, the plans are being fulfilled, but at what cost and with what outlays!

Had repair workers been supplied with everything they need promptly and in the required amounts, the idling of equipment and mechanisms would be reduced. This would improve the fulfillment of production plans and raise labor productivity and capital returns. Finally, instead of the current hourly-bonus wage system, the work could be organized on the basis of normed assignments. Today a foreman (mechanic) must either spend all his time controlling the work of the fitters (he cannot be after everyone or watch him every minute), or else let matters develop as they may. Above all, in the hourly wage system economic levers have no great influence and there is no clear tie between the actual contribution of a person and end results. An attempt was made at the compression shop of our association to convert repair workers to normed assignments. It turned out, however, that there were no complete sets of spare parts (connecting rod bolts, bearings, valve parts) or stainless pipes for refrigerators. Consequently, this progressive initiative had to be abandoned.

The increased production of spare parts is one of the important means for reducing repair outlays and increasing capital returns. Paradoxical though this might seem, today it is sometimes easier to procure an entire machine than a one-ruble part. The amount of equipment spare parts produced is under one-half of requirements. This is done not only because it is more profitable for a machine-building enterprise to produce new items but also because production capacities are oriented toward the manufacturing of complete machines and mechanisms and no available production capacities remain.



Obviously, we must see to it that enterprises engaged in the production of machines, machine units and instruments produce the necessary quantities of spare parts for them for the entire planned (I emphasize, planned) service time. A worn out piece of equipment which has reached the limits of its resources is not a help but a burden. In many cases it is more profitable to write off a machine or mechanism than to repair it. Unfortunately, quite frequently service life--the best, the optimum--is either not determined or respected. Consequently, a great deal of funds and labor are used inefficiently. Currently, the number of workers engaged in repairs of metal cutting equipment exceed those engaged in its manufacturing by a factor of four! We must also take into consideration that old machine tools are less productive than new ones, that the percentage of unusable goods they produce is higher and that it is quite difficult to find workers willing to operate them.

Therefore, it only seems that extending the lifespan of our "iron helpers" with the help of numerous repairs is advantageous. In the final accounting, this illusion turns into entirely real losses. Whereas according to the norm a pump should last, let us say, 8 years and we know that within that time it should have three rollers, two work wheels, six bushings, eight bearings, etc. replaced, it is precisely these parts which must be produced, set aside and shipped to the consumer. Neither less nor more such parts should be allocated, for after 8 years the use of this pump becomes inefficient and unprofitable to run and repair. In order to increase the interest of manufacturing plants perhaps the prices of spare parts should be higher than of the same assemblies and parts used in putting together a new machine; whenever the production of such machinery stops, parts should be produced for a while and sold with an even higher markup.

Currently machine building enterprises are quite willing to supply spare parts in so-called repair kits which are put together quite arbitrarily, regardless of actual needs. The result is that there is a surplus of some spare parts in warehouses while others, the most frequently used, are very scarce. In my view, it would be expedient to organize under the territorial administrations of the USSR Gosstab, broad-based spare part stores which would have a wide variety of items and each enterprise could purchase whatever it requires for the fastest possible repair of a machine or machine unit.

Naturally, it is far from always expedient for the enterprises to do their own repairs. Section 4 of the "Basic Directions" formulates the timely task of "in accordance with the characteristics of the individual sectors and production facilities, we must develop and apply progressive systems for the organization of equipment repairs and updating." Intrasectorial centralization and specialization of repair capacities with the facilities of existing enterprises would make it possible to lower repair expenditures and to equip the subunits with modern diagnostic equipment, specialized technological and control instruments and so on.

However, this method as well is good only as a transitional, a temporary one. Most machines and machine tools must be repaired not on a sectorial but on a mass industry-wide basis. I believe that when a comprehensive target program for manual labor mechanization is drafted we should include measures for the conversion of base repair shops and plants of economic rayons from departmental to regional and organize equipment repairs regardless of ministry affiliation. In my view, it

would be expedient also to create repair firms with a replacement stock of functional equipment. This would be particularly advantageous to small enterprises where each machine unit is important.

Obviously, the system for assessing and paying salaries of repair workers must be improved as well. Currently, the more assemblies and parts they replace the higher their plan fulfillment becomes. The time has come to abandon this practice and decisively to replace obsolete labor assessments with new and progressive ones. In particular, we must make the collectives of repair enterprises and shops economically interested in doing with a minimum of spare parts and we must reward better operational workers servicing the equipment on the basis of extending the time of repair-free operations of the machinery. To some extent, the work of repair workers could be normed only on the basis of planned repairs, although here again there may be many surprises. Furthermore, no norms at all exist to govern emergency repairs. Therefore, there is no fulfillment or overfulfillment of assignments and it becomes difficult to give material incentives.

Let us also point out that currently the level of wages in an instruments or repair-machine shop is the same as or even lower than that of basic workers, although in this case higher skills are required, particularly in auxiliary production. A turner, cutter or assembly man along a conveyor belt can master the "secrets" of his profession with relative speed and earn a decent wage. However, years of experience are needed to become a skilled fitter-instrument maker or repair worker. The result is that it is becoming ever more difficult to develop stable collectives in auxiliary production and to retain necessary cadres. This problem is so important that it must be resolved on a nationwide scale without delay.

This is a wide field of activity for our engineers, managers and economists. They must be guided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction that "The improvement of organizational management structures tolerates no sluggishness. We cannot adapt the living, the developing economic management organism to enduring customary methods. On the contrary, the methods must be made consistent with changing economic assignments."

Improvements in repair work must be considered one of the basic aspects of the overall program for upgrading the effectiveness of public production. The gradual conversion of equipment repairs and servicing to big, properly equipped specialized organizations, staffed by experienced cadres, will enable us to increase the reliability and returns of productive capital, release manpower, reduce unproductive manual labor and eliminate economic, social and moral losses. Most of this could be achieved through organizational and administrative measures.

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## RESULT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN USSR AND GDR PHILOSOPHERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 109-110

[Review by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof Kh. Momdzhyan of the book "Kategorii Istoricheskogo Materializma" [Categories of Historical Materialism]. N. I. Dryakhlov, V. I. Razin, E. Lassow and G. Stiler, editors. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 351 pp]

[Text] The study of the categorical-conceptual apparatus of historical materialism is drawing the increased attention of Soviet and foreign Marxists. This is understandable, for the further development of the concept of historical materialism is directly related to the profound understanding of the precise content of its basic concepts, their interrelationships and hierarchical status.

The authors of the book under review have made an interesting attempt to resolve this most complex problem. The work is the result of long years of creative cooperation between the chairs of historical materialism of the philosophy faculties of Moscow and Berlin universities.

The value of the book lies above all in the fact that the extensive development of individual categories is combined with an accurate view on the structuring of the category apparatus of historical materialism as a whole and of a system of relations among the most important concepts within this science. On the basis of the unquestionable truth that the full extent of "any category taken separately cannot be reached, but that this is possible only by putting together all categories and laws of historical materialism, combined with achievements in the other social sciences" (p 4), the authors substantiate the logical structure of their book, which brings up the internal ties and differentiations within the overall system of categories of historical materialism.

The authors begin by singling out the group of categories which holds a central position in the structure of historical materialism. This is a question of key concepts used in resolving the basic problems of philosophy as applicable to the social process and which make clear the dialectics of the primary and secondary levels of social life. The categories of social life and social consciousness, of material and ideological social relations and of the economic base and superstructure are considered in detail. In describing the content of these related but not identical categories, the authors bring up their specific features which make the concretizing of the central ideal governing the materialistic understanding of history possible.



In analyzing the material realm of social life they take into consideration the interaction between labor and production. They refine our understanding of the "production method," "labor socialization," "production socialization" and other categories. A noteworthy attempt has been made to consider the concept of the "scientific and technical revolution" within the system of categories which reflect the material life of society.

The next step in the collective study is the analysis of concepts which reflect the breakdown of society into basic areas the interaction between which determines the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual integrity of the social system. The laws governing these areas of social life are considered with a view to defining the position they hold in the structure of the social organism and the role they play in its activities. The authors take into consideration the relative autonomy and inner logic of development of key systems within the social entity. In this connection they discuss the question of the interrelationship between philosophical historical-materialistic knowledge and the individual social sciences and the methodological role of the former in terms of the latter. The authors study the specific sociological laws governing the structure, functioning and development of material production, the socioclass structure of social life, the political organization of society and spiritual output and culture.

The authors' attention is drawn also to a group of categories of historical materialism which show the origins of the systemic integrity of society and the universal mechanism of human social activities. It is a question of concepts such as "social laws," "sociological laws," "mechanism of action of social laws," "objective conditions and the subjective factor," "historical necessity and freedom" and others, which make it possible to consider society in its integrity, in accordance with its complex internal differentiation. In the course of their description of these categories, the authors express a number of considerations of major methodological significance.

A separate methodological section in the book deals with the study of categories; it offers an analysis of the main principles used and directions followed in the elaboration of the conceptual apparatus of historical materialism. The authors emphasized the inadmissibility of scholastic theorizing and alienation from reality, in which case the elaboration of the category-conceptual apparatus of historical materialism "is reduced to terminological juggling, semantics and the inclination to pile up one definition on top of another" (p 22). In the course of their consideration of topical problems of social development and of the sociopolitical contradictions of our time, the authors clearly prove that the development of a conceptual scientific apparatus "does not mean any deviation from the study of objective reality and practice but is rather a specific means for a scientific approach to it" (p 3). On this level the book under review is distinguished by its high party-mindedness and ideological conviction and the systematic implementation of the principles of communist ideology in resolving the various problems and the study of the social process.

Naturally, the work has some shortcomings as well. Thus, the authors omit some important categories of historical materialism (suffice it to mention that among the extremely great variety of phenomena in social life, they consider only classes and class relations. Obviously, this has forced them to combine their study of

social and political processes within a single chapter). The logical structure of the book is not entirely sustained. The authors could have paid greater attention to a consideration of different viewpoints on the structure of the categorial apparatus of historical materialism and so on. However, as a whole, this book will be useful to students, scientific workers and a broad range of people interested in problems of historical materialism. Such cooperation between scientists from fraternal countries is very welcome and must be developed in the future.

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## FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COHESION OF COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 110-112

[Review by V. Balmashnov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book by B. M. Leybzon, "Mezhdunarodnoye Yedinstvo Kommunistov: Istoricheskiy Opyt, Printsipy, Problemy" [International Communist Unity: Historical Experience, Principles and Problems]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 253 pp]

[Text] The international communist movement--the most influential political force of our time--is having an increasing influence on the course of social history. That is why the internal processes of the movement itself can be better understood only by comparing them with universal events.

The basis of the new book by the well-known Soviet historian B. M. Leybzon is precisely this approach to the study of topical problems of the strengthening of international communist unity.

Among the wide range of problems included in this topic, the author has focused on the most essential and most topical ones: the correlation between internationalism and patriotism, the nature of discussions and criticisms within the international communist movement, contemporary forms of interaction among communist parties and some aspects of their strategy and tactics related to integration processes in the economy of Western European capitalist countries.

By focusing on various specific domestic and international problems, each communist party makes its contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle by strengthening and developing its international nature. Therefore, the author emphasizes, unity between the national and the international is the essence of the historical responsibility undertaken by those who are fighting for the society of the future, which they conceive in terms of an international brotherhood of socialist nations.

The communist parties are well aware of the importance to their struggle of the strengthening of reciprocal fraternal relations. This is necessary not only in order to ensure the successful solution of the immediate problems facing each of them today but also in order to strengthen their confidence in the real possibility of developing a system of social justice, which can be achieved only if those fighting for it firmly follow the path of internationalism as of the present.

In his study of the positive and negative experience of relations between individual parties and the communist movement as a whole, the author points out that



disdain for international solidarity not only hinders the current struggle and undermines its future successes; by setting itself apart and weakening its ties with the international communist movement, a party inevitably becomes deformed.

The author pays great attention to the features and characteristics of the global circumstances which determine the need for increasing international communist solidarity.

The very range of problems requiring an international approach is expanding steadily. One or a few decades ago many problems could not be described as international in the least; today they are assuming priority in the international struggle waged by the working people.

The problem of war and peace, of preventing the threat of nuclear destruction of mankind and of saving contemporary civilization and preserving life on our planet was and remains a most vital one.

The assertion of the principles of equality in global economic relations and, particularly, of establishing equal economic relations between liberated and developed capitalist countries is also a universal problem and not local in the least.

Even environmental protection, which is a specific task of our time, cannot be resolved by countries acting by themselves.

The international communist movement is the only political force which is actively and militantly making itself felt in all three great currents of the contemporary revolutionary process: in the socialist countries, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. For this reason alone, the author emphasizes, the struggle against capitalism and for the victory of the new system cannot be waged on an isolated basis, by one's party alone. Each communist party is experiencing the influence of the successes and failures of other fraternal parties and of the entire international communist movement. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the unquestionable fact that imperialist reaction is increasingly coordinating its efforts on an international scale. It is extremely intolerant of all manifestations of revolutionary solidarity and, particularly, of unity within the international communist movement. However, the malicious exaggeration by anticommunism of the difficulties encountered by the international communist movement and anticommunism's obvious hopes that the differences of opinion and approach to one or another problem, which arise in our movement, will turn into insurmountable conflicts are steadily defeated by the insurmountable inner logic of the unity among those who have dedicated themselves to the struggle against imperialism. The workers movement and its communist vanguard can and must oppose reactionary intrigues with their tried weapon: the strengthened cohesion within their ranks.

One of the chapters deals extensively with the history of the development of the forms of international communist unity, from the appearance of the contemporary communist movement to the present. The author has collected interesting data which describe the growth of the independence of the communist parties within the Comintern. He thus convincingly exposes the nonsensical anticommunist insinuations of the Comintern's so-called "monolithism." The international communist movement does

not recognize ossified forms of interrelationships among its member-parties. Even when it was developing within the Communist International, it was able to resolve such problems flexibly and creatively. It favors even more the flexibility of relations among parties under conditions in which they operate as entirely autonomous organizations which maintain close reciprocal relations on a voluntary basis. The author describes the complexity of the process of organizing on a new basis international communist unity after World War II and draws our attention, in particular, to the nature and characteristics of international and regional conferences of fraternal parties.

One of the merits of the book is that the problem of unity within the communist movement is depicted not as a "given" vital need or a condition but also as a process in the course of which new problems which must be resolved arise while other urgent problems appear. The communists, the author states, possess the necessary quality which helps them to surmount arising difficulties: a feeling for the new and the desire to develop a scientific revolutionary theory. Concern for adding to one's theoretical arsenal and creative exchange of experience is another factor which contributes to the strengthening of the international communist movement. Correct theory binds together the communists the world over, giving such theory a clear orientation and representing the ideological foundation for their unity.

Naturally, in order to find the accurate answers to the urgent questions of our time, one must retain not only a feeling for the new but also loyalty to principles tested by time and revolutionary battles. That is why, the author justifiably believes, such trite methods as pitting Marx against Lenin or attempts to depict Leninism either as a purely Russian phenomenon or as having allegedly lost its importance, are nothing but the aspiration to reject all theory and take the path of consumerist pragmatism.

The ideological foundations of unity within the international communist movement are closely related to the attitude toward the experience of the struggle waged in past decades and to the historical past. This topic is also extensively discussed. The bourgeoisie spares no effort in opposing the revolutionary traditions of the working class. It tries to give the past a "threatening" appearance. The communists are advised to "free the present from the past," "not to absolutize continuity" and so on. A nihilistic attitude toward history is manifested in attempts to depict Marxism as a current allegedly alien to historicism. In the case of revisionism, any comparison of events is essentially excluded because of its low and comprehensively accommodating nature. In turn, all that dogmatism is seeking are merely direct analogies with the past. Therefore, both types of opportunism result in the depreciation of historical experience.

It is entirely clear that the revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking of the individual detachments of the communist movement cannot be identical in everything. While sharing basic common grounds, they reflect the characteristics of the individual countries and different historical conditions and national traditions. That is why the communists believe that the development of Marxist-Leninist theory is the common concern of the communist parties and that any provincial arrogance or underestimating of collective efforts in the development of theoretical problems could be not only harmful but dangerous. What makes even more necessary

the exchange of experience and the coordination of actions among communist parties is the fact that hostile class forces are overtly trying to use the so-called problem of "party independence" for promoting a division among communists of different countries.

The distinguishing characteristic of our time is not only that the importance of the autonomy of communist parties, which must resolve complex problems of the class struggle under specific national conditions, is increasing, but that the communists have invariably paid attention to this process and the tasks it entails, essentially from the very first steps of the Comintern. More than ever before, today's reality gives priority to the common tasks facing the communist parties and all democratic forces. Based on voluntary participation, the international cooperation among fraternal parties does not subvert in the least the principle of their independence but gives this principle greater substance and contributes to the increased prestige of these parties in the eyes of the working people of their own countries and throughout the world.

In this connection, the author reminds us quite pertinently that communist party autonomy and independence are not synonymous with isolationism, not to mention national exclusivity. The sovereignty of Marxist-Leninist parties is not limited to their formulation of their own policy. The concept of autonomy is broader. It includes, above all, class independence, the ability to oppose bourgeois and reformist policy and ideology, and the ability to be systematically and creatively guided by Marxist-Leninist theory in resolving problems raised by life, however complex and odd they may be. The communist parties have the great responsibility of being "inhospitable" to alien ideas, defending the purity of their ideological banner and pursuing their independent class line.

Unquestionably, conflicting viewpoints on individual matters may develop among parties. In this case, however, it is important to determine the nature of such differences. Do they apply merely to individual matters or to the foundations, the very essence of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy? Differences in views on specific matters are frequently explained in terms of the specific situation of one or another party. The communists have noted that when there is agreement on the essentials, differences on individual matters and the overestimating or underestimating of one or another factor of the revolutionary struggle under specific conditions presents no danger. Such differences, V. I. Lenin pointed out, "can and will absolutely disappear: this will be the result of the logic of the joint struggle against the truly dangerous enemy, the bourgeoisie...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 255).

The appearance of different viewpoints in the international communist movement always represents a greater or lesser test of internationalism. This test can be successfully passed not only by implementing the behests of international solidarity but by defending it through practical action. The author quotes Lenin on the fact that "The question is not to 'proclaim' internationalism but, even in most difficult times, to remain an internationalist in fact" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 177).

The author does not avoid touchy problems. He considers them without prejudice, with substantiation and conviction.



Written in a picturesque and unconventional style, this study will unquestionably help to increase our knowledge of the processes occurring in the contemporary international communist movement.

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CSO: 1802/19

## STORMY SPRING OF PUBLICISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 113-114

[Review by Al'bertas Laurinchyukas of books awarded the prize of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists for best publicistic work]

[Text] The secretariat of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists has instituted a new prize for best publicistic work. The prize is awarded once every 2 years. In 1981 the prize was awarded to an anthology (in two volumes) by the Lithuanian publicist Yonas Karosas, "Burnyye Vesny" [Stormy Spring] and to the books by Grigoriy Oganov, "TV po-Amerikanski" [American-Style TV] and "Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk" [How the Bad Wolf Presents Himself]. The present review and the one which follows it discuss the books of the prize winners.

Recently a group of painters from different countries came to Vil'nyus. They spent several days sketching our city, after which an exhibit of their works was organized. On one of the canvases a street was painted in bright tropical colors; on another, the same street looked like a waterless desert; on yet another it was given a Spanish character. It was easy to identify painters from Africa, Latin America and the Middle East by the nature of their canvases.

Different people view the same city differently. Yonas Karosas has seen it his own way. He warmly loved Vil'nyus, for it was here that he was baptized as a revolutionary-Leninist and was tempered through struggle and toil.

When I started reading his book "Govoryat Kamni Vil'nyusa" [Vil'nyus' Pavement Talks] I understood the meaning of the expression "publicistic dynamite." For quite some time Vil'nyus has been inhabited by people of different nationalities. Here more frequently than elsewhere in Lithuania the fighters for justice shed their blood, the flowers of heroism bloomed more vividly and the sound of revolutionary words was louder. One of the many roots followed by ISKRA on its way to Russia was through Vil'nyus whose pavement remembers Lenin's steps. Written in the city's history are the names of Kutuzov, the outstanding Russian military leader, Adam Mickiewicz, the talented Polish poet, Mikaloyus Konstantinas Chyurlenis, the noted Lithuanian painter, and many others. Vil'nyus is both the ancient Lithuanian capital and the city in which the Soviet system was proclaimed in Lithuania in 1918. It is famous not only with one of the oldest universities in Europe but

with Lazdinay, its new residential district, whose designers were awarded the Lenin prize.

That is the way Yonas Karosas described this dynamic, fighting, working and constructing city in his journalistic publications. The journalist perceived the city, the republic and the entire world not as a compilation of big houses, lively streets, fast rivers or infinite space but as the common home of the people in which they live, struggle and toil. That is why his streets, factories and cities are alive like an eternally ringing bell. They are embellished with the flowers of human joy and suffering, love and hatred, condemnation and hope. And above all this, like the sun at its zenith, to the journalist the happiness of the struggling man is imbued with Lenin's ideas.

With its firm hand life, this great sculptor, chisels into the memory of everyone, as if in granite, the portraits of our friends. Yonas Karosas was a journalist. He marched through life holding his pen like a rifle. He did not love cliches or triteness. He valued the creative principles and his most reliable weapon was his passionate and militant publicism.

Y. Karosas deserves great credit for training the journalists of Soviet Lithuania. He paid particular attention to the young press workers. He enjoyed a high reputation among journalists of other fraternal republics. The wings of his dreams were widespread and powerful. However, he never separated himself from the earth. He was a true patriot of his country and a consistent internationalist. His friends were people of different nationalities. He considered the contemporary world divided by trenches, on one side of which were progress, socialism and Lenin's ideas, while on the other were reaction, backwardness and despair.

Lithuanian progressive journalism is rich and its deep roots should be sought where proletarian revolutionary thinking was born, where the sparks of Lenin's truth flew out of the crucible of the workers struggle. This journalism maintains firm ties with the spiritual world of the working people.

Vintsas Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas and Zigmas Angaretis, the founders of the Communist Party of Lithuania, were also the founders of the Lithuanian bolshevik political journalism. On 12 April 1917 they published in Petrograd the newspaper TIESA, which did not carry an editorial but a poem by Yulyus Yanonis, which called for revolutionary struggle.

We cannot remain indifferent when we read the essay by Pyatras Tsvirka, "The Seeds of Brotherhood," written in the difficult days of the Great Patriotic War. The fraternity among the Soviet peoples against whom fascism had raised its ugly paw withstood the terrible war and not only withstood but strengthened.

The new tasks in the building of a communist society raised many new brilliant and intelligent publicists. Let us note, above all, Eduardas Mezhelaitis, Lenin prize laureate, and Yuozas Baltushis, people's writer of the Lithuanian SSR and author of the beautiful travelog on Soviet Lithuania "O Chem Pesni ne Slozheny" [Of Which No Songs Have Been Composed].



The publicists in our republic operatively respond to the most important events in life. When the ukases on awarding the title of Hero of Socialist Labor to a group of Lithuanian workers were promulgated, Yonas Avizhyus and Yonas Dovidaytis, the best known writers in our republic, were assigned by the editors to visit them. The result was vivid and convincing essays on the heroes of the five-year plan....

The joint plenum held by the board of the Lithuanian SSR writers union and journalists' union was an important landmark in the development of political journalism in the republic. It was held in Klaypeda in 1977. Noted publicists from other fraternal republics attended as well. Last year, together with the writers, the republic's union of journalists sponsored publicism days in Shyaulyay, held under the slogan of "Writers and Journalists Go to the Working Class." Meetings were held at five plants. They took the form of creative reports submitted by Lithuanian publicists and confirmed the need to develop effective cooperation with the readers through direct contacts at plants, factories and schools.

The two-volume publicistic works of Yonas Karosas, published posthumously, is entitled "Burnyye Vesny." It is a vivid reflection of the author's life and journalistic and political activities. Recollections about the author, written by his closest friends and fellow workers, may be found at the end of the second volume, recreating Karosas' picture.

"Yonas Karosas was an interesting interlocutor, passionate polemicist and revolutionary propagandist who held firm theoretical positions which enabled him to be guided with accuracy in the political situation of his time," writes Hero of Socialist Labor Maksim Tank, the noted Belorussian Poet. "I am grateful to him and to my other Lithuanian friends who became close to me in the famous "Lukishkskiy University" (the jail), for having been given the opportunity to study more closely the Lithuanian revolutionary movement and Lithuanian literature...." (Vol 2, p 362).

"I do not know why and how," writes the well-known publicist Iosif Grigulevich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, "but under the conditions of police-ruled bourgeois Poland, Yonas Karosas had managed to collect an excellent library which included not only many works by Marx, Engels and Lenin in Lithuanian, Russian and Polish, but the masterpieces of world literature, such as the works of Maksim Gor'kiy, Upton Sinclair, Romain Rolland and others. He loaned them to his fellow students, discussed them with them and subsequently gave them no rest until they reached the only proper conclusion: the awareness of the need to fight against the Pilsudski supporters and for socialism, and to defend the Soviet Union, the homeland of the working people the world over" (Vol 2, p 315).

At the start of the 1930s Yonas Karosas and his comrades-revolutionaries buried a steel box in the ground, containing a single issue of BARRIKADA, the journal he had organized, and swore to take it out when the Soviet system was restored in Lithuania.

They saved this copy of a revolutionary publication so that it might serve not only as a bell calling the people to the struggle but as the inextinguishable flame of their oath. After a severe winter, the grain which the plowman has cast into the soil rises like a green wall. Such was the case with the civic journalistic legacy of Yonas Karosas, which was echoed in the hearts of many people, journalists in particular.

Every year, on press day, republic prizes named after Vintsas Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas are presented in Vil'nyus to the authors of the most outstanding journalistic works. Yonas Karosas, who was chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Union of Journalists for many years, presented the awards to the most talented journalists in the republic. This year, when it was announced at Press Day ceremonies that Yonas Karosas had been awarded (posthumously) the prize of the USSR Union of Journalists for his political journalism, applause broke out in the hall. It was in memory of the oath taken by the young revolutionaries, who had buried BARRIKADA in the ground and the bolshevik pathos of Yonas Karosas' literary works.

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## REPORT FROM THE FAIR OF UNBELIEF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 114-117

[Review by Galina Shergova of the book "Burnyye Vesny" [Stormy Spring] by Yonas Karosas. Memoirs. Vols 1 and 2 (in Lithuanian). Vaga, Vil'nyus, 1978-1979; "TV po-Amerikanski" [American-Style TV]. Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1979, 231 pp and "Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk" [How the Bad Wolf Presents Himself]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 224 pp, both by G. S. Oganov]

[Text] We shall discuss acute problems, principled arguments and serious books. However, I would like to begin with one of their qualities which in reviews of such books is usually found somewhere in the penultimate paragraph.

Victory in battle as in a debate becomes particularly convincing and effective when the winner has won after adopting his opponent's game rules. American "mass culture" (this is exactly what we shall discuss) proclaims "total fascination" as one of its postulates. Grigoriy Oganov, whose books "TV po-Amerikanski" and "Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk" were awarded a prize for best publicistic works in 1980 and which focus on exposing the essence of that same American "mass culture," accepted the challenge of the opponent: His books are entertaining despite their depth and analytical seriousness. In this case the word "attractive" is more accurate than "fascinating." The way the author has accomplished this will be described below.

In accepting his discourse on American propaganda we must also adopt some of the opponent's official "game rules."

There is in American journalism the so-called "first paragraph rule," which informs us of the topic of the work. I shall try to summarize these notes with the help of the title itself for, it seems to me, the terms it uses may be considered the theses of our discussion of these books.

Therefore, let us look at the term "reporting."

According to the laws of literature we could say that this genre is totally inconsistent with the books under review: "TV po-Amerikanski" is a brilliant essay on television while "Seryy Volk" is a collection of pamphlets, articles and socio-psychological studies.

Naturally, it would be senseless to expect an article on a soccer game to provide an analysis of the historical circumstances in which it is being played or discuss the ideological positions of the opponents. However, Julius Fucik named his passionate and profound estimate to future generations, "Report with a Noose Around the Neck." What about "Ten Days Which Shook the World," which is a minstrel song glorifying the October Revolution, is it not also a piece of reporting? Naturally, I am far from the thought of drawing direct analogies between these works and the topics we are discussing here. I am mentioning these already classical beautiful books for the sake of pointing out how broad the meaning of "reporting" is.

Oganov's books are reports with the best and most important qualities of this genre. The main one among them is the following:

A report from the battlefield is not a cold statement on the level of the operative skill of the battling parties. The reporter's sympathy for one or the other side is always apparent. Similarly, a report from the ideological battlefield cannot be impartial. In Oganov's books a righteous contentiousness is quite visible: he joins battle against the type of "culture" on whose weapons we clearly read "made in the United States," and does not conceal the fact that his own weapon comes from the great arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

The author looks at the essence of bourgeois culture and bourgeois propaganda through the lens of Lenin's thought that "People have always been and will always remain stupid victims of deception and self-deception in policy until they learn how to identify the interests of one or another class behind moral, religious, political and social phrases, statements and promises" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 47).

On one occasion Nicholas Johnson, former member of the Federal Communications Commission, admitted that "...the national political power which ownership of a group of television stations provides...is considerably superior to the type of power which a democratic country would rashly grant to any individual or social group." That is the entire point: the official power, granted at random, "rashly," may fall temporarily into the hands of even a progressive individual. However, the true power, including the power to influence society morally, is always in the hands of the rich. Therefore, as Oganov convincingly proves, propaganda and culture are instruments in the hands of the ruling establishment whose main purpose, as the author states, is the extraction of benefits. "It is precisely in the context of this omnivorous passion," he writes, "that Marx' statement on the natural, historical and socially determined hostility of capitalism to art becomes entirely clear" ("Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk," p 41). (Let me note in parentheses that Marx' citation has been included in the story without quotes. The books do not come with an endless list of quotations. They are party-oriented according to the very essence, spirit and features of party-mindedness which Lenin demanded of political journalism.)

Occasionally, in our publicistic works, we debate the method once suggested ironically by Karel Capek: "...The reader is presented with some kind of unimaginable scarecrow which has nothing in common with the real enemy, after which this vicious enemy is destroyed."



Oganov does not invent an enemy. Furthermore, he lets the enemy talk in his books. He enters into a dialog and scores a convincing victory. For example, here is the way he concludes his conversation with Mrs. Addison, one of the managers of "independent" television. Asked whether she would like to see tastelessness and triteness eliminated from the American screen, she raises her shoulders helplessly: "This will hardly occur in the foreseeable future."

The merit of an honest piece of reporting is that it turns the listener or the reader into a witness, into a virtual coparticipant in the events. The panoramic view of American cultural activities is clearly presented in Oganov's books. It is as if we are witnessing endless westerns and bloodshedding serials, deafened by the cacaphony of rock groups through whose music the harmony of Beethoven and Mozart is unable to reach us. The descriptions in the books are precise and picturesque. With all this, however, even the visual image is always politically accurate. Here is one of them: "Television antennas are social lightning rods, the indefatigable guardians of big business...."

The television antennas are also permanent invitations at the gates of the American cultural fair. Why a fair? Above all, because a fair is a trade mart. The title of the opening chapter of one of the books was deliberately chosen "Let Us Begin with the Main Thing: Why the Air?"

Advertising is the main source of television company profits. Profits rule the air, they are ubiquitous, they break into any program. The embrace of Romeo and Juliet can be washed away in a wave of foam from the best washing detergent, while a report on the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy may be interrupted by a ditty such as "Newport has the softest taste, Newport is better than all cigarettes in the world!"

The content of broadcasts is also controlled by the advertisers. Thus, when the Coca-Cola corporation did not like an NBC program on the hard working conditions of fruit pickers in Florida, Coca-Cola switched its advertising, with the substantial budget it involved, to other television networks.

Truth is a bad commodity for the corporations, for, according to Eric Barnow, Columbia University professor, "Advertisers are selling a world of fantasy."

As a young man, Marx wrote that "...As the mass of objects grows, so does the kingdom of alien essences which dominate man..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 42, p 128). The purpose of American-style culture, with its abundance of advertised objects, is to convert society into a sum total of "alien essences." Here again another feature of the fair becomes apparent. Here they trade in concepts, appreciating and depreciating them, dressing them in colorful clothing according to the fairground laws. In the very concept of "mass culture" the operative word is "mass," converted into goods for the anonymous crowd, while "culture" wears the uniform of the dimwitted policeman Theo Kojak who orders on the screen "Crush them!..." "Grind them into dust!..." Yes, in this fair they trade in violence, blood and pornography, and all of this under the slogan of "We are showing what the viewers want!" Naturally, where there is trade we find its principle that "Offer is determined by demand." Spiritual trade, however, is always a boomerang. Education in a spirit of violence, whether in a feature film or savage documentaries, corrupts society. The adolescent who watches his blood-stained idols, soon afterward frequently becomes the "hero" of a documentary on crime.

The young American, drugged by a television cocktail made of blood, pornography and musical anticulture, can be recruited easily into the army of hired killers operating in the virgin jungles of Southeast Asia or the asphalt jungles of Chicago. The cocktail of bourgeois culture exerts an almost narcotic influence on the minds and the hearts. It is no accident that Western critics have compared the stupefying watching of television to the condition of a person in an opium den.

Returning to the studio, the boomerang of American television occasionally tragically strikes at the program creators. Thus, Chris Chabback, the emcee of a television program, saying "In complete agreement with the practice of our channel of showing you a variety of bloody crimes and scenes of violence, you will witness a sensational first. You will see a direct television reporting of a suicide...", after which she shot herself in front of the audience, in precisely the same manner as the leading character in the movie "Network."

Meanwhile, corpses keep falling on the television screens. Compared to them the significant number of 32 murders in Shakespeare's "Titus Andronicus" is no more than a minor brawl.

Naturally, however, it is not only blood that is traded on those fairgrounds. What kind of fair would this be without farce?

As we know, neither Moliere nor Durrenmatt are staged or Berlioz played. It would be unfair to say that such works are not heard in the United States or that no real literature is presented. However, a ticket for a serious concert or show is so expensive that the "mass" audience must be satisfied with a farce. However, since childhood any taste for good books is eliminated with the help of forgeries.

In compensation, one is offered endless female spiders, such as "Black Widow," or rubbish such as "The Gong Show." These are good-for-nothing shows but "thoughtless, innocuous."

Actually, they are not all that thoughtless. "...The crisis of Western culture," Oganov writes, "is not only a manifestation of the general crisis of the capitalist system but a specific result of such a crisis development" ("Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk," p 68).

This art is not all that innocuous either. Here is another accurate conclusion drawn by the author: "Spiritual corruption is the shortest way to achieving the highest objective of capitalism," to the suppression of all spiritual human qualities which could lead a person to protest and actively to oppose the world of preying and profits.

One should not think that so-called "expository materials" are alien to American propaganda. Suffice it to recall the Watergate affair of sad memory or the story of the shooting of the population of the Vietnamese village of My Lai. They have been the subject of numerous books, television broadcasts and motion pictures. Some of their authors were guided by just feelings of anger and disgust. However, they reached the public only because the ruling class professes the farsighted formula according to which "rescue the system by exposing individual faults." Such publicity creates the illusion of "democracy" and "intolerance" of faults!

Here is (yet once again!) another sensation: money, the dollar, the absolute ruler of the Western world.

Jim Hanson, an ex-actor and now a successful producer, set up in his office a kind of "altar" in which God is represented by the facsimile of a dollar bill against a background of stock exchange quotations.

The temple to the dollar, the permanent sanctuary of all religions, rises over the farces staged at the American cultural fair.

Biblical injunctions notwithstanding, the merchants will not be expelled from this temple. On the contrary, the persistent merchants here include both parishioners and church fathers. The most important commodity they sell is anti-Sovietism.

A variety of methods is used to market this commodity to the public at large: fear, persuasion and, the most popular, the insinuation of a system of false ideas, the concealment of the fraud. In the book "Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk" the author describes an evening spent in front of the television screen. The television presented a discussion by Pentagon generals who bemoaned "Soviet military superiority," "breakthrough of Kremlin tanks to the Persian Gulf" and a "Soviet nuclear strike." The deliberate disinformation, concealed as a documentary discussion, horrifies the audience. But, thank God, a cartoon appears on the screen: the big bad wolf is seen chasing Little Red Riding Hood and her gentle grandmother and one feels like forgetting the Soviet missiles which may be fired any minute at the peaceful home of the American petit bourgeois. However, the big bad wolf turns around and we see...the hammer and sickle stamped on its forehead! The makeup of the "Soviet threat" has been applied to this naive little story so that from an early age the American will identify the symbol of the alliance between workers and peasants, shown on our flags, with a mortal danger.

The makeup artists of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism are even trying to alter the aspect of facts which are common knowledge. Let us recall, as an example, the film on the assassination of President Kennedy. The actor who was cast in the role of Lee Oswald looked very much like the original and even his mannerisms as reported in documentaries were duplicated. It was suggested to the audience that everything here was like in real life. However, the makeup artist added a minor feature: the newspaper which Lee Oswald holds in his hand shows in the Cyrillic alphabet the word "Politika," after which the audience can guess for itself whose power was guiding the hand of the assassins.

Oganov justifiably writes that "The Western propaganda machine is unable to produce anything free from a dose of poison or without cultivating the seeds of evil" ("Kak Grimiruyetsya Seryy Volk," p 8). This applies equally to morality and politics.

How could one remain a true artist in the midst of this fairground tinsel which ranges from the vulgar to the sinister? He himself is for sale. In the words of Bob Dylan, "All that you have made is blood and fire. To you I am a toy, a cheap good." We are not discussing here the work of the few but true masters of American literature, theater or motion pictures, of those who stand up against "blood and fire" in their works. We are speaking of the workers in "mass culture." The

scope of these notes does not allow us to discuss in detail Oganov's thoughts on "freedom of creativity," as such interesting views expressed by the author should be the subject of a separate discussion. Let me merely consider one characteristic which distinguishes the views of "postindustrial society" sociologists and most makers of "mass culture" forgeries.

Oganov writes: "Almost unanimously they eliminate from the eyes anything that is of a class or social nature in the consideration of trends which shake up the political life, economy and culture of contemporary Western society. 'Do not tell me about this!...' (Ibid., p 13).

"Do not tell me about this," "I do not want to think of the reorganization of the world!" or "I do not want to change life but to plunge into a world of illusions!" According to its originators, such or an even broader selection of feelings is what the public should remember after the show.

I do not want to know means I do not want to believe. That is why I described this fair as the fair of unbelief. Unbelief, with all its prophets, will always fill the vacuum created by the lack of ideas. Unbelief is spiritual corruption, inertia and stupefaction.

Much is for sale at the "mass culture" fair except for one thing: faith in the purity of social and moral ideals, in the very possibility that such a faith could exist, as this lofty word could not be applied to describe the pagan frenzy in the sight of the dilapidated idol of anti-Sovietism or the almost mystical trance in front of the altar of the dollar!

Unbelief may be countered only by high convictions. It is precisely such a conviction that imbues the books discussed here. This is a conviction which not only strengthens supporters but educates the ignorant and makes the enemy hesitate.

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## MAKING OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 118-121

[Review by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ya. Blinkin of the book by R. Spero, "The Duping of the American Voter." Dishonesty and Deception in Presidential Television Advertising. Lippincott and Crowell, New York, 1980, 232 pp]

[Text] Such is the title of a book which came out in the United States in 1980. Its author Robert Spero, former member of the Department of State, a journalist and publicist, is the vice-president of a big commercial advertising company.

What does this person competent in the field of advertising have to tell the world? He describes the way "Jimmy Carter misrepresented facts of his life for the sake of becoming president," while "Gerald Ford presented in a false light the country's situation in order to remain president;" and the way both candidates for this high position "spoke in front of television cameras and said things to mislead the public. They made false statements on television in news broadcasts, in journal articles, in their campaign travels, in their speeches in shopping centers and at various meetings, in front of students and in the course of so-called serious national debates" (p 1).

The author traces the way television was used for self-serving interests over a period of 28 years by six nominees for the presidency: D. Eisenhower, J. Kennedy, L. Johnson, R. Nixon, G. Ford and J. Carter. Although the author limits himself exclusively to the role of television in the duping of the voters, the factual data he has put together shows the immorality of the entire antidemocratic electoral system of the United States.

If the declarations and promises of presidential candidates were to be subjected to the same basic investigation as any advertised soap, suspenders or anything else, the author writes, no one could get into the White House. Throughout his study R. Spero argues that the electoral campaign in the United States is a dishonest competition among moneybags for the sake of getting to a "cozy place." All possible means are used in this struggle, unfettered by moral or legal norms.

For example, let us consider the way Jimmy Carter became president. Carter's rise, the author says, started with the fact that D. Rockefeller considered him an "outsider," i.e., someone uninvolved with the unpopular intervention in Vietnam and with corruption in Washington. Carter also enjoyed the support of multinational corporations such as Coca Cola and others. Rockefeller and Brzezinski made him a

member of the Tripartite Commission. He became one of those who "plan the execution of American economic and military policy" (p 12). He was joined in the commission by well-known representatives of the military-industrial complex who, subsequently, were given leading positions in the White House: W. Mondale, vice-president; Z. Brzezinski, national security advisor; W. Blumenthal, secretary of the treasury; and C. Vance, secretary of state. All in all, 17 members of this commission became part of "Carter's team."

Carter's direct training for the presidency was provided by Brzezinski, who "spent time with him, talked with him and sent him his books and articles, generally instructing him" (p 14). That same Brzezinski wrote his pre-electoral and postelectoral foreign policy speeches.

From the very start of Carter's electoral campaign a special fund-collecting committee was created. We shall probably never find out the actual amounts of money which are spent in the United States in electoral campaigns. It is clear, however, that they are increasing with every passing year. According to the American press the 1980 electoral campaign expenditures reached the unparalleled figure of \$1 billion. Of this \$250 million were spent by presidential candidates; \$350 million were spent by candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives, and \$400 million by candidates for state positions. For example, J. Rockefeller IV spent about \$12 million of his personal funds alone in his campaign for the governorship of West Virginia, or \$300 per voter. The author notes the huge funds contributed by big corporations and banks. In 1976 the purchase of television time alone cost Carter almost \$3.5 million (see p 8).

The management of the electoral campaign itself was assigned to the Gerald Rafshoon advertising agency, well known in the United States. The company's commercial advertising specialists knew perfectly well that it would be difficult to gain the trust of the voters after cases of corruption in Washington had become known and after the notorious Watergate scandal. They displayed a great deal of inventiveness in presenting the clients to the American voter in rosy coloring and to create around him a halo of infallibility. "In a way similar to the advertising of Coca Cola, the methods used to 'sell' Carter were aimed at creating the illusion that he could satisfy the thirst of the people for honesty and trust, reliability and concern...." (p 148).

These specialists in deceit and cheating decided to present Carter as a "country boy," a "political dark horse," and the owner of a farm in the "deep" South, engaged in growing peanuts and able to turn the state back "to the people." The myth was developed that Carter is concerned with the needs of the common people, is "familiar with the concerns and worries of those who can barely make ends meet," is constantly reading the Bible and is thinking of "how to save his brothers and sisters from the vices of Washington." "I am a farmer," "I do not have much money," "I owe everything to the people," the nominee himself lied brazenly (see p 148).

Aware of the feelings of the American taxpayer about the inflated and ever more expensive bureaucratic machinery, Carter did not shy from resorting to base demagoguery. Thus, in his television addresses he repeatedly stated that "I was elected governor of the state not as a politician but as an engineer, a farmer, a businessman, a plantation owner." Before I took over, he said, the state of Georgia had 300 state agencies. I closed down 278 of them. This "saved a mass of money and administrative expenditures were reduced by more than half" (p 154).

All of these statements were pure fabrication and the "open swindling of poorly informed people," R. Spero writes.

To begin with, Carter was not a "dark horse." For many years he had been an influential member of the political and economic establishment in the Eastern states and in the Democratic Party leadership. He had served two terms as Georgia's state senator. In 1966 he announced his candidacy for the governorship but was defeated. At the following election, in 1970, he won.

Secondly, no reduction in the number of state agencies in Georgia occurred under Carter. A "reorganization on paper" was all that took place. It can be documented that in his 4 years as governor, the cost of the state machinery rose by 49 percent while the number of state workers rose by 30 percent (see p 156).

Thirdly, the references to Carter's "modest income" did not correspond to reality. Carter owns not a small farm but an entire company engaged in the growing of peanuts, spread over 3,000 acres (1,200 hectares) of land and forests, bringing in an annual income of \$2.5 million (see p 21).

Fourthly, equally untrue is Carter's statement that he was not related to any organization and owed his nomination to no one. In fact, even before the beginning of the electoral campaign, he had established firm contacts with the leadership of a number of organizations. A. Young, an influential member of one of them, was made by Carter the permanent United States ambassador to the United Nations (true, he was removed soon afterward for "disobedience"), for services rendered. Carter was also able to gain the support of the bosses of the American trade unions, particularly that of the then secretary-treasurer and now AFL-CIO president L. Kirkland and L. Woodcock, president of the automobile workers trade union. As a reward, the latter was appointed U. S. ambassador to China. As to Carter's close connections with the Zionist leadership, this had never been a secret. For many years U. S. Middle Eastern policy has been defined by closest possible relations with Israel. Zionists made a substantial contribution to Carter's electoral campaign.

Gerald Ford was Carter's opponent in the 1976 elections. His advertising campaign was handled by Malcolm MacDougall, a commercial advertising specialist, while his electoral machinery was smoothly greased by a variety of corporations and banks.

R. Spero writes that from its very beginning Ford's campaign was distinguished by a fair amount of falsehoods and unscrupulousness. In order to gain political capital, Ford used the desire of the ordinary Americans for peace and employment. The entire White House machinery worked for the unscrupulous promotion of its boss. The nominee himself tirelessly proclaimed his love of peace, meanwhile increasing military expenditures. As the author points out, "between 50 and 70 percent of the American budget went for military operations--past, present and future" (p 27). Under Ford, after the war in Vietnam had ended, there were 465,000 American soldiers and officers abroad; 11,000 units of nuclear weapons were directed against the USSR (see pp 27-28). (These data are now obsolete; military appropriations have been increased tremendously, the number of troops deployed abroad has increased and the nuclear potential has reached an even more dangerous level). Ford claimed in his numerous speeches that he was well aware of the difficulty of the old and the sick, and promised that "changes will be made in America" when he



became president and that, above all, unemployment would decline. It was known, however, that under his administration unemployment in the United States continued to grow, affecting the young and the blacks in particular: unemployment among young blacks reached 40 percent; 10 million Americans were hungry and in this, the richest capitalist state, infant mortality was the highest in the world; 23 million citizens, i.e., approximately 20 percent of the population between ages 18 and 65, were illiterate (see pp 29-30).

Ford promised the electorate changes but channeled more and more billions of dollars into armaments. He vetoed a bill which called for no more than \$56.6 million for health care, education, retirement and creation of jobs, which, according to the author, is approximately equal to the cost of three F-14 fighter planes (Ibid.).

Richard Nixon became U. S. president in 1972. Spero describes him as a rather mediocre person with a second-rate college diploma. One of his noteworthy features was "his attachment to dirty politics." In his efforts to win the presidency at all costs, he set up a group of 45 journalists, artists, attorneys, producers and other specialists in commercial advertising to draft the tactics of his behavior in the electoral campaign. The first to be created was a finance committee headed by M. Stance, the former secretary of trade, which was given the assignment to collect "by legal or illegal means" \$75 million. The Gulf Resources and Chemical Corporation alone donated \$100,000 (see pp 112,114).

Like other candidates for the presidency, Nixon needed a "hobby-horse" which would enable him to gain political capital. The aggression in Vietnam served the purpose. Nixon cynically thought that "If the war goes on, the people will vote for me to put an end to it. If there is peace, they will vote for the prosperity promised by the democrats" (p 100).

Spero also describes the means used for the election of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. Here again, a great variety of means for duping the masses were used. Thus, the advertising company of Batten, Barton, Durstein and Osborne undertook for an enormous payment to develop Eisenhower's "image," which could be "sold" to the voters. In his speeches Eisenhower was to make an effort to prove his "openness, sincerity and honesty" (p 35). His speeches, like those of the other candidates, were distinguished by demagogy and meaninglessness, the author writes. Even against such an unseemly background, L. Johnson's campaign promises look particularly false and hypocritical. During the war in Vietnam he acted as a peacemaker. However, it was precisely on his instructions that the aggression was provoked and barbaric means such as chemicals--defoliants--were used (see p 55).

Invariably, the old lie of the "Soviet threat" is relied on heavily in U. S. electoral campaigns. Over the past 30 years there has been no candidate for the White House who has not proclaimed himself the defender of the United States from "godless communism" and the "Soviet threat" for the sake of his own speculative interests. For many years, R. Spero writes, the myth of "national security" has enabled the ruling circles to extract huge funds from the taxpayers' pockets "for the sake of the expansionistic ambitions of the greedy military and the arms manufacturers and their patrons in the Congress, presidents and their highly-placed national security assistants" (p 127). All kinds of crimes are committed and all types of adventures undertaken for the sake of "national security": telephone conversations are tapped, Congress is misled, interventions are mounted, attempts on the lives of heads of foreign states are made and so on (see p 132).



The book "The Duping of the American Voter" deals extensively with the techniques used in promoting candidates for the White House, particularly the use of television, which has become the most powerful propaganda means in the hands of those who aspire to power. Television is part of every home and during electoral campaigns from 30 to 80 million people gather around the television screens. It is natural, therefore, that companies engaged in commercial advertising and "selling" presidents to the public are concerned with buying from the most popular television stations time which is convenient for the population to watch. The financing committees of the nominees allocate unlimited funds for such broadcasts: one minute of television advertising in the United States runs into dozens of thousands of dollars.

In the electoral campaign period, speeches on television are not only expensive but totally dishonest. As Spero emphasizes, television propaganda is "The falsest, most dishonest and most unconscientious of all means of advertising" (p 3). Tony Schwartz, one of the greatest specialists in the advertising of Coca Cola, who worked for Carter, testified that "Regardless of whether it is Coca Cola or Carter, a definite attitude (toward the product) must be developed. We...put together a combination of images and sounds which create in the audience a positive feeling toward the item...." (p 145).

Official rules govern commercial television advertising in the United States. However, the author writes, many of these rules are violated by the presidential candidates. In such cases commercial companies would be fined thousands of dollars for improper machinations. However, those who aspire to the highest position make false promises with total impunity, misrepresent facts and make extensive use of the artful and artificially developed fear in the petit bourgeois of the imaginary "Soviet threat."

In their numerous campaign speeches (in 1975, for example, Carter visited 200 cities in 40 states) the candidates promote their programs like very earnest traveling salesmen and make promises right and left, some of which are quite impossible to fulfill. In reality, the author states, in order to be elected the candidates conceal from the voters their positions, convictions and programs and their speeches are a "smoke screen which conceals from the uninformed television viewers their actual connections and surroundings, beliefs and intentions and the true situation of the country during the electoral campaign" (p 10).

How does the ordinary American or, as they say in the United States, "the man on the street" react to this noisy, insistent and dishonest self-advertising of those whose purpose is to become president by all possible means? He is simply confused and can no longer see the difference between candidates. Nor does he know who to vote for. "The voters," R. Spero points out, "must 'choose' between two parties which actually stand for the same things" (p 34).

Here is the way the ordinary American voter behaves in front of the voting machine (ballots are no longer used in the United States): "I was unable to decide in favor of Carter or Ford," a voter told the author. "I began by touching the Ford handle but retracted my hand. I then did the same with the Carter handle. God, I froze, I did not know what to do. I kept looking under the curtain at the feet of the people waiting their turn to vote. They were stamping their feet, coughing, clearing their throats, and I became aware that they were telling me that I had

spent too long in the booth. Damm it, I was aware of this and I began to sweat. Good God, I could not make up my mind!" In the final account he voted, but no longer remembers for whom (p 138).

It is not surprising that with every campaign the number of voters in the United States is dropping: 63 percent of the qualified voters voted in 1964, 61 percent in 1968, 55.5 percent in 1972, 53 percent in 1976 and 52.3 percent in 1980. The fact that American democracy does not represent the interests of the people can be judged by the following figures as well: 43.3 percent of the vote went to Nixon, 27.3 percent to Carter and no more than 26.8 percent to Reagan, i.e., approximately one-fourth of all potential voters, of whom there were about 160 million in 1980. It takes a notorious demagog to claim that the American president is the people's choice.

In the final two chapters R. Spero discusses how to make the U. S. electoral campaign honest and inexpensive. Unfortunately, he does not realize that his prescriptions are utopian and that not only the U. S. electoral system but the entire American bourgeois democracy is guarding the interests of those who do not need true democracy and who are trying to do everything possible to ensure that it will never come.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 pp 121-126

[Text] G. S. Zhuykov, L. I. Komissarova and Ye. R. Ol'khovskiy. "Bor'ba V. I. Lenina Protiv 'Economizma'" [V. I. Lenin's Struggle Against 'Economism']. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 223 pp. Reviewed by L. Shirikov, candidate of historical sciences.

The 26th CPSU Congress clearly proved the unity and monolithic nature of our party and the high conscious discipline of all party members. The foundations for this inviolable unity were laid by V. I. Lenin, who created a proletarian party of a new type--a party of revolutionary action.

The ideological defeat of opportunistic groups and currents within the Russian social democratic movement was the most important prerequisite for the creation of such a party. Without such cleansing work it would have been impossible to ensure the combination of Marxism with the workers movement and establish the independent class line of the proletariat.

Lenin's struggle for the creation of a party of a new type has been extensively covered in party history literature. Nevertheless, we are pleased to note that, on the basis of a thorough study of published materials and new documents found in party and state archives, a group of Leningrad historians have been able to write a thorough history of the struggle waged by Lenin against "economism"--the first opportunistic current in the Russian social democratic movement and one of the varieties of international opportunism.

The authors describe in detail the entire process of the birth and development of this opportunistic trend, the struggle against which lasted nearly a decade. They describe the social roots of "economism," its class nature and the variety of its manifestations. The "economists" tried to restrict the workers movement to the establishment of better conditions for the sale of manpower. They rejected the need for introducing a socialist awareness in the spontaneous workers movement. They opposed the creation of a centralized proletarian party and tried to create a workers organization of the trade union type. The rejection of the idea of a political orientation of the workers movement hindered the growth of the class awareness of the workers and doomed them to ideological and political subordination to the bourgeoisie.

The authors emphasize that Lenin was able to realize the serious threat of "economism" to the workers movement earlier and more profoundly than anyone else, and that he exposed its reformist nature completely. Lenin's works ensured the victory of Marxism over opportunism and created the ideological-theoretical prerequisites for the creation of a proletarian party of a new type.

V. I. Lenin exposed the attempts of the "economists" to deny the guiding and leading role of the party and the importance of its ideological and political activities. In practice, such actions lead to the fact that the mass may fall under the influence of bourgeois propaganda and of the demagogues--the worst enemies of the working class (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, p 123). According to Leninist theory the party is the political leader of the proletariat, which actively molds the latter's class awareness. The party, Lenin taught, must stand above the class in terms of its activeness and political consciousness. It must be imbued with the rich experience of class struggle of the proletariat of all countries and its revolutionary traditions. It must be armed with the knowledge of the laws governing social development, for which reason it is the battle vanguard which leads the entire class. The main task of the party is to spread socialist ideas in the spontaneous workers movement and head all the forms of the class struggle waged by the proletariat so that it may seize the political power and build a socialist society.

The historical experience of the CPSU teaches that the party's Marxist-Leninist program, which scientifically expresses the basic interests of the working class and its allies, is the effective weapon in the struggle against opportunism. Lenin described it as the "banner of a fighting party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 215). The RSDWP program, adopted at the Second Party Congress, was the only party program in the international workers movement which set as its task the revolutionary overthrow of the domination of exploiting classes and which contained the stipulation of the need for a proletarian dictatorship. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that this item was made part of the RSDWP program in connection with the struggle against opportunism.

The RSDWP program was a major contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. It was a model of the creative analysis and summation of social phenomena and of revolutionary passion and intolerance of dogmatism and revisionism.

The book under review describes the sharp ideological struggle which developed on the main items of the RSDWP program. In our view, the authors should have described in greater detail the differences separating it from the programs of Western European social democratic parties, which took the path of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois system.

The authors describe Lenin's struggle against opportunism on the subject of organizational problems. We know that the members of the Second International were characterized by their organizational amorphism, political variety, legitimized splintering and ideological pluralism. This is what "economists," mensheviks and other opportunistic elements wanted for the Russian social democratic movement.

In creating a proletarian party as an alliance of like-thinking communists, sharing common views on basic problems of the revolutionary reorganization of society, V. I. Lenin also formulated corresponding organizational principles.



Strictest possible party discipline and unity of will and action are the mandatory qualities of a revolutionary party of the working class. For the first time the proletariat was given an organization which was able successfully to head its struggle for social liberation under new historical circumstances.

The importance of the book is enhanced by the fact that the authors consider on the basis of Marxist-Leninist positions a number of basic problems of the building of a party of a new type and its ideological-political and organizational principles which hold a central position in the contemporary ideological struggle against anticommunism, and in debates within the workers movement. The data in the book reminds us that only a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, free from reformist illusions, can be the teacher, guide and leader of the working class and all working people who are fighting for democracy and socialism.

V. I. Zlobin. "Vtoroy S"yezd RSDRP. Istorioografiya" [The Second RSDWP Congress. Historiography]. Moscow University Press, Moscow, 1980, 223 pp. Reviewed by Prof S. Khromov, doctor of historical sciences.

The Second RSDWP Congress became an era-making event of universal history. It made an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of the Russian and international workers movements. The importance of this congress, which laid the beginning of bolshevism as a current of political thinking and a political party, is becoming ever more apparent today.

The history of the Second RSDWP Congress has always drawn the attention of scientists, political and social leaders and publicists. However, although a considerable volume of work exists on this topic, reflecting to an ever greater extent the universal-historical significance of the congress, so far it has not been the specific topic of a comprehensive historiographic study.

As we know, the CC CPSU decree "On the 70th Anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress" contains the conclusion that the process of unification of revolutionary Marxist organizations was completed at the congress and a revolutionary party of the working class, the great Leninist party, was founded. This conclusion provided the incentive for a more profound study by CPSU historians of the entire process of the development of a party of a new type in Russia. The significance of this monograph lies precisely in the fact that it considers the entire historiography related to the Second RSDWP Congress on the basis of contemporary requirements.

The thorough study of all of Lenin's works pertaining to the second congress, the brilliant work "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back" in particular, have enabled the author to bring up Lenin's concept of the significance and place of this congress in party history and to prove the profound accuracy of Lenin's view that bolshevism has existed as a current of political thinking and as a political party since 1903. The author points out that Lenin drew three main political conclusions from the congress' results.

First, the congress marked the birth of a centralized proletarian party and put an end to the struggle against circles and amateurism. "We have now become an organized party, which means the creation of an authority, the transformation of

the authority of ideas into the authority of a system, and the subordination of lower to higher party levels" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 8, p 355).

Secondly, the party which was founded at the congress was a party of a new type, a truly revolutionary proletarian party, radically different from the social democratic parties of the Second International in terms of objectives, policies and organization. It was intolerant of any right-wing and left-wing opportunism or divisiveness. The congress approved the revolutionary principles governing the shaping of the party's programmatic objectives and the means to achieve them and of the organization of the party itself. "The ISKRA people won," Lenin wrote. "They had the party program adopted (the ISKRA draft). ISKRA was accepted as the central organ and its line was accepted as the party line. Several resolutions which were adopted on its tactics were in its spirit. The organizational bylaws (Lenin's draft) were those of ISKRA. The anti-ISKRA people spoiled the program only in some of its particulars, with the help of an ISKRA minority" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 233). The congress consolidated this victory by electing ISKRA-leaning leaders as members of the party's leading authorities. This marks the organizational development of bolshevism as an independent political party of the proletariat.

Thirdly, one of the important political results of the congress was the split between ISKRA members, the withdrawal of the "soft" opportunistic elements from the party, which subsequently brought about the founding of the Menshevik Party. This separation was not accidental, for the victory of the revolutionary principles within the RSDWP deprived such elements of their grounds for remaining within the party. "The Bolshevik Party," the author writes, "appeared not as a result of the split within the RSDWP at the second congress but as a result of the victory within the party of the principles of Leninism and of the conversion of the RSDWP into a party of a new type" (p 75). The split of the opportunistic elements was a consequence of this victory.

The author points out that Lenin's works contain a basic summarization of the beginning of the new stage in the development of Marxism, starting with the mid-1890s, on the Bolshevik Party as a party of a new type, on the significance of the second congress as a turning point in the development of the Russian and international workers movement and on the international roots of bolshevism. Such a broad presentation of Lenin's concept of the appearance of bolshevism increases the value of this work and enables the author to provide a thorough critical analysis of the literature on the second congress in its subsequent sections.

The author singles out the main stages in the development of the historiography on the subject of the congress. Naturally, to a certain extent, his chronological breakdown is arbitrary.

The study of the history of the preparations for and holding of the Second RSDWP Congress and of its historical significance in the development of a Marxist party in Russia and of the international workers and communist movements began immediately after the end of the congress. Lenin was its first historian. At the same time, bolshevik publications played a tremendous role in the dissemination of the decisions and significance of the congress and of the Leninist organizational principles and in the exposure of menshevik falsifications. However, many of the studies

of that period lacked the full Leninist depth of analysis and some phenomena had not been understood as yet. Although they linked the appearance of bolshevism with the second party congress, the authors of such works considered bolshevism merely as a current within the Russian social democratic movement while the congress itself was seen as a regular event.

A major step in mastering the Leninist concept of the meaning of the Second RSDWP Congress was taken in the 1920s-1930s, when on the basis of the Leninist methodology in its party history research the concepts of the Bolshevik Party as a party of a new type, of the international roots of bolshevism, of the beginning of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism and of the Second RSDWP Congress as a turning point in the Russian and world workers movements became firmly established.

In the 20 years that followed Lenin's concept of the second congress was thoroughly reflected in historical publications. The studies revealed Lenin's tremendous theoretical, political and organizational activities and the activities of Lenin's ISKRA in the transformation and reorganization of the entire work of the social democratic committees on a revolutionary basis, as a result of which the process of unification of the revolutionary Marxist organizations was completed at the Second RSDWP Congress and a party of a new type was formed.

The final chapter is a study of the contribution made by Soviet historians to the exposure of bourgeois and reformist falsifications of the history of the Second RSDWP Congress and of its significance.

The characteristic feature of this monograph is its polemic nature, manifested in a comparison among views and criticism of erroneous assertions and conclusions. It is also distinguished by its profoundly respectful attitude toward the works of party historians. Unquestionably, this book will draw the attention of scientists, propagandists, students and a broad circle of readers as a noteworthy phenomenon in party historiography.

Yu. I. Shestak. "Bor'ba Bol'shevistskoy Partii Protiv Natsionalizma i Opportunizma Bunda" [The Bolshevik Party's Struggle Against the Bundt's Nationalism and Opportunism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 112 pp. Reviewed by M. Vasser, candidate of historical sciences.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that bolshevism "always waged a most merciless and irreconcilable struggle against opportunism" and that it was mainly in the struggle against opportunism that bolshevism grew, developed and strengthened (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 15). This view is developed in the book through the example of the struggle which Lenin and the Bolshevik Party waged against the nationalism and opportunism of the Bundt from its appearance to its disintegration.

As he developed and enriched the principles of proletarian solidarity, Lenin subjected bourgeois nationalism to merciless criticism. He exposed its antiproletarian and anti-Marxist content and proved the harm caused by its penetration into the workers movement.

While firmly opposing Zionism and antisemitism, the bolsheviks always emphasized that the aspiration of the Bundt leadership "to erect a Chinese wall around their



nationality, their national workers movement" turned "into naught the great behest of rapprochement and unification among proletarians of all nations, races and languages" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 7, p 325).

On the basis of extensive documentary data the author proves that, from the very beginning, the bolsheviks exposed the frankly nationalistic nature of the Bundt in terms of its programmatic and organizational stipulations. This was the only social democratic organization in Russia built not on the basis of territorial but of national principles and which rallied primarily semiproletarian elements. Its activities were based on nationalism and separatism. It took a course of the development of a separate national workers organization of the trade union type, whose objectives and tasks conflicted with international proletarian solidarity.

In his study of Bundt nationalism, the author systematically exposes the sliding of the Bundt leadership to an overtly bourgeois position. In an effort to undermine the faith of the Jewish working people in the bolsheviks at all costs, the Bundt leaders operated according to the principle of "the worse it is, the better." They cynically tried to use even the anti-Jewish pogroms for their narrow egotistical interests. During the imperialist war they became double-dyed social chauvinists; the Bundt contained several social-chauvinistic varieties of the Russian, French and, most of all, German types. Lenin pointed out that no basic differences existed among these shades of social chauvinism. In February 1915 he wrote to A. G. Shlyapnikov that "To us Francophiles and Germanophiles are all the same: they are patriots, bourgeois or their flunkies, rather than socialists. For example, most of the Bundt people are Germanophiles and are pleased by Russia's defeat. However, how are they any better than Plekhanov? Both are opportunists and social chauvinists of different hues" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 49, p 64).

The author describes the links between the Bundt and Zionism and their ideological relationship based on frantic nationalism. It is a question not only of the fact that many programmatic and organizational stipulations of the Zionists and of the Bundt leadership coincided, but of the direct support they offered one another. Thus, V. Medem, one of the Bundt leaders, openly stated that had he been entirely consistent, he should not be a Bundt member but a Zionist. He was answered in the same spirit by V. Jabotinski, one of the leaders of international Zionism, who was a convinced and warm admirer of the Bundt (see p 14).

The Bundt borrowed many ideas from the Zionists, the author points out, above all that of the "extraterritorial nature of the Jewish nation." This idea became the basis of their concept of the "special situation" of the Jewish proletariat. Hence the demand for the establishment of its autonomous social democratic organization. In exposing the ideological similarity between Zionism and the Bundt, Lenin pointed out that "the idea of a Jewish 'nationality' is of an obviously reactionary nature, not only on the part of its consistent supporters (the Zionists), but also among those who are trying to make it compatible with the social democratic ideas (the Bundt)," and that this idea conflicts with the interests of the Jewish proletariat by creating within it a direct and indirect "ghetto" feeling (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 8, p 74).

The book discusses the struggle waged by the Russian Marxists, headed by Lenin, against Bundt nationalism and separatism in the period of the creation of the



RSDWP and, particularly, at the second party congress. The author analyzes the bolshevik criticism of Bundt opportunism on the eve of and during the first Russian revolution and of the Bundt liquidationism as well as the bolshevik exposure of the Bundt appeasement policy in the course of the preparations and making of the socialist revolution. He describes the reasons for the failure of Bundt ideology and politics. Throughout the stages of this struggle, the bolsheviks and Lenin systematically and principle-mindedly exposed the groundlessness of Bundt positions. The author shows the virtually entire coincidence between the Bundt views on basic problems and the ideas of the "economists" and mensheviks and the positions of the liquidationists.

Lenin ascribed particular importance to exposing the reactionary nature of the "cultural-national autonomy," which the Bundt promoted, and which deceived the workers with the fantasy of national cultural unity and led to obedience to "one's own" bourgeoisie and to the division of the working people, and which contradicted the bolshevik slogan of the right of nations to self-determination.

There is no period in the history of the Bundt in which its leadership failed to oppose the Bolshevik Party or to join any kind of opposition to the bolsheviks and Lenin. During the Great October Socialist Revolution it turned increasingly to the right. Immediately after the victory of the revolution, it openly switched to the camp of the most extreme counterrevolution. The author clearly exposes the Bundt's counterrevolutionary activities and its struggle against the Soviet system.

The author also describes the inevitable process of differentiation within the Bundt, whose small ranks were steadily dwindling. Under the influence of revolutionary events and bolshevik criticism, the rank-and-file membership of the Bundt expressed its increasingly definite dissatisfaction with the policy of the leadership which it condemned, and which led to the frequent abandonment of the Bundt. This process particularly intensified after the October Revolution, when a change was noted among the Bundt rank-and-file membership in favor of cooperation with the Soviet system. The Bundt disbanded itself in 1921. Some of its members joined the RKP(b) on a regular basis. Its most reactionary members joined a variety of nationalistic organizations, the ranks of international Zionism above all.

The author accurately points out that the persistent, systematic and principle-minded struggle which the bolsheviks waged against Bundt ideology and politics was the catalytic agent which accelerated the Bundt's ideological-political and organizational bankruptcy.

"The long struggle which the bolsheviks waged against the Bundt," the author concludes, "is an important component of their struggle against opportunism and nationalism in the Russian workers movement. Its success made it possible to ensure the unity and cohesion of the proletariat and the victory of the socialist revolution" (p 110).

This work is a valuable study which will help not only scientific workers but the broad circles of propagandists and heads of classes within the party training system.

I. Ye. Gorelov. "Bol'shéviki i Legal'nyye Organizatsii Rabocheho Klassa (1907-1910)" [The Bolsheviks and the Legal Organizations of the Working Class (1907-1910)]. Vysshaya Shkola, Moscow, 1980, 206 pp. Reviewed by P. Barchugov, doctor of historical sciences, and P. Poryvayev, candidate of historical sciences.

The activities of the bolsheviks for the political education and revolutionary up-bringing of the proletarian masses was one of the most important prerequisites for the success of the bourgeois-democratic and subsequently, also, the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917.

In his famous book "The 'Left-Wing' Infantile Disease of Communism," V. I. Lenin profoundly analyzed the historical experience of the struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party for winning over the workers masses during the reactionary period with a view to undertaking preparations for a new victorious revolution; this experience was used by the young communist parties of other countries. Its further study on a broad factual basis is a topical task of major practical-political and theoretical significance. However, whereas the Duma tactics of the bolsheviks have been frequently discussed in historical works, the study of bolshevik activities in legal workers organizations (trade unions, workers cooperatives, cultural-educational societies, etc.) has been paid relatively less attention on the level of monograph works. This makes even more interesting the present monograph on the attitude of the bolsheviks toward the legal organizations of the working class between 1907 and 1910.

Following a short survey of publications on this problem, included in the introduction, the author not only considers works published over the past 10 to 20 years but also works of the 1920s, which are now bibliographic rarities and which contain many interesting facts pertaining to this topic.

The circumstances which prevailed in the country and the situation of the RSDWP during the period of reaction have been quite extensively covered in many studies, particularly in the second volume of "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. On the basis of Lenin's assessments and with the help of sources published at that time and archive documents the author adds new facts to our concepts regarding that period.

The first two parts of the book, which account for one-half of the entire work, consider the bolshevik tactics toward the trade unions and bolshevik activities in these workers organizations during the reactionary period. They show that the bolsheviks, firmly promoting the line of close and steady ties between the party and the trade unions, invariably waged a principle-minded struggle against the petty menshevik idea of trade union "neutrality" and the attempts of menshevik liquidationists to subordinate the trade unions to their own influence, pit them against the clandestine party and restrict their activities within the narrow frame of economic struggle against the entrepreneurs. In the struggle for ideological leadership of the trade unions, the bolsheviks had to fight also the Bundt and the S.R. The author describes the difficulties of this struggle, pointing out that the menshevik-liquidationists were frequently able to take over the leadership of the trade union, as was the case in Petersburg. The bolsheviks had to work long and persistently to consolidate their influence and ideological leadership within these trade unions.

The new data on the number of trade unions and the size of their membership during the reactionary period are of considerable scientific interest. The author cites convincing proof to the effect that the generally accepted data, now considered in the nature of textbook readings, the clandestine trade unions in the Transcaucasus, Siberia, Central Asia and the Baltic area are ignored (see pp 52-54). He also gives the exact size of the trade unions in 1907, 1909 and 1910. All of these data prove that by the end of the reactionary period the trade union workers movement in Russia had developed extensively and that despite police persecution and the pressure of the entrepreneurs and their associations, retained its active nature and was an important realm of activity for the Bolshevik Party. This is confirmed with particular clarity in the example of the Moscow Central Trade Unions Bureau, which was headed by bolsheviks throughout the entire reactionary period.

The bolsheviks also focused their attention on the legal cultural-educational organizations, such as self-education societies, workers clubs, people's universities, and courses. At the beginning of 1908 the RSDWP Central Committee set up a special commission in charge of party work among them.

The monograph also covers bolshevik activities within the cooperative movement. The author cites specific data on the creation of workers consumer societies in Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Baku and other areas. In a number of cases the workers cooperatives allowed their premises to be used by party cells and for clandestine meetings. They helped the fund-raising efforts of the bolshevik organizations.

The chapter on the bolsheviks' use of the rostrum of all-Russian legal congresses for the purpose of exposing the antipeople's policy of tsarism and promoting the views of the RSDWP is interesting. Workers groups which, as a rule, acted on behalf of trade unions, workers cooperatives and cultural-educational societies, but which were set up with the direct participation of bolshevik organizations, participated in the work of such congresses (of people's universities, cooperatives, factory physicians, societies for combatting drunkenness and others). The speeches at such congresses by representatives of such organizations and reports on them were published in both the clandestine and legal bolshevik press and in trade union publications and were used in the political and revolutionary upbringing of the working class during the difficult reactionary period. The author provides precise data on the members of workers groups attending social congresses and their party and political affiliations and substantiates the conclusion that the bolsheviks played an active, a decisive role within such groups and in organizing the speeches delivered by their representatives.

The book's appendix contains information on the numerical strength of the local RSDWP organizations during the reactionary period. Such combined data for 82 party organizations, broken down by individual years, although not always complete because of insufficient sources, are backed by references to documents and studies conducted by a number of authors. For the first time, they give us an overall picture of the condition of the party organizations in Russia and among the expatriates. A second appendix shows the number of trade unions in the various cities and areas in Russia (based on tsarist authority information). A third appendix deals with the composition of the Moscow RSDWP Committee and the changes which occurred in it from the middle of 1907 to April 1910, in the course of which its membership changed eight times because of detentions of its members by the authorities.

As a whole, this book is a useful contribution to the study of the work of the bolsheviks among the masses during that difficult time for the party. They struggled selflessly, firmly convinced of the inevitable new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Russia, and devoted all their efforts to speed up its advent.

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'COMPONENTS OF A GOOD MOOD'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 81 p 128

[Answer to KOMMUNIST article by Yu. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Petrozavodsk City Party Committee]

[Text] The Petrozavodsk City Party Committee reports that the article by A. Lazunen, head of a turners' brigade at the Avangard Shipyard in Petrozavodsk, "Components of a Good Mood" (KOMMUNIST No 6, 1981) was considered jointly with the executive committee of the city's soviet of people's deputies and the party committee of the Avangard Plant.

The author properly describes the problems facing the enterprise's labor collective. In the course of its organizational and educational work, the plant's party organization is working to enhance the role of the labor collective in communist education. The plant is extensively using the brigade form of labor organization and wages. Currently more than 50 percent of the workers are in the new type brigades with wages based on end results and use of the labor participation coefficient. The party organization has acquired a certain amount of experience in creating a healthy moral and psychological climate in the collective.

However, violations of labor discipline and public order still occur at the plant. Not all leading workers are actively participating in educational work. The plant's party committee is aware of the shortcomings in its activities and is working for their elimination.

The party and soviet organs in the city are taking measures to improve the consumer, trade, communal and medical services to the population of the Klyuchevaya Micro-rayon. However, difficulties in providing services to the population of this rayon, discussed in the article, do exist because of the insufficient development of the network of trolley and bus traffic in the city, unfinished construction, unsatisfactory work on the part of construction organizations in road building, and sub-standard preparation of the equipment of the boiler plant for heating the houses in the winter.

The 11th Five-Year Plan calls for building in the rayon a 220-seat cafeteria, to be completed in 1981, a cafeteria in the building of the construction workers' hostel, a polyclinic capable of handling 1,600 visits per shift, to be completed in 1983, and two food stores. A new trolley bus route will be organized and the construction of a general store will be undertaken.



The building of a cultural club for the Avangard Plant has been slowed down because of the delayed processing of cost estimates and the lack of ministry financing. The moment capital investments have been allocated the project will be included in the construction program of the current five-year plan.

The CPSU gorkom and the executive committee of the city soviet of people's deputies will steadily control the implementation of these measures in the course of their efforts to eliminate shortcomings and improve the level of population services and amenities in the microrayon.

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