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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1981



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

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AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 3-5

[Text] The CC CPSU Politburo considered the results of the July-August 1981 Crimean meetings held between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, on the one hand, and G. Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, J. Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, N. Ceausescu, Romanian Communist Party general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian People's Republic State Council chairman, Yu. Tsedenbal, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee general secretary and People's Great Hural Presidium chairman, S. Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, Council of Ministers chairman and minister of defense of the Polish People's Republic, on the other. The CC CPSU Politburo expressed its full and total approval of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's activities and of the results of his talks. It expressed its gratitude to the heads of the fraternal parties and countries which participated in the talks.

Most important problems related to the development of cooperation among socialist states were discussed in the course of the meetings. Agreements were reached the implementation of which will unquestionably contribute to the successful development of the respective countries and to strengthening unity and cohesion within the socialist comity. Increasing relations among socialist countries in all areas is one of the important prerequisites for the full implementation of the constructive assignments set by the past congresses of communist and workers parties. This will be a continuing contribution to the upsurge of the national economies and the growth of the national prosperity of each fraternal country participating in this cooperation.

Today, the majority of socialist countries set economic intensification as their cornerstone. This problem is resolved above all through national efforts. Meanwhile, the importance of cooperation among socialist countries on a bilateral and CEMA basis is steadily rising as well. The socialist countries as a whole have the possibility of resolving major national economic problems such as increasing their energy capacity, reaching a qualitatively new level in machine building and ensuring the complete satisfaction of demand for consumer goods and agricultural products. This precisely is the purpose of the development of economic integration and of the intensification of the international socialist division of labor.

As confirmed by the results of the 1981 Crimea meetings, interaction among socialist countries in economic areas considered basic in terms of scientific and technical progress and the growth of the people's well-being is taking on a particularly extensive scope during this five-year plan.

The socialist countries will participate in the construction of gas pipelines and other important projects and in the reconstruction and modernization of Soviet light and food industry on USSR territory.

The socialist countries have reached high levels in building the new society. At the same time, however, for a number of reasons, their progress is not unhindered. People's Poland is facing grave crisis phenomena. Socialist development practice again and again proves how important it is for a communist party to be strictly guided by the Leninist norms of party life, and to be concerned with strengthening its ties with the masses, improving socialist democracy, pursuing a realistic economic policy, preventing excessive indebtedness to capitalist countries, raising the working people in a spirit of internationalism, showing revolutionary vigilance and firmly rebuffing antisocialist forces.

Concern not only for their own interests but for those of their friends and allies as well is characteristic of relations among members of the socialist comity. Such a comradely and fraternal approach, which is alien to national egotism, helps the socialist countries to resolve even the most complex economic or other problems confidently.

While strengthening cooperation among themselves, the socialist countries are ready to develop mutually useful relations with other countries throughout the world. Such relations, if built on the firm and stable base of true equality and reciprocal respect for the interests of the parties and without discrimination and political pressure, can be truly beneficial to all participants. They are also vitally necessary for the solution of the global problems facing mankind, from environmental protection and the study and development of the world's oceans and outer space to the consolidation of universal peace.

The Crimean meetings are yet another convincing proof of the unshakable attachment of the fraternal parties and countries to the cause of the defense of peace and the rights of nations to free and independent development.

In heating up international tension, the imperialist circles, particularly those in America, consider this a means of exerting pressure on the socialist countries and the developing states. The familiar NATO decision regarding the production and deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the inflation of the military budgets of the United States and its partners, the decision of the Reagan administration to manufacture the neutron bomb, constant attempts to maintain crisis situations in an acute state and the desire to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries are all imperialist actions which threaten the security of the socialist and many other countries and which have hindered detente and worsened the international political climate at large.

The members of the socialist comity are countering this imperialist line, to which Beijing's policy is drawing ever closer, with a consistent course of strengthening the peace, restraining and stopping the arms race and ensuring the just settlement

of crisis situations through talks. It is the belief of the socialist countries that relations among countries belonging to different social systems must be based, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. This becomes even more pertinent in our nuclear age and presumes a reduction of the level of military confrontation, a constant constructive dialogue and the development of mutually profitable peaceful cooperation.

It was precisely such a policy that was defined in the peace program for the 1980s, adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress. This program is shared by the fraternal socialist countries and was the subject of comprehensive attention on the part of various political circles and the broad international public.

The sensible and just solution of international problems is possible. However, in this case the language of force or threat of force is unsuitable. The socialist countries have at their disposal everything necessary for the protection of their vital interests and will do everything that is necessary in this respect. They also believe, as in the past, that all countries and nations need the benefits of peace. Peace is common property and its protection and consolidation must be the common concern of all countries.

As the 1981 Crimean meetings most clearly prove, the socialist countries are ready to engage in a dialogue and to cooperate with all forces concerned with the current international situation and are aspiring to strengthen international security.

The CC CPSU Politburo notes that as a result of the Crimean meetings the necessary foreign policy coordination among the members of the socialist comity was achieved. Unquestionably, this will contribute to the advancement of the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries, which pertain to the most difficult and explosive problems of contemporary global politics.

In strengthening reciprocal bilateral and multilateral relations and improving the activities of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, the socialist countries are firmly following the itinerary of peace and construction.

The CC CPSU Politburo has made it incumbent on the concerned departments and organizations to take the necessary measures for the implementation of the agreements achieved as a result of the Crimean meetings of 1981.

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LENINIST STRATEGY OF LEADERSHIP: ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S ACTIVITY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 6-22

[Article by K. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] As a party of Leninists, the CPSU is preparing for what is already its 80th anniversary as a monolithic, organizationally and ideologically strong, multi-million detachment of like-minded fighters. Forged by the strenuous, heroic and sometimes anguished efforts of generations of revolutionaries and created by Lenin's theoretical and political genius, our party, as its founder predicted, has become the "fulcrum" with whose aid Russia has indeed been successfully "turned over" and the most profound influence exerted on the world as a whole.

The image of the party outlined by V. I. Lenin at the very start of the century, at the first stages of its revolutionary work, is widely known: a close-knit group of people, fellow fighters marching with firmly linked hands along a steep and difficult path under the enemy's unremitting fire. They march and they firmly believe that there is no force in the world which can halt them or force them to turn from their chosen path. Indeed, there has been no such force. No such force has emerged: Through prison and exile, hangings and shootings, through the bloody barricades of Presnya and the baying of triumphant reaction, through the slander and insults of the bourgeoisie and opportunists of every stripe--through all the "hostile whirlwinds" the party marched, matured, strengthened and built in its ranks an iron-hard cohort of bolsheviks and Leninists, selfless and honest fighters for the cause of the proletariat, the liberation of labor from capital.

Having surmounted enormous difficulties on its path, the party, in Lenin's words, preserved its strength and the flexibility of its organism, its maneuverability, firmness of spirit and clear head. It not only preserved them, it has been transformed into a mighty detachment, over 17 million strong, of fighters for the working people's happiness, into the vanguard of the Soviet people--the trailblazing people who built the world's first society of developed socialism.

Our main objective--communism--lies ahead. Today Soviet society under the party's leadership has scaled heights where many of the tasks of communist building which for the first generations of bolsheviks appeared only as a remote world-historical horizon have become practical tasks of our day.

Is the party ready to resolve them? We can confidently answer this question in the affirmative. While in October 1917 our party was the first to embark on a path where, as Lenin put it, "there was no crew, no road, nothing at all, absolutely nothing tested beforehand," ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 416), today the CPSU has enormous political experience--experience which is unique in the full sense of the word. It is armed with a constantly developing Marxist-Leninist teaching and is linked by the closest ties with the masses and enjoys their firm trust and support. Together with the development of society and the alteration of its political and cultural complexion, its ranks have also undergone profound qualitative and quantitative changes. The party has become more cohesive, the communists' ideological-theoretical and political tempering have grown. At the same time, it has and remains precisely the party of a class-based proletarian nature for which Lenin literally fought, the only party he wanted to belong to. The 26th CPSU Congress graphically demonstrated its strength and weight in resolving the fundamental problems facing all progressive mankind and its truly Leninist nature.

Mentally surveying the glorious path traveled by Lenin's party, we can see that one of the most important sources of its strength and its victories is its ability to conceive creatively the nature and uniqueness of each historical stage through which Soviet society has passed and to find the correct forms for implementing its leading role and reliable ways and means of leading socialist building. This has never been an easy matter. The party has known not only victories here; we have also had setbacks. But the main thing is that the party has always been able to rectify errors resolutely, to draw the necessary lessons from them and from the experience of its struggle and to draw the correct conclusions. Thanks to this, the most difficult tasks of the transitional period were successfully implemented, and the foundations of socialism were laid and a developed socialist society was built.

At the second stage, as the 26th CPSU Congress stressed, the party's role in society grows. At the same time, the congress pointed to the need for the profound creative consideration of the new elements which life itself is introducing into the implementation of the party's leading role under the present-day conditions. It is a question of a broad range of problems embracing essentially the key points of party leadership of society's development.

How is the task of uniting scientific socialism with the mass workers movement, which Lenin regarded as the party's most important task, being resolved today? How are the party and state interrelated in the political system of developed socialism? What are the paths for the consolidation of the ruling party's ties with the masses? What place do criticism and self-criticism occupy in the party's leading activity? Experience suggests that the further enhancement of the effectiveness of the leadership of social development depends considerably on the scientifically substantiated solution of these questions.

1.

In creating a teaching on the party of the new type, Lenin saw its essence in the unification of scientific socialism with the workers movement. He emphasized that the party's task is to introduce into this movement "definite socialist ideals, to link it with systematic political struggle for democracy as a means of implementing socialism, in brief, to merge this spontaneous movement into a single indivisible

whole with the activity of the revolutionary party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 189).

That was how Lenin put the question over 80 years ago. Has this formula of Lenin's lost its topicality today?

No. All the worldwide experience of socialist building attests that this task constantly faces the Communist Party at all stages of the revolutionary struggle and the creation of a new society. The working class' fulfillment of its role as the leading force of socialist and communist building depends directly on how successfully the party resolves it. At its 26th congress the CPSU stressed once more the fact of the further consolidation of the working class' leading positions in Soviet society and showed the unsoundness of allegations that its role has in some way diminished at the stage of developed socialism.

It is clear that today, too, the process of the improvement of mature socialist society and its gradual development into communist society cannot be effected by itself, automatically. That is attained only as a result of vigorous, conscious creativity by the working class in alliance with all working people. Here the scope and effectiveness of its creative activity are in direct proportion to its level of ideological conviction, organization and conscious discipline. Of course there should be no reliance on spontaneous or undirected action in forming these qualities. That is why under the conditions of developed socialism, too, our party views the union of scientific socialism with the working class as a most important ideological-theoretical, political, organizational and educational task. Its goal is the molding in workers of the will, readiness and ability to take a conscious part in building communism and a clear understanding of the nature of the tasks facing society and ways of resolving it and of their place in this process.

This work also retains its significance because new generations of people including workers are constantly entering life--people who, in order to become conscious molders of their own destiny, must under new, altered conditions thoroughly master the ideological-political and moral experience of all preceding generations of fighters for socialism and communism. This experience--conceived and systematized theoretically--is incorporated in our Marxist-Leninist science. Each new generation must study it in depth and reforge the knowledge it obtains into profound internal convictions and an active life stance. Here it is not only a case of studying scientific ideology but also of mastering all the spiritual riches which mankind has accumulated. This is not an enlightenment or strictly cultural task, but a political one. You cannot become a real communist without resolving it, Lenin taught.

This work is becoming more complex and retains its topicality also because our class enemy's attacks on socialism's ideological and moral values are mounting, and the attempts to exert a disruptive influence on the awareness of the socialist countries' population, including the working class, are becoming increasingly subtle. We know from past and present experience that if any ruling communist party fails to combat alien views and sentiments, if it underestimates the significance of revolutionary theory and fails to perform vigorous political educational work in its ranks and among all classes and groups, there is a revival, a "reanimation," of bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideology and mentality in society. This inevitably weakens the party and working class ideologically and politically and provides certain scope for actions by antisocialist forces where they have persisted.

The union of socialism with the workers movement cannot be understood as a single, one-shot act because scientific socialism is not a code of fixed truths applicable to all eventualities in life, but an eternally living, constantly developing teaching. It is being constantly verified and enriched by the party's practice and collective theoretical thought. In brief, what is taking place is not a simple mechanical union of the theory and practice of socialist building but their active interpenetration and interaction.

Many millions of people in the fraternal socialist countries are building a new society with us today. They are introducing much that is new, creative and unique into the theory and practice of scientific socialism. The CPSU treats our friends' experience and theoretical developments with great attention and respect and considers it essential to conduct extensive propaganda and to study and make efficient use of them in the interests of socialism's further development.

We can all see how rapidly the scale, depth and pace of the world's social renewal are growing. The main motive force in this process is socialism, which has put the truly inexhaustible potential of modern science and technology at the service of the working person and the interests of social progress. At the same time we cannot fail to see that the scientific and technical revolution is constantly giving rise to new, far from simple problems. Frequently it complicates the control of social processes and requires an increasingly large stock of knowledge and its constant supplementing and a high standard of economic thought and political culture.

Of course, life generates not only problems but also the means necessary for their solution. It is important only to make skillful, sensible use of them. Our main and indisputable advantage today consists in the fact that we are resolving the task of uniting scientific socialism and the working class and all working people under conditions where the very tenor and entire course of our life and the CPSU's policy act as a convincing propaganda and agitation worker for scientific socialism. Never before has our socialist society attained such social and spiritual flowering as now. The political experience of the masses, their improved standard of education and culture open up the highway to the in-depth understanding of the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism. The party today has a powerful information and propaganda complex, a multimillion-strong army of voluntary helpers in political education and propaganda. It is constantly working to bring the great ideas of scientific socialism to the working masses and teach them to act as required by life and the practice of communist building.

We are realists. We are well aware that this process far from always runs smoothly. The CPSU Central Committee has frequently criticized thoroughly and specifically substantial shortcomings in the organization of propaganda and agitation.

As is well known, the Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work" and the recent resolution "On the Further Improvement of Party Instruction in the Light of the 26th CPSU Congress Decisions" are aimed at eliminating them. The task which has been set is to improve the standard of propaganda workers' theoretical knowledge and professional skill and select for this work the most trained and authoritative communists. Ideological cadres must always remember that a person can be attracted and persuaded only when he feels clearly that the propaganda worker himself knows his subject well and believes profoundly and sincerely in the correctness and truth of his words.

Certain difficulties are also created by the difficulties in the development of social sciences mentioned in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th congress. In some places the habit still persists of adjusting life to abstract diagrams and bypassing the problems and contradictions it generates instead of thinking, as Lenin required, about "why life has gone one way and not another" and on that basis providing theoretically substantiated answers for practical work.

It is clear from all that I have said that it would be a mistake to treat the instilling of socialist consciousness in the masses as a purely propaganda task, still less as a task of enlightenment. It is resolved not only by means of agitation and propaganda but also by the practical participation of working people in the struggle to assert our ideals and to resolve the socioeconomic and political tasks set by the party. This is why, in setting the task of combining party policy with the activity of the masses, the 26th CPSU Congress demanded the actual achievement of the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work.

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"The development of the masses' consciousness," Lenin pointed out, "remains, as always, the basis and the chief content of all our work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 13, p 376). This is very important principle of our activity. Of course, it does not exhaust all the functions of the party, still less of a ruling party. One of the central problems advanced by the very practice of developed socialism is the problem of the relationship between the party and the state.

The process of socialist and communist building is an exceptionally complex, innovative process, all the more so as it is taking place in a situation of acute class confrontation in the world arena. Our class enemies realized long ago that the strength of the socialist system lies in its popular nature and in social justice, over which the Communist Party stands guard. Just what arguments against the party's leading role have not been put forward by bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologists in an attempt in every possible way to set the party against the socialist state and the soviets, which constitute the political basis of the USSR? Of course, the acuteness and the thrust of these attacks are brought about by the fact that it is precisely the party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, that guarantees the correct and successful resolution of the tasks of socialist and communist building.

As regards the CPSU, it has always dealt and will deal a most decisive rebuff to such attempts. Back in the years of the soviets' birth, Lenin warned the bolsheviks of the danger of raising the question: The soviet of workers' deputies or the party? "It seems to me," he wrote, "that the question must not be put like this and that the solution must unconditionally be: Both the soviet of workers' deputies and the party. The question--and an extremely important question--consists only in how to divide up and how to combine the tasks of the soviet and the tasks of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 12, p 61).

Having resolved this far from simple question in principle, at each new stage of Soviet society's development the CPSU seeks specific forms of dividing up and combining the tasks of the soviets and the party. What new aspects are arising in resolving this problem today?

It must be pointed out first of all that the growth of the party's leading, directing role under the conditions of developed socialism is not a subjective desire of individuals but reflects the objective requirement for the further progress of socialist society at the stage of its maturity. The realization of developed socialism's tremendous potential and the transition to the path of intensifying the national economy are feasible only on the basis of a sound mastery of science, including economic and social laws, with the most active, creative participation of the working masses. Only the party is capable of formulating a scientifically substantiated strategy, developing the energy of the masses and channeling it into organized, systematic work.

The elaboration of the correct political course is founded on regard for the unique interests of every class and every stratum in Soviet society and on the ability to combine them correctly with the fundamental, general interests of the entire people and with our communist aims and ideals. Otherwise the policy risks losing its strong social grounding and the support of the masses. "The 'idea'," K. Marx warned, "invariably disgraced itself as soon as it was separated from the 'interest'" (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Soch.," Vol 2, p 89). It is precisely the party that appears in the role of a force capable of opportunely and correctly revealing and integrating the interests of all friendly classes, groups and strata and determining on this basis their optimum combination and the path leading to their realization. We are firmly convinced that an incomplete or belated analysis of social interests, disregard for the interests of any class or group and the inability to find the socially necessary "degree" of their combination are fraught with the danger of social tension and of political and socioeconomic crisis.

Realizing its leading role in practice, the party certainly does not take the place of the state or of public organizations. The principle of the clearcut delineation of the functions of party and state organs is recorded in the CPSU rules and was reflected in the new USSR Constitution. Operating within its framework, the party exercises political leadership of state and public organizations, determining the main directions of domestic and foreign policy, mobilizing the masses to realize it and organizing broad public control over the fulfillment of adopted decisions.

The party's policy and its decisions serve as the reference point which enables state organs and public organizations to keep to the correct course and to avoid a narrow departmental approach to the matter, as well as manifestations of parochialism.

In mobilizing the masses to implement its political course, the party does not try to achieve this by dint of authority or through bureaucratic administration. It achieves it by persuasion, through the personal example of every communist, through constant concern for people's political education, for deepening socialist democracy and for developing socialist competition, and through active struggle against bureaucratism, violations of state and labor discipline and any manifestations of mismanagement and extravagance.

Naturally, the party's decisions are the law for communists, through whom it exerts a daily directing influence on the work of all components of our society's political system.

Another important aspect of the party's political and organizational role consists in asserting the Leninist work style and methods in the activities of all elements of the political system--both in the party itself and in state organs and public organizations. It is a question not only of widely explaining the essence of these principles but, above all, of setting an example of genuine democratism, scientificness and businesslike efficiency through the very organization of internal party work.

Monitoring and verification of the execution of decisions is an important part of all our party work. It is no secret that we adopt a lot of decisions and that their numbers are growing. Of course, we should think well about how to strengthen the role of useful and important decisions, and at the same time curb more forcefully the flow of optional and sometimes even simply unnecessary papers.

There is another side to the problem: Having adopted a decision, some people forget about the chief thing--the need for persistent organizational work to fulfill it. Sometimes as a result, good initiatives are not developed further but hang in midair, as it were. It is necessary to struggle resolutely against such phenomena, primarily by means of concrete daily monitoring. Lovers of ostentation should be called strictly to account, while those who honestly tackle something but do not immediately find the optimum ways need competent, practical assistance.

This monitoring must be directed not only toward asserting executive discipline everywhere--which is undoubtedly important--but also toward organizing execution on the spot, revealing, generalizing and disseminating progressive experience and forestalling mistakes.

Unfortunately, there are frequent cases of a formal approach to the organization of monitoring. Instead of properly investigating progress in realizing decisions on the spot, giving assistance and, where necessary, calling people strictly to account, individual workers confine themselves to flying visits and casual remarks or rebukes. They evidently believe that such a style creates the necessary "white heat" in work. In fact, just the reverse happens. Sometimes these flying visits put someone who is really keen on his work out of his working rhythm for a long time, while loafers and deceivers, who still exist among us, as is known, do not get their deserved punishment.

The party Central Committee recently adopted the resolution "On Further Improving and Monitoring the Verification of Execution in Light of the 26th CPSU Congress Decisions." It emphasizes that the chief political thrust of monitoring and verification of execution is to enhance the effectiveness of party leadership and to improve the style and methods of the activities of party organizations.

Our entire practice convinces us that the enhancement of the party's role as the nucleus of the political system does not lead to a belittling of the role of the state and the soviets. On the contrary, their role increases. The party shows constant concern to enrich and broaden the soviets' rights and to ensure that people with great moral and political prestige and high qualifications work in the soviet apparatus. The people have elected almost 1 million communists as soviet deputies. The rights of local soviets were significantly enriched on the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. Further proof of the party's constant concern for strengthening them is provided by the recently adopted resolution "On Enhancing the Role of the Soviets in Economic Building."

However, far from full use is being made of the soviets' rights and potential. There is also the effect of shortcomings in the work of the soviets themselves and, in a number of cases, the incorrect attitude toward them on the part of certain ministries and departments. Leaders of enterprises, ministries and departments still frequently respond to deputies' just demands merely with general promises, circumvent the soviets when adopting decisions which affect the vital interests of urban or rural working people and do not meet them halfway on questions of sociocultural development, services for the population and so forth. In such cases the soviets should use their power, as the saying goes. "...On matters of this sort," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 1 April 1981 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the soviets and their ispolkoms must act not as supplicants but as strict and exacting masters and make better use of their coordinating and monitoring powers.

At the same time the party has always opposed and will oppose the excessive over-emphasizing of local interests to the detriment of all-union interests. Parochialism can do as much harm as a narrow departmental approach--these are, in point of fact, two sides of the same coin. This is why, in raising the question of extending the rights of local soviets and making fuller use of these rights, the CPSU Central Committee demands that party committees keep a close eye on ensuring that the soviets are persistent, consistent champions of party policy and all-state decisions and display greater initiative in implementing them.

Not only the soviet as a whole, as an organ of collective leadership, but also every deputy, and particularly every communist deputy, must vigilantly stand guard over all-state interests.

Life persuades us more and more that the problem of the correlation of party, economic and state leadership is far from simple. We are still faced with a strenuous quest to formulate the optimum forms for resolving it. Lenin's advice and instructions have been and still are a reliable reference point here. Lenin demanded: "Differentiate much more precisely the functions of the party (and its Central Committee) and of soviet power; enhance the responsibility and independence of soviet workers and soviet establishments, and leave the party with overall leadership of the work of all state organs together, without the current too frequent, irregular and frequently petty interference" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45 p 61).

A trend has clearly emerged today whereby as the level of maturity of socialism rises, the party and its organs focus their attention increasingly on elaborating and making amendments to the strategy of social development itself, setting tasks whose fulfillment state organs must concern themselves with and also organizing monitoring of the fulfillment of the decisions adopted.

Of course, party committees cannot completely rid themselves of day-to-day leadership of the activities of state, economic and public organizations. At the same time, certain instances of petty tutelage and the substitution of individual party workers for soviet and economic organs are disturbing. Why does this happen? It often results from a sincere desire to achieve the practical resolution of a particular question more rapidly. The party's high prestige does indeed make it possible to achieve this. But experience shows that certain soviet and economic leaders easily become accustomed to such a state of affairs and themselves direct questions which fall directly within their own competence to party organs. This

is indicated by the abundance of requests of a purely economic and administrative nature which are sent to rayon, city, oblast and republic party committees and even to the CPSU Central Committee.

This practice only creates the appearance of strengthening the party's leading role, and in fact often does considerable damage. First individual soviet, economic and trade union leaders are thereby transferring their own responsibility to party organs in the eyes of labor collectives and the population. Second, they often evade criticism by referring to a "timely warning" about the acute nature of a problem. Third, this practice complicates the work of party organs and diverts the energies and time of secretaries, bureau members and the apparatus from the resolution of problems which really require their intervention. Because of such overloading, certain party apparatus workers do not visit primary party organizations and labor collectives for long periods and are cut off from real work among the masses. Here Lenin's words should evidently be recalled: "Our communists still do not have sufficient grasp of their real management task: not to try to do 'everything themselves,' trying too hard and not succeeding, starting 20 things and not finishing any of them, but to check the work of tens and hundreds of helpers and to organize checking of their work from below..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 242).

Let us stress again and again: The mission of the party committee as an organ of political leadership is to have the ability to select from among the masses of tasks and problems with which life overwhelms us, those which are most important and most promising and to concentrate its efforts on them. At the same time, like a skillful conductor setting the tone for the orchestra, it is important to ensure harmonious actions by all soviet, economic and other organs locally. Let them have the broadest possible scope for creative questing in their respect. Let there be real responsibility, not just formal responsibility. Not substitution, but an efficient distribution of functions so that everyone, as the saying goes, knows his own lines. Strict personal responsibility and well-organized monitoring--that is the way to constant, lasting success.

3

The inexhaustible source of our party's strength lies in its profound, organic, constantly strengthening link with the masses. The people make history, and the new society can only be created by all the people. "Among the masses of the people," Lenin stressed at the dawn of Soviet power, "we are a drop in the ocean, and we can only exercise management when we correctly express what the people feel. Without this the Communist Party will lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses, and the whole machine will break down" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 112).

The strengthening of ties with the nonparty masses and with all classes and strata of the working people has always been, for Lenin's party, not a tactical, short-term idea but a principled party line. As is known, in this work Lenin attached prime importance to the party's duty to sensitively follow the masses' moods, above all those of the working class, to live by the people's thoughts and aspirations and to reflect them correctly in its policy. The consistent implementation of Lenin's principle made it possible to achieve that degree of mutual confidence between party and people which has helped our society to withstand the severest trials and which serves as a powerful factor promoting its forward movement.

Soviet people know that in any circumstances they can rely firmly on their battle-tempered, complex, large-scale tasks of communist building. It can rely on the people and on their activeness, which increases from year to year. Soviet people's shock labor in fulfilling the historic 26th congress decisions has reaffirmed with new force the indestructibility of the bonds which link our party and people and indicates the masses' warm approval and support for the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy.

At the same time we have seen from our own experience and that of the other socialist countries that truly firm ties with the masses, capable of withstanding any test, cannot be established once and for all. The party must win the masses' confidence again and again by implementing a policy line which accords with the vital interests of all working people. The people have judged and continue to judge the party's wisdom and maturity not by its words and promises, but above all by its ability to elaborate and implement a policy which yields tangible results.

Following the Leninist tradition, the CPSU displays constant concern for improving the forms and methods of its interaction with the masses. It consults with the working people on all vital questions of society's life and international development and talks about difficulties openly and unreservedly. Here the party not only reveals miscalculations and explains the reasons for difficulties, it determines ways of overcoming them in conjunction with the people and carries out the appropriate organizational work.

Primary and shop party organizations and party groups hold a key place in consolidating the party's ties with the masses. These organizations now exist in virtually all labor collectives. After all it is here, at enterprises and institutions, on sov'hozes and kolkhozes, in shops and at livestock units, that millions of working people implement the party's plans and designs through their practical deeds. It is through primary party organizations that the party explains the meaning and significance of its policy to Soviet people. Not only explains, but mobilizes them to implement it. It is through the primary party organizations that the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees and local party committees maintain constant contact with working people, discover their feelings, needs and concerns and obtain on-the-spot information about the state of affairs, achievements and shortcomings, production difficulties and day-to-day difficulties. This enables the party to listen sensitively to the people's voice and make amendments to its policy on the spot as the need arises.

Today still more energy, initiative and principle is required from primary party organizations in executing the duties entrusted to them by the CPSU rules and the 26th party congress decisions and in implementing proposals and suggestions emanating from working people and labor collectives.

Here it is important for primary party organizations to make fuller, better use of the right to monitor the administration's activity both on questions connected with the fulfillment of economic plans and work with cadres and in the resolution of problems on which the improvement of people's working and living conditions depends.

Of course, in strengthening ties with the masses and striving for a profound understanding of their thoughts and aspirations, communists are aware that in any class

or social group there are backward elements, with their characteristic views and sentiments. It would be a serious error to take their opinion for the opinion of the whole class, for the "voice of the people," or to put it forward as such, and still more so to indulge them. This approach, as experience teaches us, not only does not strengthen the party's ideological and political influence on the masses, but weakens it and opens the way for petit bourgeois ideology and other alien ideology.

In the Central Committee report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described working people's letters and proposals as one form of ties with the masses. Addressing the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees and other party organs, Soviet people report both their personal needs and concerns and problems with wider social repercussions. In the period between the 25th and 26th congresses, the CPSU Central Committee received more than three million letters. As was stressed at the 26th congress, our party and its Central Committee attach great significance to work with these letters. A thorough analysis of letters in party committees at all levels makes it possible to reach a better understanding of the thoughts and sentiments of Soviet people--communists and nonparty people--and to make objective judgments on the effectiveness of decisions adopted and to reveal and eliminate the causes of shortcomings.

At the same time, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev rightly noted at the 26th congress, many letters are indications of serious local shortcomings. They criticize shortcomings and omissions in the activity of party, soviet and economic organs and their leaders, instances of deviation from our moral principles and norms and from the socialist way of life and violations of Soviet laws. It must be said that often the questions raised in letters can and must be resolved by the leaders of the enterprises concerned and by rayon and city organizations. There are still not infrequent instances of a formal, unconscientious examination of letters, failures to respond to them in good time and unjustified rejections of requests. The party regards phenomena of this kind as an intolerable evil, dealing strictly with those guilty of red tape and soulless bureaucracy. An attentive attitude toward letters and valuable proposals and requests from citizens must become an essential norm of the activity of every party, soviet, economic or trade union worker and every leader.

The expansion of the channels for direct contact between party workers, including leading workers, and working people is of great significance for strengthening the party's ties with the masses. A good example is set in this respect by the Georgian CP Central Committee, where meetings and talks between Central Committee Bureau members and apparatus workers and representatives of various strata of the population have become a firmly established practice. People living in the republic are informed in good time about the agenda for party committee plenums and meetings of the party and economic aktiv. The most urgent questions of labor collectives' economic and social life are discussed at open party meetings. Working people's open letter days, "Lenin Fridays" and briefing conferences are held regularly. Such forms and methods have a beneficial influence on the moral climate in labor collectives and give party committees the opportunity to organize their work on the basis of fuller, more objective information, taking into account public opinion and foreseeing the political, ideological and moral consequences of the decisions adopted.

The party has a vital interest in ensuring that all Soviet people know about its deeds and plans and participate consciously in their implementation. To this end party committees must use all the means at their disposal, first and foremost the mass information and propaganda media.

It is paradoxical, but a fact, and a sad fact, that people are sometimes better informed about relatively insignificant international events than about affairs in their own republic or oblast. In organizing the work of the press, radio, television, lecturers, propagandists and agitators, we should take care to ensure that they organize the explanation of the basic directions of party policy in close linkage with topical information of a statewide nature and also of a local nature.

Displaying constant concern for strengthening its ties with the masses, the party is increasing the role not only of the soviets and other state institutions, but of public organizations too. Life has refuted the oversimplified ideas to the effect that the growth in the party's leading role would allegedly be inevitably accompanied by a gradual weakening of the activity of trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass public organizations. On the contrary, this activity is an important condition of society's steady political development. It is steadily becoming wider and deeper, taking on new features and being implemented in increasingly diverse forms. It gives the CPSU invaluable assistance in discovering and coordinating the interests of all classes and social groups of Soviet society, and also in overcoming the intraclass and nonclass differences and contradictions which naturally arise in the process of social development.

This is not, of course, an exhaustive list of the tasks of public organizations. Under the CPSU's leadership they are using their own specific methods to actively participate in the country's political life, in the implementation of plans for communist building and in involving the masses in the management of social and economic matters. Public organizations are soundly established as an integral component of the political system of developed socialism. The party is seeking to enhance their role in the development of our democracy by striving to implement ever more fully the functions inherent to each of them and by deepening their interaction with party and state organs and organizations.

This approach by our party was strikingly manifested, for example, in the great attention paid by the 26th CPSU Congress to the public organization with the biggest mass membership in the country--the trade unions. Their tasks and rights, defined by the Constitution, are extremely broad. The main thing is to make full use of these rights, to display greater initiative and persistence in protecting the interests of each professional group of working people and, at the same time, rally and unite them around the tasks and goals which the party and the whole people are working to implement. Of course, in socialist conditions the "protective function" of the trade unions has a fundamentally different political and socioeconomic base from that under capitalism. Protecting the working people's interests in our conditions means above all struggling to ensure the efficient exploitation of the potential of developed socialism, the strengthening of its economy and strict observance of the norms of socialist legality in every collective, the consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor and the growth of the working people's influence on the solution of production and social and everyday questions.

Who is there to guard against if the party and state make it their first and chief task to serve the people's interests? The answer to this question is provided by working people's letters and statements and their pronouncements at workers meetings. Above all, against the bureaucrats who cannot see beyond their mountains of papers and do not want to see real live people, against the pragmatic administrator who sees people merely as a means of fulfilling production plans, against those who are unable to organize people's work intelligently and try to use working people's enthusiasm to compensate for their inability, against the formalist who transforms the live creativity of the masses and socialist competition into "competition" between man and paper passed down from above, against the drunk and the sloth, the slacker and the scrounger--against all who work at half pace but want a full share. Against all this trade unions must act resolutely and boldly and they are guaranteed the party's support.

Trade unions must make more active use of collective contracts and plans for the economic and social development of enterprises in order to satisfy people's socio-cultural needs, enrich the content and improve the conditions of their labor and protect health.

When tackling all these questions and upholding working people's interests, trade unions are obliged to think and act in such a way as to link them more closely to the interests of the whole people, the interests of the struggle for our common communist cause.

The 26th CPSU Congress set communists the task of establishing in all party organizations a spirit of self-criticism and intolerance of shortcomings. It might not be a new task but no one would doubt its topicality and urgency. This prompts one to reflect again and again on the role of criticism and self-criticism in the party and in society as a whole.

The creator of our party, Lenin, saw criticism and self-criticism as a most important ideological, moral and political principle for communists. He saw them as a powerful means for understanding and transforming reality, strengthening party and state discipline and overcoming one-sided views and ossified thinking and he urged people to boldly uncover existing shortcomings and mistakes. "To openly admit an error," Lenin wrote, "to reveal the reasons for it, to analyze the situation that gave rise to it and to carefully discuss ways of rectifying the error--this is the mark of a serious party, this is its performance of its duties, this is the education and instruction of a class and then the mass" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41 p 41).

The party was proceeding from this premise when, at the 20th congress, it resolutely condemned the cult of personality, under the conditions of which there had been gross violations of party and state discipline. The CPSU Central Committee was guided by the Leninist approach at its October (1964) plenum when it took effective measures to overcome subjectivism and voluntarism in policy and in economic activity and to create and maintain in the party and in the whole of society the kind of atmosphere which would rule out violation of the norms of intraparty and Soviet democracy and of the scientific principles of the management of society. All this had a positive influence on the development of communists' initiative,

the strengthening of every CPSU member's sense of great responsibility for the state of affairs both in his organization and in the party as a whole and their involvement in all that was taking place in society and contributed to a new upsurge in the masses' social creativity.

While fundamentally criticizing the serious shortcomings and mistakes of the past, the CPSU at the same time has unequivocally opposed and still does oppose attempts from subjectivist positions to revise entire historical periods in the life of the party and the people and the real role of particular individuals. A genuinely party attitude toward the past and the present has nothing to do with slander-mongering, with the "denial" of one's own history, which is as arrogant as it is irresponsible.

The course of the report and election campaign which preceded the 26th party congress, the work of the congress itself and the plenums and aktivs which have been held in recent months have convincingly demonstrated that the Leninist spirit of exactingness and enterprise, intolerance of shortcomings and omissions in work and bolshevik criticism and self-criticism are what now determine the atmosphere of intraparty life, the style of party leadership.

But can we say, without contradicting the truth, that we have done all that is required to organize criticism and self-criticism? No, unfortunately, we cannot. Shortcomings in this sphere were also discussed earnestly and in detail at the aforementioned party forums.

It has been noted on more than one occasion that some meetings, plenums and aktivs appear to be simply going through the motions. The prearranged speeches by, so to speak, "regular" speakers often resemble self-accountability reports in which work deficiencies and shortcomings are avoided or given a fleeting mention, with numerous references to so-called "objective circumstances," and which, instead of embarking on a lively and concrete discussion of matters, which is inconceivable with ascertaining and comparing different viewpoints, merely approves resolutions which have not been checked over by collective counsel. It is sometimes difficult to tell from the accounts what the meetings were about.

What specific problems is the organization asking its communists to solve and what specific shortcomings does it want them to overcome? Such empty formalities and rituals inevitably give rise to apathy and passivity and suppress communists' initiative.

Life shows that alarm signals about neglect of people's needs and failure to heed their suggestions and fair comment come more often than not from places where criticism and self-criticism are lost in a sea of glorification of and selfless delight in success. This is particularly intolerable. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "there is nothing more damaging to the interests of the party and people than attempts to smooth over shortcomings, to avoid just criticism, to ignore and, worst of all, to suppress criticism and persecute those who criticize.... To suppress criticism, comrades, is to violate the norms of communist morality and the fundamental law of the USSR. It is an evil which must not go unpunished. We highly value people's initiative and no one will be allowed to undermine this source of our strength!" Here the working man is the full-fledged master of the country and no one has the right to ignore this opinion.

While advocating the all-round development of criticism, the CPSU at the same time resolutely condemns any manifestation of blatant fault-finding which is often based on self-interest and is aimed at discrediting worthy personnel. Honest and principled people, good workers, should be confident that no petty-minded attacks, no defamatory anonymous letters, unqualified and subjective utterances and opinions can shake the confidence that the party organization and labor collective have in them. This was clearly stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the report to the 26th party congress.

Thus the task is to continue and to improve work on establishing an atmosphere of free and businesslike criticism of our shortcomings and to ensure that this criticism is principled and constructive and that it combines exactingness with benevolence and with respect for the individual and his dignity. It should prompt and help people to work more enterprisingly and energetically, leave people with a feeling of confidence in their abilities and generate in labor collectives a determination to eliminate omissions and to seek better results.

In connection with the subject which has been broached, mention must be made of the role of the press and the mass information and propaganda media in the development of criticism and self-criticism. It is well known that our party itself was born and formed with the aid of and around a newspaper--Lenin's ISKRA. Since then the CPSU has had a fruitful tradition--consulting in the press with all party members and the broad working masses. The party has not taken a single major general state decision without having discussed it beforehand with the people. This is how it acted in preparing for the 26th CPSU Congress, submitting for broad discussion the draft "Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and the Period Through 1990." Addressing, with the mass information media's aid, the experience and collective intelligence of the communists and all working people, the party conducts extensive discussions on urgent problems of our lives, accumulates the opinions of millions of people, weighs them up and takes them into account in its policy. So our press, television and radio perform a task of party-wide, nationwide significance. The winner in politics, economics and people's education is the person who relies constantly on the press and influences life's advance in the correct direction with its aid.

Here is just one example. The article by lathe operator S. Toporkov published in PRAVDA under the headline "The Communists' Word and Deed," which raised the question of party members' personal labor and political activeness, became an event in the life of the Sverdlovskaya Oblast party organization. It was discussed in thousands of party organizations and party groups and hundreds of labor collectives. All this work was directed by the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. The discussion was open, honest, frank and frequently impartial. It helped the oblast's communists to become more active in all sectors of work, to struggle more consistently and specifically to ensure the unity of word and deed and economic and ideological activity. This is indeed a genuine example of close, harmonious work by a newspaper and party committees directed toward a single goal.

Unfortunately, there are also leaders of party, soviet, economic and other organs who see journalists only as "fault-finders" who allegedly prevent normal work. They see any press item, even a constructive one relating to a specific problem, only as a public exposure of their own blunders and they therefore shun and avoid

the press. That is a profound mistake. I should like to recall once more the immutable law of the life of our party and society: No one can be outside the masses' criticism. No one has the right to identify his personal prestige, taking cover behind the authority of his enterprise, department, rayon or oblast, with the prestige of society and the state. Of course, journalists too must always remember their responsibility to the reader, the people and the party and be clearly aware that a critical item is not a short-lived sensation, it must always be backed up by a fact which has been painstakingly checked and thought about in depth, a fact which is of truly social significance.

Self-criticism, exactingness toward oneself, the ability to accept and consider and use in one's work what he has not seen himself are a sign not of weakness but of strength. This is a natural state in the life of party organizations, collectives or individual workers who have not come to a halt in their development but are growing, improving and advancing. Conversely, an atmosphere of surface calm, of ostensible well-being, of the concealment of flaws or offenses when they are pointed out is frequently an alarm signal, evidence of having come to a halt on the way.

Analysis of instances of an "incorrect," nonparty reception of criticism shows that they are generated as a rule either by immoderate vanity or most frequently by the low political, moral and professional standard of individual leading workers and their alienation from the masses. Yet it was noted long ago that protecting a leader from healthy criticism means dooming him to complacency and extinguishing in him a beneficial feeling of inner dissatisfaction with what has been achieved and the desire to seek out new opportunities for improving his work's efficiency and quality.

The CPSU, as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, attaches enormous significance to the development of criticism and self-criticism. Without that it would be unable to consider social processes in depth or creatively transform surrounding reality. A critical and self-critical approach to the great phenomena of life and to any specific matter is a statutory party requirement and ethical norm for every communist. Without this attitude our successful progress is impossible.

A creative, constructively critical attitude toward questions of theory and consideration of the path traveled and experience accumulated has been the most important condition for the party's successful elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. On its basis the CPSU, as is well known, has been able to define clearly its strategy and tactics for a long historical period and to specify and give concrete form to the paths and time frames for the implementation of our policy goals. The Central Committee will naturally also proceed from this concept in carrying out the large amount of serious ideological and theoretical work in preparing the new draft of the party program and introducing the necessary changes and additions to it.

Lenin's classic words--the party is the mind, honor and conscience of our era--are printed on the CPSU members' party cards. A truly great formula! It expresses with tremendous strength, wisely and tersely, the ideological and moral essence of the party of communists and its role and significance in the life of present-day mankind. These words were written in the summer of 1917 when the bourgeois press was excelling in its most inveterate lies about the bolsheviks. It was then, defending the

daily strengthening party against the bourgeoisie's vile attacks, that Lenin considered it necessary to give this precise and graphic definition.

Such a high assessment of the party's role in the era of proletarian revolutions, the era of emergent socialism, placed on every bolshevik the utmost responsibility for its political and ideological purity, its overall moral state and the personal conduct of each party member.

Thus there arose the party of fighters of the revolution, of communists, whose supreme duty and sole privilege was to be the first to join the struggle for the people's cause and, if required, to be the first to die for the sake of the future victory.

Looking back over the gigantic stormy and battle-filled path traveled by our party, you invariably ask yourself: Where does its strength lie? Where does the CPSU's strength lie--a strength which is not waning but growing increasingly? This strength lies in truthfulness, in boundless faith in the people's masses, in trust in them.

Truth and trust--this is the main weapon with whose aid the party has always won over the masses.

Yes, the party is the mind of our era. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, it can see clearly the interests of the working class and the entire people and builds its transforming activity on a profoundly scientific basis, on a knowledge of the laws of social development and objective truth.

Yes, the party is the honor of our era. Serving the cause of the working people's liberation and happiness, it has always acted openly, boldly, without concealing its intentions, but not retreating one iota from its convictions and clear-cut class-based proletarian positions and goals. "...And I could serve no other goals," Lenin remarked on this subject ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 49 p 411).

The party is also the conscience of our era. True humanism and an acute sense of justice are inherent in communists as they are in no one else. Let us recall the mensheviks and liberals of various kinds who tried to persuade us that "it is too early to begin in Russia" and that our people "were not yet ripe" for socialism. They suggested waiting until the masses "were completely ripe." How long? No matter; decades perhaps.... Only Lenin and the bolsheviks could not wait, seeing the inhuman sufferings of millions. In contrast to the idly chattering "people's benefactors," they were people of vigorous action. They rose to the struggle and raised the entire people to the struggle. They won. That victory was also the result of the great historical truth which the party of communists had mastered.

The policy of peace proclaimed on the very first day that the party of communists and Leninists came to power was also dictated by a keen sense of historical conscience and unswerving faith in the lofty function of man on earth. Our struggle for peace is an active, offensive one. In June, at the time of the 40th anniversary of fascism's piratical attack on the Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet reaffirmed most clearly in its appeal "To the World's Parliaments and Peoples" our country's loyalty to a policy of peace and urged all people of the world to activate the struggle for the peoples' happiness, for the sake of preserving life itself on earth.

Truth, truthfulness, a party spirit, party conduct--these concepts are identical for communists. Something which is right from the viewpoint of the interests of the working people and majority of the people is party-spirited.

The most graphic feature of the communists' moral makeup is his sense of collectivism in the highest sense of the word, his ability to give all of himself for the sake of common goals, for the sake of his class, for the sake of his comrades. Lenin said of the heroism of the communists and working people in the period of the revolution and civil war: "...The best people of the working class have died, and they sacrificed themselves realizing that they would die but would save generations, would save thousands and thousands of workers and peasants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 296). These words apply fully also to the exploits of subsequent generations of Soviet people. The civic feat of the communists and millions of workers is continuing now, in all sectors of communist building.

Lenin made particularly strict demands on communists after the victory of October. Here Lenin's knowledge of life and human nature was again brought to bear with full force. Vladimir Il'ich foresaw that dishonest people, lovers of power, careerists and "swindlers" as he called them could attach themselves to a ruling, victorious party so as to personally reap to the fullest the fruits of the power which had "arrived." It is necessary, Lenin taught, for the nonparty mass to see that party members have duties above all, that they do not admit people to their ranks so that they can enjoy advantages of some kind connected with the ruling party's position, but so that they can set an example of special selflessness and really communist labor.

These demands are entirely retained today. Let us not forget for a moment that in the people's eyes every communist must appear as the repository of the lofty ideological and moral qualities characteristic of the party. He always reflects, as it were, the great confidence, the prestige which the Leninist party has earned among the masses by virtue of the great truth of its cause and its unflinching concern for the working people's needs and interests. This is not only a great honor; it is a tremendous responsibility. Because to a great extent people judge by communists' actions and deeds the party they represent. That means that the party's weight and prestige depend on every communist personally. That means that we must maintain control at all levels, approach the selection, training and education of cadres still more exactly and replenish their ranks, as Lenin taught, with those elements which are really the best available in our social system--people "of whom you can be sure that they will take nothing on trust and say nothing against their conscience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 391).

A communist's prestige is achieved not through rank, position, former services or fine talk. Selflessness and principles, clear political thinking and a keen sense of the new, the highest exactingness toward himself and others, sensitivity, modesty and simplicity in conduct, in everyday life--that is how a communist must be, whether he is an ordinary party member or a leader.

What has been said applies--and I would like to reiterate this--to all communists, but particularly to those engaged in leadership work. Moreover we have a well-known principle: The higher a communist's post, the greater must be the demands upon him. Being a responsible worker means being fully responsible for all your

decisions and for their educational consequences as well as their economic consequences. It is well known that the party resolutely excludes from its ranks people who have betrayed the bolshevik, Leninist ethics of behavior. It will continue to do so in the future.

Leaders, as is known, are not chosen, still less are they appointed. That lofty title has to be earned. The CPSU has earned the right to be the people's leader through its selfless, devoted service to the people. Such a party--of the people's own flesh and blood--is invincible.

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SENSE OF THE NEW

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[Article by F. Morgun, first secretary of the Poltavskaya Oblast party committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine]

[Text]

I

Of late, the traditionally agricultural Poltava area is insistently asserting its industrial possibilities. This is paralleled by the growth of its scientific potential and the energizing of party forces in the struggle for technical progress in all economic sectors.

Rich ground resources have been the basis for the accelerated industrial development of this area of the republic. An invariable feature of today's landscape here are the open-work petroleum drilling towers and the impressive size of outlines of industrial projects. Not far from Kremenchug, thick deposits of rich iron ore were discovered under the sands of the Dnepr. A well-planned city rose here within a short time, with an ore dressing combine next to it. Here more raw material is extracted than was extracted in the entire country in 1937.

Therefore, in Poltava industry is becoming as widespread as farming. Today the oblast supplies to various parts of the country and to foreign countries roadmaking and adding machines, electric motors, metal-cutting machine tools, artificial diamonds and industrial carbon, heavy-duty trucks, mainline railroad cars, discharge lamps, porcelain and other items. The last 5 years were fertile in all sectors of economic activity in the Poltava area. Gross industrial output, for example, rose 27 percent; the average annual volume of agricultural output rose 7 percent and state capital investments, 29 percent. However, we find such economic management results totally unsatisfactory.

Life mercilessly proves that under contemporary conditions most economic problems cannot be resolved without extensive scientific development and comprehensive scientific support. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the close link between science and production is an urgent demand of our time. The oblast party committee is trying to make fuller use of this factor and is seeking real ways for upgrading the effectiveness of its influence on the development of the economy and of social processes, using the ways and means inherent in its work as a political management organ.

More than ever before, today the party cadres must display full competence in economic affairs, familiarity with specific production problems and knowledge of their scientific and technical aspects. It is this circumstance that motivated city and rayon party committees to set up technical and economic councils which were granted extensive rights. At the oblast party committee such a council is headed by A. P. Nochevkin, oblast party committee second secretary.

Occasionally, the circumstances are such that even a sectorial department of the party committee is unable immediately to understand the specific nature of one or another problem. In such cases, we try to use the party aktiv which includes a variety of specialists who adequately represent virtually all basic economic sectors of a given city or rayon. The oblast technical and economic council consists of more than 700 highly skilled specialists and scientific workers, many of whom are candidates or doctors of sciences. In this case the party committee's task is to coordinate and direct the activities of scientific collectives according to production requirements, without ignoring long range problems.

The contemporary approach to the solution of scientific and production problems is to single out the main feature, to bear in mind its connection with many phenomena around it and to take any initiated project to its logical completion. We try to make party, economic cadres and scientific workers accept this principle.

II

Over the past 10 years the oblast's leading production collectives gained valuable experience in business cooperation with scientific research institutions in the solution of topical economic problems. One of the decisive aspects of this cooperation is concentration on economy, on the full and efficient utilization of metal, fuel, raw materials and agricultural produce. "...The pivot of economic policy," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is a matter which might seem quite simple and commonplace: a thrifty attitude toward public property and the ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have. The initiative of labor collectives and mass party work must be focused on this aim."

I recall how the thousands-strong collective of the Kremenchug Automotive Plant approached in a truly thrifty, skillful and planned manner the task of increasing the power of heavy-duty trucks produced here. Let us mention its history briefly. The first KrAZ, bearing the red-blue emblem, came off the conveyor belt at the end of 1959. The truck immediately gained general acceptance for its durability and exceptional operational qualities. It served impeccably in different climatic areas, such as the ore mines of the Extreme North and the Far East, the oil fields of the Caucasus and the Urals, the steppes of Turkmenia, along the Baykal-Amur Mainline, the virgin lands, and the Nonchernozem. There were no complaints against the all-terrain truck, but its developers adopted a stricter attitude toward their creation. They decided to make the truck more powerful and economical. Under the conditions which prevailed at the enterprise, this did not prove to be quite simple. Nevertheless, the KrAZ collective firmly undertook to reconstruct the plant. The party members, communist labor shock workers, production innovators, rationalizers and inventors set the tone. A creative atmosphere prevailed in the shop. A great deal of credit for this goes to the party committee (V. A. Ostanenko, secretary) and to A. I. Goryainov, the plant's director. Both he and the secretary possess high practical

qualities. Both have a sharp feeling for the new, which is transmitted to those around them, thus creating a militant atmosphere in the collective.

In the final account, the efforts of the Kremenchug automotive manufacturers were crowned with success. They fulfilled their assignment of increasing the power of the trucks by 50 percent and ensuring their operation for up to 180,000 km without capital repairs ahead of schedule. Translating this accomplishment into the language of figures, savings over the past 5 years alone exceeded 200 million rubles. This is the equivalent of the additional production of 23,000 such trucks. However, this is not all. The current KrAZ truck (1980 model) uses nearly 20 percent less metal compared with trucks produced on the eve of 1970. Its chassis is used in more than 60 different models of machines and machine units for petroleum and gas workers and geologists, including in the manufacturing of special excavators and lifting cranes. Together with the Yaroslavl' Avtodizel' Association, the work of the Kremenchug collective was given a high rating by the CPSU Central Committee. Naturally, this became an additional incentive in the search for new sources for upgrading the labor effectiveness of workers, technicians, engineers and designers.

Nevertheless, the KrAZ does not deserve the entire credit for this success. It considers many scientific collectives located both in and outside our oblast territory irreplaceable partners and assistants. The plant maintains close cooperation with 42 scientific research establishments and design organizations with which it has concluded a total of 232 contracts assessed at 5 million rubles.

The interaction between production and scientific workers prevents amateurism, to begin with. It creates an atmosphere of creativity and searching. It offers the opportunity to apply the latest technical facilities. It inspires the collective in developing interesting and fruitful ideas and forces one and all to follow attentively the development of technical progress not only in his sector but in related and similar sectors. The aspiration for the new frequently makes people travel, to see and adopt "foreign" experience. The KrAZ has adopted the system of Shchekino chemical combine, which guarantees stable labor productivity while, at the same time, reducing the number of personnel. Without delay, the personnel are also using the experience of Saratov and L'vov enterprises in upgrading the quality of output and of the Moscow Automotive Plant imeni Likhachev on the accelerated practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology. With the help and assistance of scientists from the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, within a short time the collective mastered a system for the use of automatic and semiautomatic welding equipment. Assembly-welding lines were installed at labor intensive sectors, which drastically lowered the cost of manufacturing of very complex structures, including truck bodies. All this earned the enterprise additional profits of up to 1.5 million rubles per year.

III

I am looking at a contract for scientific and technical cooperation for the 11th Five-Year Plan, concluded between the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and enterprises and organizations in Khar'kovskaya, Poltavskaya and Sumskaya Oblasts. The document is signed by Academician B. Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and the first secretaries of the party committees of the named oblasts.

A new approach to the solution of key national economic problems is the drafting of comprehensive target programs, which include an integral and interdependent system of technological, organizational and socioeconomic measures, for which purpose (regional) scientific centers and (oblast) scientific-coordination councils have been created. Their topics are developed by the sectorial institutes of the Academy of Sciences, together with the local party and soviet organs, VUZ scientists, agricultural station personnel, scientific and technical societies and collectives of industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Naturally, each oblast has its specific features, which are reflected in its plan.

In the case of difficult situations the party obkom confidently seeks the help and advice of various scientific institutions, going as high as the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. Such was the case when the problem of large-scale reclamation work arose. It was a question of how to drain as many swamped areas as possible and how drastically to increase the size of the arable land of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The comprehensive study conducted by engineering scientists confirmed that the reclamation of the swamps was no simple matter, as it might have seemed, and that hasty measures could greatly complicate the hydrological situation in the oblast. That is why major changes were made to our reclamation plan. Naturally, this had a certain effect on the pace of the work but we prevented the destruction of many of our big and small rivers and did not disturb the water system in the area.

Occasionally, absolutely urgent problems arise requiring an immediate solution. In such cases, someone must take the initiative and assume responsibility while encouraging others to take decisive action. By the logic of things, the party committee must act as such an organizing center.

In 1974 the so-called boltering broke out on the sugar beet fields of the Poltava area. This biological process appears in plants in some weather conditions, as a result of which the beet root becomes exceptionally hard, fibrous and difficult to process.

Suspicious suckers began to appear on the plants in the spring. The growers tried to remove them but clusters of them showed up on the surface again and again. It became apparent that our agronomical service had no effective means to fight this evil. Then the sugar refineries sounded the alarm: apparently, here as well, there was no experience in processing such substandard raw material.

I recall a meeting with N. V. Vasil'yev, head of the oblast sugar industry production-agrarian association. He was depressed and perplexed. He took out of his briefcase a few afflicted roots and said:

"This is a calamity. This boltering is unmanagable. Unless the local population takes up the fight, the plants will stop and the plan will remain unfulfilled."

It is a known fact that those who are willing to work look for solutions while those who stand idly by seek justification for their idleness. In difficult situations the workers who lack initiative showed their true face: instead of taking decisive action they began to treat the boltering as if it were...a tiger. After making this beast properly frightening, they began to drag it around various offices,

saying that "nothing can be done, the elements." "The sugar industry is facing catastrophe."

Meanwhile, time passed and the refining season was nearing. On our request the refinery imeni Artem attempted to process the fibrous roots with the old equipment. This failed, as the cutters broke down immediately, while the fibers literally jammed the entire line.

At that point, the oblast party committee decided to bring together a big group of specialists--scientists, enterprise managers, best rationalizers and masters at their work. It became apparent that so far no one had seriously undertaken to resolve this problem. For example, the cutters had not been redesigned for almost a quarter of a century. On behalf of thousands of sugar beet growers and refinery workers, we appealed to the assembly to try to find suitable means for processing substandard beet roots.

Let me say frankly that we believed in our success but did not expect our request to trigger such warm and broad response. As he was leaving the conference, the representative of the Poltava Turbomechanical Plant jocularly said:

"Our inventors are bound to develop something.... As long as they are not asked to help pull out these shoots manually."

Several days later the staff in charge of fighting the battle against the boltering began to receive the first suggestions. I found particularly interesting the idea suggested by the creative groups of the Poltava Turbomechanical and Kremenchug Automotive plants. They had suggested an original design for the cutters and an original method for sharpening them. The collective of the plant for artificial diamonds and diamond instruments helped to implement their idea. At the beginning of the mass digging season, all enterprises were already equipped with these attachments.

The oblast party committee and trade union council did not forget those who, sparing no effort and time, helped to resolve this complex problem. The comrades who had distinguished themselves were nominated for medals of the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. A no less valuable reward was the gratitude and deep respect shown by the workers of the refineries and the beet growers, whose work had been saved and made easier.

Each sector has its so-called bottlenecks which hold back the development of production and hinder the work. Our plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan call, among other things, for the elaboration and implementation of a number of important measures related to upgrading labor productivity and ensuring the better utilization of manpower resources. Greater efforts will be made to ensure the practical utilization of progressive systems for soil and environmental protection and reorganization and housing construction in rural areas in most kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers recently passed the exceptionally important and timely decree "On Intensifying Work for the Saving and Rational Utilization of Raw Material, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources." This political document applies literally to every Soviet person and to all sectors without exception. The

struggle for economy and thrift in everything and everywhere is one of the conditions for the normal functioning of the socialist economy, the more so since as the scale of output increases, so does the risk of losses and of unproductive outlays of material resources at the various stages of the creation of one or another commodity. Consequently, today it is a question of the development of strictly scientific economy measures. We have involved all of our scientific forces in this project.

For example, the planning of the "Labor" program is nearing its final stage. Its implementation will make it possible to release as many as 36,000 people in all of the oblast's national economic sectors and achieve a minimum of 90 percent of the growth of industrial and agricultural production through higher labor productivity and thus eliminate the consequences of manpower shortages. This will be accomplished as follows: Industrial enterprises will install 457 comprehensive assembly lines; labor-intensive manual operations at railroad car manufacturing enterprises will be mechanized, which will free 780 people for work in other sectors. More than 1,000 jobs will be closed down in the auxiliary and underproductive sectors of the KrAZ and 390 at the Poltava Emal'khimmash Association.

A program has been drafted for reducing machine and structural metal intensiveness by 4,000 and cement outlays by 11,000 tons and timber by 18,000 cubic meters. Along with the application of a system of economy, the implementation of this program stipulates the adoption of a number of technological measures: the extensive use of more powerful forge-press equipment, rolling mills and powder metallurgy and the use of synthetic instead of natural materials.

We have great hopes for the "Sugar" program. It covers two sectors--the agrarian and food production--and will require major capital investments. However, the outlays will begin to justify themselves as early as the end of the third year of work under the new system. This involves the conversion of sugar beet growing to an industrial base, as the result of which the kolkhozes and sovkhoses will obtain guaranteed crops of 330-340 quintals per hectare while the volume of beet procurements will reach 5 million tons, or 12 percent higher than the current figure. The same program calls for the construction of 1,000 square meters of concrete-lined areas at beet reception centers and a comprehensive installation of an active ventilation system, which will cut down raw material losses by 5 to 7 percent.

In our struggle for upgrading production quality, we are greatly relying on the help of scientific collectives. So far experience in this respect has been insignificant but it does exist. The plant for artificial diamonds and diamond instruments is one of our young enterprises. Here major difficulties arose in the development of a new model of diamond drills. They were eliminated with the help of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Problems of Material Studies. In the course of the experiment a new type of micropowder was developed, extensively used at electronic, optical and radioengineering industry enterprises. Not only the engineering and technical workers of enterprises but many other rank and file production workers, such as inventors, rationalizers and innovators, deserve credit for the development of an industrial technology for extremely brittle bodies. "Without their participation in the experiment," V. I. Trefilov, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences said, "the development of structural ceramics could have been delayed for an indefinite period." As a rule, it is precisely the close cooperation between science and practice which yields brilliant results.

However, what is delaying the dissemination of unquestionably productive ideas and innovative solutions? Recently, with the help of sociologists, we paid attention to the psychological aspects of production creativity. Sometimes lack of faith in one's own forces hinders the assertion of a spirit of innovation in the collective. Some comrades reflect as follows: "Is it worth trying to match thus or such a plant (or kolkhoz) whose accomplishments are known throughout the country? Somehow we can survive without glory!" And they do, although they envy the leading collectives. Some workers rationalize their passive and inert attitude by saying that they will be unable to catch up with the frontrankers, for the latter have been provided with special working conditions.... These are philistine views! For example, one could consider as "special conditions" the fact that in leading collectives an atmosphere of constant search prevails everywhere; here no opportunity will be omitted for improving one's technical possibilities or for updating the production process. Usually careless workers stick to older methods which they find more comfortable and easier to deal with. Meanwhile, they instruct the young and the restless by telling them to walk slowly but surely. Concurrently, they hide from the people's controllers latest imported equipment paid for in gold.

We try to expose the conservatively thinking managers and to prove their groundlessness. We replace them with daring and creative personnel. We also use measures of public pressure, above all the right of the party organizations to control administrative activities. The people's control committees and deputy commissions of local soviets of people's deputies, the press and the other mass information media are actively assisting us. One of the most important tasks in educational work, as we know, is to make the leading economic cadres, specialists, scientists and party workers aware of the idea that the practical application of science and progressive experience is not a voluntary but a mandatory matter and that it is the statutory obligation of every party member to contribute to this process steadfastly.

IV

The development of a creative atmosphere in the collective is no simple matter. However, it is entirely attainable when the project is undertaken jointly. In order to create such a circumstance in a kolkhoz, industrial enterprise or scientific collective, it is important for every worker, regardless of his position, to be aware of his personal responsibility for major or minor matters, to feel his involvement with the common program with his mind and his heart and to be able to see the end results of his work. Unfortunately, ministries, departments and their local sectorial subunits do not always take into consideration the moral aspects of their economic decisions. Allow me to illustrate this thought.

Of late alarming symptoms were noted, indicating disorder among petroleum and gas extraction workers. The extraction of such raw materials in our area involves the drilling of 5,000 to 7,000 meter deep wells. This requires organization, efficiency and interaction. Even insignificant obstructions, not to mention breakdowns at an operating well, disturb the working rhythm of the people and make catching up quite difficult. Scientists and specialists from the Ukrainian Scientific Research Geological Survey Institute came to the aid of the oil workers. Within a short time complex problems related to improving the technology of deep petroleum and gas extraction were resolved. However, some difficulties remained unrelated to science.

On the premises of the party obkom I happened to come across Hero of Socialist Labor M. A. Chirvon, engineer at the Poltavaneftgaz Administration. This veteran explorer of underground treasures shared with me his creative searches and spoke of his friends and comrades who are selflessly working regardless of exceptionally difficult conditions.

"All in all, we are fulfilling our plan," he pointed out. "However, we would like to accomplish more, but there are some annoying aspects to it."

"Did you hit upon very difficult strata?"

My interlocutor waved his hand and firmly said:

"We do not fear such difficulties, we can dig deep into the ground. It is bureaucratic obstacles that we cannot pierce through. Although they seem to be supporting us at the command levels, the result is red tape. Minor difficulties hinder the work and spoil the mood of the people. Much effort is wasted." He proceeded to explain the nature of the problem which affects many prospectors.

After 2 years of operation pumping-compressor pipes must be repaired. However, the Ukrneft' Association does not have its own repair base, for which reason repair requests are unsatisfactorily fulfilled. This leads to forced idling. M. A. Chirvon described his considerations on this matter in a letter to the editors of the republic's RABOCHAYA GAZETA. The letter was published and there was a certain stir within the association. In any case, a plan for a future repair base was drafted and a lot was allocated in Gadyachskiy Rayon, but that was all. Now the obkom's industrial-transportation department has become involved and some progress has been noted, but for how long?

We are very pleased by the fast growth of the stratum of scientific workers in our society and that the number of engineers and technicians is rising in all economic sectors. The oblast's industry, transport and construction projects employ slightly under 70,000 different specialists, or triple the 1965 number. More than 15,000 agronomists, engineers, zootechnicians, economists and veterinary workers are engaged in agrarian production. Major scientific forces are concentrated in scientific research centers and VUZs. This is a huge army but the potential of creative thinking is rarely used in full everywhere.

This year the obkom secretariat considered the question of the work of the party committee and the rectorate of the Poltava Engineering-Construction Institute in the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress. It became clear in the course of the discussions that this generally successful VUZ is insufficiently influencing the sector it represents. The training of specialists is quite well organized by the collective, but is that the only purpose of a scientific chair? The obkom secretariat has made it incumbent upon the institute's management and party committee to improve its relations with production collectives and direct the attention of the faculty to work on contemporary sectorial development problems. In particular, it recommended that a specific study be made of the actual opportunities for the application of the brigade contracting method and the elaboration of a technology for the effective utilization of local construction materials and ore mining industry waste.

The secretariat and the departments of the oblast party committee pay particular attention to problems of production intensification in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Truly substantial opportunities exist in this area. However, the requirements of the comprehensive food program currently developed at the demand of the party are equally strict. Its purpose, as stipulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, is to resolve within the shortest possible time the problem of the uninterrupted supplying of the population with products. That is why, losing no time, everything possible must be done to make maximal use for the good of the country and the people of socialist economic management methods and achieve the highest possible labor productivity. We must raise to the level of contemporary requirements the sectors involved in the processing and storage of agricultural commodities. In a word, a mass of problems must be resolved. Most important among them is that of the better utilization of the basic productive capital which nature has given man, the land. This is our main and inexhaustible resource which, however, must be used skillfully. Unfortunately, this order to the grain growers is frequently violated, although, we must point out, with no malicious intent. It is a matter of honor for each party committee related to agrarian production and every party member in rural areas to take care of mother earth and to multiply its fertility.

Traditions are terribly durable. Since childhood and from our fathers and grandfathers our generation was trained to cultivate the soil with a mouldboard, producing thereby a field where not a single bit of straw was visible. To this day, the plowman is still blamed for leaving any stubble on the surface, although ever more frequently we find in the press and are told in discussions with agricultural specialists that it is plowless cultivation of the soil which protects it. In the Ukraine our oblast is where this technology is the most widespread.

The plowless cultivation of the soil is not a separate agricultural method but a complex set of agrotechnical and organizational measures with specific systems for soil protective cultivation, fertilizing, plant protection and use of machinery and tools. In applying the new farming technology, the party obkom saw to it that from beginning to end the entire experiment would be based on a firm scientific foundation and tested under industrial conditions. The results of practical work were the only ones considered as valid proof.

Actually, what is it that made us abandon the traditional plow and ask for more trouble for ourselves and for others?

The mechanical and chemical influence on the upper soil stratum increased in the course of scientific and technical progress in agriculture, which contributed to its agrophysical degradation. Before mass plowing, Ukrainian chernozems contained 8-10 percent humus. Today its reserves have been reduced by one-half. This triggers a series of unpleasant processes, such as intensified wind and water erosion, increased quantity of weeds, destruction of the soil microstructure and, in the final account, lower yields (with higher costs) and lower quality of farm output.

The idea of reducing surface cultivation of the fields is an old one. However, for a variety of reasons its implementation is being delayed. After long arguments it

was deemed expedient to replace the plow with a flat disc coulter in the areas of Western Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan. We decided to experiment with it in the Poltava area as well. For the sake of clarity, we usually chose two fields or, rather, a single field was divided into two sections: the first was cultivated with a plow and the second with mouldboard-free tools. Subsequently, day after day, we observed and compared results.

Even before the beginning of the experiment, together with scientists and specialists, the party obkom determined the base farms which, subsequently, became the initiators of the use of the new technology and progressive experience schools. A great deal of effort and knowledge were invested by N. K. Moroz, chairman of the Bil'shovvits'ka Pratsya Kolkhoz in Karlovskiy Rayon. He is a typical modern leader--erudite, firm, consistent and true to his word. A. L. Fisun, chairman of the Progress Kolkhoz, another outstanding farmer, wise grain grower, but a very cautious person, joined in the process somewhat later. The development of the mouldboard-free process was observed with the help of these competing labor collectives.

Closely watching the successes of his neighbor, A. L. Fisun initially assumed a waiting stance. Subsequently, however, as he admits himself, he found out that he had only lost time. He did not persist but found the strength and courage to catch up rapidly, relying on the experience of his "rival."

The example of this farm had a tremendous mobilizing influence on managers and specialists who were equally reluctant to abandon the plow. By the end of the last five-year plan the Progress Kolkhoz had even outstripped its neighbor in terms of yields: Bil'shovvits'ka Pratsya averaged 42.3 quintals per hectare of grain, whereas Progress averaged 46. This farm became a school for grain-growing wisdom and skill. Every year it sponsors rayon seminars, and agricultural school students come here for practical training. Agricultural specialists, farm managers, scientists and party workers from other oblasts visit the farm.

The Bil'shovvits'ka Pratsya Kolkhoz has a field which has not been plowed for 9 years but is cultivated only with the use of a flat non-disc coulter and other tools of a new type. During all this time the field has yielded high grain, corn, sugar beet, pea and grass crops. Even in the bad season of 1979 it was able to withstand the elements firmly and averaged 56 quintals of wheat per hectare.

As we know, this year the drought was even worse. No rain fell for two months. The oblast's meteorological service had not recorded such an exhausting heat and very low relative humidity in the air over the past 40 years. Despite this, winter wheat, the basic grain crop of the Poltava area, averaged 29.3 quintals per hectare. The Poltava wheat fields which withstood the drought precisely because at this point the reliable drought-prevention qualities of the plowless farming system manifested themselves.

Today the soil-protecting cultivation system is being applied by the oblast's kol-khozes and sovkhazes over 76 percent of the areas in crops. Each farm has its enthusiasts and supporters of the new, representing the aktiv of our oblast party organization. They include exceptional and real party fighters, such as the already familiar farm managers N. K. Moroz and A. L. Fisun and their colleagues N. V. Panasenko, S. Ya. Dmitrenko, I. P. Inzyk, N. T. Yurchenko, I. V. Ropavka and V. M. Voloshin. Specialist agronomists A. I. Martynets, G. P. Andriyenko, P. I. Skorina and I. I. Lavrushko actively contributed to the experiment.

However, we must also mention those who inspired this project. This applies to Twice Hero of Socialist Labor T. S. Mal'tsev, the noted experimental worker in the country, and A. I. Barayev, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Farming Institute (Shortanda). The soil cultivation technology they developed was the basis for fundamental new changes in farming practice, dealing a strong blow at routine and dogmatism and thus giving impetus to creative farming research. Another knight of plowless farming is selection worker V. N. Remeslo, USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKHNIL member. He is not a theoretical scientist and has dedicated a great deal of time and effort to the dissemination of progressive agrotechnology and of contemporary labor organization methods. Recently he spoke out against the republic's unnecessary deep plowing stations, so that the scientists they employ may undertake the search for new and more advanced technologies. I must also mention the important studies conducted by N. K. Shikula, professor at the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy. His works provided new arguments in favor of soil protecting farming methods.

Occasionally, skeptical voices are heard. Essentially, their views and objections may be reduced to the following: the new technology, they exclaim, is still a babe in diapers, which has yet to grow, while for many years the plow has fed millions of people. Therefore, one should not risk, but should wait and weigh everything "for" and "against."

There is no point in waiting. The land cultivated with the plow is losing its fertility. Need we experience in the European part of our country the shock of dust storms experienced by grain growers in the virgin lands?! Such "arguments" could be very costly, the more so since those who pay for them are not the "skeptics" but the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the millions of rural workers, the Soviet people.

VI

I would like to point out yet another circumstance I consider important. The new farming technology is being applied in the Poltava area exclusively by persuading the doubters and those who hesitate. From the very beginning, we firmly rejected the use of administrative methods. We rely essentially on developing in the people a creative approach to the solution of any problem according to the circumstances. The patient explanation of complex features does not reduce in the least the significance of the substantive and principle-minded criticism of those who are unwilling to move ahead, who cling to any reason for not abandoning their customary and convenient tracks. Effective criticism helps to eliminate shortcomings and omissions and orients the people to the need to study and to analyze their own errors and the best available experience. Starting with 1974, ZORYA POLTAVSHCHINI, our oblast newspaper, has published materials under the section "Think, Agronomist!" Actually, these words have become the theme song of all of our seminars, conferences and meetings on various farming problems.

We are sometimes blamed for using excessive persuasion and explanation in the Poltava area, for once something has been proved, decisive and bold action is needed. Unquestionably, in some situations the obkom should have been indeed more aggressive and active.... Essentially, we are right by using the methods of persuasion and relying on the conscientiousness of our cadres.

I frequently turn to V. I. Lenin's works in the search for answers to pertinent problems. It turns out that at the beginning of the 1920s, experiments in the use of unplowed land by state and cooperative farms were already under way in the young Soviet republic. Vladimir Il'ich himself paid attention to this problem. In his famous radiogram to all guberniya sowing committees, he pointed out that "particular attention should be paid to this work, which must be carried out very energetically but cautiously." Lenin was immediately interested in "Has attention been paid...to the need to take into consideration the farming conditions of the individual settlements," and in "have leaflets and posters been published and have other measures for the extensive dissemination of the early fallow method been applied?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, p 316).

In insisting on the application of a creative approach to the use of a soil protection farming system, we are guided by the decisions of the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which opened to farmers, scientists and party workers a broad scope for initiative and search.

The huge grain field of the country consists of a large number of soil covers with a variety of weather and soil conditions. Therefore, there is absolutely no need to apply identical farming systems and technology everywhere and at all times. Those who grow the grain know that the crops tolerate no routine. The creatively thinking plowman alone has the right to rely on the generosity of nature.

At a party conference I received a note which read as follows: "Comrade Secretary! What you describe as traditional and routine farming systems have served mankind for hundreds of years. It has proved to the peasant as well as the scientist its advantages and shortcomings. The plowless system has been developed and applied only recently. Are we not too hasty with our conclusions? In the past many trees were cut down as a result of hasty decisions."

Essentially, this was a rather touchy question. I answered my opponent as follows: "Everyone has the right to doubt but absolutely must rely on arguments, i.e., on proof. Plowless cultivation is not a farfetched or new matter. It was created by reality. Plowless farming has developed under most complex conditions and tested in virgin lands and throughout the world. We could boldly state that the future belongs to that system. As to the 'cut off trees,' as we know, this has nothing to do with the new farming technology which is being accepted only slowly, having to surmount the opposition of conservatively thinking scientists and practical workers."

I realized that my answer was liked, judging by the expression on the face of the person who had sent the note and by the reaction in the hall.

In converting to the new farming system we realized that we could not avoid a struggle. Many scientists had based years of work on the plow, writing their candidate and doctoral dissertations on it. They found it exceptionally difficult to abandon the idea of soil plowing. Therefore, one could understand the "dissidents," although we must point out that sharp turns in science have always existed and will exist. It is a question of honor for the scientist to be on the side of truth.

Perhaps the standpoint of the scientist is not all that important if practical experience has confirmed the expediency and need for a plowless farming technology!

The point is that the unclear position held by scientific institutions enjoying very high prestige is a restraining factor, directly or indirectly, and triggers conflicting recommendations and advice. Regardless of the new and interesting strains developed by our selectioneers or the increased production of chemical fertilizers by our industry, if the soil is cultivated on the basis of the old prescription and if only a plow is to be used on the fields, it would be difficult to rely on substantial grain increases.

From the very beginning, the moment the people of Poltava undertook their project, we have been supported and encouraged steadily by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. As early as 1974, visiting the oblast, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CC CPSU Politburo member and Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee first secretary, made a thorough study of the essence of the experiment at the Mayak Kommunizma Kolkhoz in Novosanzharskiy Rayon, and voiced his positive opinion of the work carried out in the kolkhoz and the oblast at large in mastering the new technology. Soon afterward, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee passed a special decree on this matter.

In August 1979, by decision of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo, a seminar was held in Poltava, which triggered a great deal of interest in the plowless cultivation of the soil in many oblasts in the steppe, forest-steppe and Nonchernozem zones.

The joint conference held by the section on the protection of the soil from erosion and the coordination council of the VASKHNIL Farming and Chemization Department, headed by Academician A. I. Barayev, held in our oblast in July of this year, was an important factor in the further assertion of the positive experience of the work of the party organizations, scientists and specialists in the Poltava area. The scientists discussed the question of the formulation and application of economically effective zonal soil protection farming systems. The resolution adopted at the conference approved the work of the Poltava people in this respect. It was recommended that their experience be applied in the forest steppe zone of the European part of the USSR.

Engineers and designers play an important role in resolving problems related to upgrading the effectiveness of the agroindustrial complex. Of late, a great deal is being said about upgrading their prestige: it is claimed that members of this profession are not obtaining full moral satisfaction. This is rather strongly put! However, here is what takes place in reality: the work of the engineer-designer who develops a valuable and essentially new machine (with an authorship certificate) is not considered scientific or granted dissertation status. In our view, this is unfair! For this reason, many talented designers try to move to the scientific area and remain there at the first opportunity. This paradox can be explained simply by the fact that it is simpler to gather and, above all, put together the necessary material for a dissertation in a scientific research institute.

The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress emphasized that "We must eliminate anything which makes the process of application of the new difficult, slow and painful. Industry must be vitally interested in the fastest and best possible utilization of the results of the thinking and the work of scientists and designers."

The struggle for the new and progressive is the most important sector of party work. The oblast's party members are ready to do everything they can to make fuller and better use of the achievements of creative thinking in their inspired toil for the good of the people and for our future.

5003

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOOD COMPLEX

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[Article by V. Mozhin, VASKHNIL corresponding member]

[Text] On the basis of the party's economic strategy, the 26th CPSU Congress defined as the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the entire decade of the 1980s ensuring the further growth of the well-being of the Soviet people. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave priority among the problems on which upgrading the living standard of the Soviet people depends to improving food supply to the population.

At each historical stage the party has formulated the food policy on the basis of the specific conditions of social development.

At the present stage, priority in improving the entire food supply matter is given to the systematic implementation of the agrarian policy formulated at the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, subsequently developed in party and government resolutions, which ensures the stable growth of agriculture, which is the main link in the agroindustrial and food complex.

I

The timeliness and need for the measures taken by the party for the development of the agrarian sector are particularly obvious in the light of the major socioeconomic and demographic changes which are taking place in our society and which have required a considerable increase in the demand for food products.

Let us note above all the fact of the shifting of a tremendous population mass from the country to the city. Over the past 20 years alone, the country's urban population rose by 61 million people, whereas the rural population dropped by 10.7 million and its share in the overall population declined from 50 to 37 percent. An absolute reduction in the size of the rural population started in 1964. Over the past 20 years it has averaged 0.5 percent annually.

The fast growth of the urban population was accompanied by the systematic increase in the income of town and country working people. Between 1961 and 1980, average monthly wages of workers and employees more than doubled while payments for kolkhoz labor per work man/day rose by a factor of 3.9. All this triggered not only a considerable increase in the demand for food products but changes in their structure and stricter quality requirements.

On the other hand, the role of the private auxiliary plot in providing the population with food and, above all, with animal husbandry products and fruits, the demand for which rose particularly quickly, diminished sharply. In the 1970s output in this sector remained virtually unchanged. This affected the overall growth rates of agricultural output, for the share of the private plots in the production of individual items was considerable. In 1970 they accounted for 35 percent of the meat, 36 percent of the milk, 53 percent of the eggs and 38 percent of the vegetables.

Therefore, over the past decade, unlike previous years, the entire growth of agricultural output came exclusively from the public sector, whose share in the production of meat, milk, eggs and vegetables reached approximately 70 percent in 1980. This is a manifestation of major social changes in agricultural production. It is also important to note that even though the number of workers in kolkhoz and sovkhos agriculture declined, the volume of output per hectare this decade rose by 30 percent compared with the previous one. This confirms the process of intensification in farming, which became possible thanks to the timely charting of a course toward a considerable strengthening of the material and technical base of agricultural production and redistribution of capital investments in its favor adopted at the March 1965 Central Committee Plenum. Between 1971 and 1980 capital investments in overall agricultural development exceeded 300 billion rubles, or were higher by a 2.3 factor compared to the preceding decade. As a result, at the beginning of the 1980s a firm foundation of resources for the stable development of agriculture had been developed in the USSR.

The growth of agricultural output ensured increased production and consumption of food products. The overall caloric value per capita in the USSR reached the level of economically developed countries and is consistent with physiological norms. However, as was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the task is to improve the nutritional structure and to eliminate breakdowns in the supply to the population of some food products. In order to ensure a radical solution of the problem, the 26th CPSU Congress deemed necessary the drafting of a special food program, the purpose of which is to ensure a considerable increase in the production of agricultural commodities and to improve food supplies to the population. The implementation of this program will be of tremendous social and economic importance. It will make it possible not only actually to raise the living standards of the population but to increase the stimulating role of wages, which will be an important factor of economic growth.

II

Further agricultural upsurge is the basis of the food program. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" includes a system of measures for the growth of agricultural production. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the average annual production of agricultural commodities will be increased by 12-14 percent while labor productivity in public farms will rise by 22-24 percent. A priority task is to increase the production of commodities whose shortage is particularly tangible. They include above all meat and other animal husbandry products. In the 11th Five-Year Plan meat production will be increased by more than 3 million tons, reaching 8.2 million tons per year by 1985. As a whole, the growth of agricultural output per capita will be double that of the previous 5-year period.

Soviet agriculture will have extensive possibilities for the implementation of planned assignments. Already now it is equal to U. S. agriculture in terms of the overall volume of available power facilities, size of irrigated land and output of chemical fertilizers. Compared with the United States, every year our industry produces twice the number of tractors, 3.6 times as many grain harvesting combines, and a considerably higher number of beet harvesting combines, cultivators, plows and other types of agricultural equipment. All this proves the major successes achieved in the development of the industrial area of the agroindustrial complex. However, agriculture is still short of various types of equipment, transport facilities and high-grade fertilizers. We must not forget that our country has worse natural and weather conditions for agricultural production. For example, about 64 percent of our arable land receives under 400 mm of precipitation annually. A considerable percentage of the farm land is located in excessively moist areas or areas with low annual temperatures.

The July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum defined the main directions for the further growth of the material and technical base of agriculture. Steps are being taken to improve the quality of agricultural productive capital. After pointing out that major material and financial resources will continue to be allocated for agriculture, at the 26th congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "Now, however, the center of gravity, which is the distinguishing feature of the agrarian policy in the 1980s, shifts to capital investment returns, growth of agricultural productivity and intensification and improvement of its ties with all sectors in the agroindustrial complex."

This stipulation contained in the CC CPSU accountability report is very meaningful. Let us point out the interdependence between the need to upgrade agricultural effectiveness and the intensification of its ties with other sectors in the agroindustrial complex. Indeed, the effective development of agriculture increasingly depends on balancing it with the other sectors of the agroindustrial complex which supply it with means for the production, storage, transportation and processing of agricultural raw materials. The elimination of existing disproportions and better coordination of the activities of the numerous departments involved in supplying the population with food are among the main prerequisites for the rapid and effective solution of the food problem. This will also enable us to implement another basic stipulation of economic policy adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress: improving the utilization of the existing production potential.

A number of lagging areas exist in the material and technical base of agriculture, without whose accelerated development a further increase in resources will yield no results. In the area of mechanization, many production processes are not comprehensively organized; for quite some time, the machine-tractor fleet has preserved a disparity between the number of agriculture machines and power capacities (tractors mainly). In the area of chemization, the optimum proportions in the production of nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus fertilizers are violated. The high volume indicators of chemical fertilizer production are achieved mainly in the manufacturing of nitrogen fertilizers, whereas in many parts of the country phosphorus fertilizers are in particularly short supply. Lagging in the production of herbicides lowers the effectiveness of fertilizers, most of which are absorbed by the weeds. Land reclamation systems are being developed far ahead of the utilization of the land. Another reason for the insufficient effectiveness of agricultural production is that frequently basic intensification factors (mechanization, chemization, reclamation and

use of highly productive crop strains and livestock breeds) are not used on a comprehensive basis. Examples of this are found in many livestock breeding complexes, which are equipped with modern facilities but lack the proper breeds of livestock and fodder. In many areas the necessary amount of fertilizer is not applied on the reclaimed land.

The "Basic Directions" calls for the elimination of existing disproportions. The balanced development in the production of chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals will be improved. The level of mechanization in the production of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, feeds and animal husbandry products will be raised. Comprehensive land reclamation and development work will be carried out. Industrial technologies in the production of some commodities, already applied in poultry breeding and corn growing, will be developed further.

The lagging of feed production facilities behind the increased livestock herds remains one of the old major disproportions in agriculture. Although overall fodder expenditures (in terms of feed units) rose by 21 percent between 1971 and 1980, the size of the herds grew at virtually the same rate. As a result, feed expenditures per head of cattle increased only from 24.8 quintals of feed units in 1970 to 25.7 in 1980, whereas according to scientific data, 35 to 40 quintals are needed for achieving high productivity. During that period, the growth of productivity was insignificant and meat and milk production increased mainly as a result of the increased size of the cattle herds in the public sector. The inadequate nutrition level leads to higher feed outlays per unit of output and cannot ensure high productivity. At the same time, substantial capital investments are needed to provide premises for the expanding cattle herds. Up to a certain level the systematic expansion of herds was justified. In our view, as we take steps to develop the feed base, it would be expedient today to stabilize the herds of some cattle varieties. For example, the existing dairy herd (more than 43 million head) is adequate for the production of a volume of milk which will ensure a rational consumption level by increasing milk production from 2,210-2,300 to 3,000 kg per cow. According to the specialists, this can be achieved even without changing the breeds, with normal feeding and elimination of underproductive and sterile cows. Incidentally, the number of the latter is growing essentially because of poor nutrition.

If we are to pursue the line of extensive development, in order to reach the necessary volume of output the cow herd must be increased by one million head. Bearing in mind the cost per cattle stall, increasing the herd by one million cows will cost more than 2 billion rubles in capital investments, while on the basis of current productivity, milk output will increase by no more than 2-3 percent. It would be more expedient to use such an investment for strengthening the fodder base, bearing in mind that it is efficient nutrition that determines the growth of productivity above all.

Assisting the private auxiliary plots with fodder plays a major positive role. Currently this sector accounts for almost one-third of the entire number of cows. It is quite important to prevent any further reduction in their number.

The elimination of feed protein shortages, particularly of high-grade varieties, is a central problem in the development of the feed base. Protein shortages cause overexpenditures in excess of 100 million tons of feed units. This results in annual grain overexpenditures of no less than 20 million tons. The low quality of the feed leads to higher outlays. Compared with 1965, in 1979 feed outlays (in terms of feed

units) rose per thousand rubles of gross animal husbandry output. The production of protein fodder is increasing very slowly. There was essentially no increase in the amount of hay and pasture feeds procured. That is why an ever-increasing share of livestock requirements, particularly of cattle, were covered with grain, two-thirds of which was neither treated nor balanced in terms of nutritive substances. The solution of the problems of protein and of upgrading the quality of feeds will enable us to raise cattle productivity, save on capital investments and reduce specific feed grain outlays. This is one of the main directions in increasing the effectiveness of the entire food complex.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress call for completing the development and undertaking the implementation of a comprehensive program for the creation of a reliable and balanced feed base in the country. Feed production will become a specialized agricultural sector. With a view to reducing protein shortages, the production of peas, clover, alfalfa, lupine grass, soybeans, rape and other high-protein crops will be increased considerably. The protein contained in leguminous crops is higher than in wheat and rye by a factor of three or four and they are rich in amino acids. Steps will be taken to lower the considerable harvesting and storage feed losses. The products of microbiological synthesis are a source of additional amounts of feed protein, vitamins and lysine. During the five-year plan the production of such items will be increased by a factor of 1.8-1.9, while the overall volume of protein-vitamin supplements produced by industry will be doubled.

The strict observance of the recently promulgated CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving agricultural planning and incentive is of equally great importance in ensuring the balanced development of cattle herds and feed resources. The decree reemphasizes the inadmissibility of interfering in interfarm kolkhoz and sovkhos planning. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses have been given the right to determine by themselves the size and structure of planted areas and the size of their cattle herds. In many farms the current disproportion between the size of the herds and the feed resources is caused precisely by the fact that despite the existing planning procedure they are given assignments on increasing their cattle and poultry herds regardless of the possibilities of their feed base.

III

Considerable opportunities exist for improving the effective utilization of agricultural raw materials. Let us point out that by the end of the 1970s the Soviet Union had become one of the top producers of agricultural raw materials.

However, increases in the production of various types of foodstuffs are slowed down because of the inefficient utilization of agricultural raw materials and of direct losses of some types of goods. In this area again coordination in the development of food production sectors and the elimination of existing disproportions are of prime significance. We already pointed out the significance of balancing nutritive substances in fodder for the sake of conserving a most valuable product such as grain. The problem of the use of grain for seed deserves very close attention as well. The amount of grain used for seed today almost equals that used to meet food requirements.

Shortcomings in the utilization of the potential of agricultural raw materials are related mainly to lagging behind in the development of the sectorial infrastructure

(storage and transportation facilities) and of processing industry sectors. This results in substantial raw material losses and inefficient use. Let us take as an example the production and processing of farm crops such as potatoes and sugar beets. Our country is in a leading position in the world in the volume of their output. According to average annual data, the USSR accounts for 28 percent of the world's potato production and 31 percent of the sugar beets grown. The main task, obviously, is to protect such impressive crops and take them to the consumer with the least possible loss. Attention must also be paid to the fact that in our country only an insignificant percentage of the potatoes is industrially processed as foodstuffs.

In the new five-year plan major steps will be taken to improve the storage of agricultural goods. Capital investments totaling 15 billion rubles, or 60 percent more than in the 10th Five-Year Plan, will be used to improve storage conditions and reduce commodity losses. The funds will be used for the building of grain storage areas, refrigeration facilities, storage facilities for vegetables, potatoes and feeds and other installations.

The rate of development of agriculture and the food industry should be studied closely. Increases in variety, production of the most valuable foodstuffs and their quality improvement require the faster expansion of the capacity of this sector and the supply of it with up-to-date equipment. However, its development is lagging. Whereas in the Eighth Five-Year Plan 5.9 rubles of productive capital investments in agriculture were made per ruble of capital investments in the food industry, the ratio was 1:8.0 in the Ninth Five-Year Plan and almost 1:8.8 in the 10th.

The increased production of finished comestible goods can be ensured by improving the quality while retaining the same volume of agricultural output. However, as the facts prove, the increased volume of agricultural raw materials is rarely accompanied by the increased output of finished goods as a result of quality drops. For example, compared with the average annual harvests in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, in the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual sugar beet harvests were higher by 16.4 percent, but the production of sugar from sugar beets declined by 2.3 percent for the same period. This was essentially a result of the reduced sugar content in the beets. With the current volumes of output, a 1 percent sugar content increase is the equivalent of an additional 500,000 tons of sugar and an increase in retail sales of half a billion rubles.

Similar examples may be found in the cases of other products as well. They confirm that frequently plan indicators and economic incentives are not helping end results but reflect sectorial and intermediary interests. The result of the lack of departmental coordination is that each of the sectorial units within the food complex becomes self-sufficient to a certain extent, and the achievement of the final objective is postponed for the sake of resolving separate uncoordinated problems. The redistribution of capital investments among the sectors in the complex is hindered. This leads to the appearance of inertia in its development and a tendency to retain the existing ineffective structure, the consequences being disproportions among the various sectors and major losses.

The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress stipulated that surmounting the lack of coordination in the activities of the various departments is one of the most essential tasks. The elaboration and implementation of the food

program must contribute to the implementation of this task. The program must become a major step toward improving the management of the entire food supply system in the country.

IV

Like any comprehensive target program included in the state plans for economic and social development, the food program must have a clearly expressed target. It must be comprehensive, addressed to specific units and mandatory.

The full satisfaction of the needs of the population for food products is the final objective of the food program. In our view, this means the uninterrupted saturation of the trade system with the full variety of high-quality products marketed at prices which will ensure a rational (from the physiological viewpoint) level and structure of nutrition.

The final objective must be paralleled by objectives governing the individual stages in the implementation of the program. The immediate objective, which was clearly defined at the 26th congress, "is to resolve the problem of the uninterrupted supply of the population with products within the shortest possible time." This means the elimination of the acute shortage of some commodities, stable food supplies and the possibility of meeting solvent demand.

The problem of the quantitative expression of final and intermediary objectives arises in connection with the elaboration of the food program. One of the familiar methods is the use of so-called rational nutrition norms as recommended by medical science. However, in our view it would be erroneous to restrict ourselves to such norms. The inadequacy of this method is the gap between it and actual economic circumstances, i.e., the developing income level, food traditions and stable demand ratios. Furthermore, such norms cover aggregated food products. They make it possible to establish a proper correlation among proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins and other substances in the food rations. However, these correlations cannot be considered exclusively in planning the development of the food complex. We must plan an expanded nutritional variety in order to issue specific programs to the food industry sectors based on demand for individual products, which are influenced by the growth of income. Therefore, rational food norms may be a guideline in substantiating the targets of the food program, but must be supplemented by computations based on elasticity coefficients which take into consideration changes in demand for individual products.

Another methodical problem which arises in the elaboration of the food program is to determine the set of sectors needed for the implementation of this objective. The implementation of the target program calls for the participation of groups of technological, economic and functionally interrelated sectors in agriculture, industry and the infrastructure, which, together, form the country's food complex and are part of the agroindustrial complex. Both the food and the agroindustrial complex include three basic areas: the production of productive capital for agriculture and other sectors in the complex (first area); agricultural sectors (second area); processing of agricultural raw materials--the subsectors of the food, flour and groats, and milk and dairy industries (third area), as well as the infrastructure which involves industrial and scientific services provided to the sectors within the complex. Actually,

in the elaboration of the program we must also bear in mind the production of fish-based goods which, together with meat, meet human needs for proteins. Furthermore, fish production from domestic reservoirs is closely related to animal husbandry from the viewpoint of feed resources.

What distinguishes the agroindustrial from the food complex is that its function is to satisfy not only nutritional requirements but the need for other consumer goods made primarily of agricultural raw materials (fabrics, clothing, shoes). Therefore, its sectorial structure in all three areas is somewhat broader.

The target program indicators must represent assignments on the production of goods classified according to the characteristic requirements of any one of the basic ingredients of balanced nutrition (proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins and mineral substances). Assignments for the specific types of food, related to one or another of these ingredients, are included in the respective subprograms, while their totality is the basis for structure of the entire food program.

It seems expedient to include in the food program target subprograms for the following finished goods: bakery products (including groats and spaghetti), meat and dairy products, eggs, fruit and vegetable products, oil and fat products, potatoes, beverages and fish products.

The corresponding subset of products, which represent a combination of technologically and economically interrelated sectors, subsectors and types of activity in all three areas of the complex and elements of the infrastructure, integrated within the targets for the production of specific food items, are the planning targets within each of the named subprograms. The breakdown into product subcomplexes makes it possible better to substantiate economic proportions and determine bottlenecks in the operation of the entire chain from base sectors to marketing in the consumption area and to eliminate the narrow departmental approach to the single and interrelated process of creation of end products. In our view, the planning of the development of product subcomplexes is a key aspect in the elaboration of the food program.

The systematic use of the target approach is very important in the case of each of the subprograms: demands for the consumer qualities of the finished product must be clearly formulated and must govern requirements for the production of intermediary products and technological developments along the entire line. For example, if it is deemed necessary to increase the production of dairy goods with high protein content, this may be reflected in corresponding program assignments, starting with the work of dairy plants and following the entire chain, including feed rations, breed selections and so on.

Despite characteristics determined by the specific nature of the goods produced, the programs for the development of product subcomplexes must share a number of common aspects, including substantiations of volumes, structures and qualities of end products; indicators of development of the respective industrial sectors for the final stage, such as enterprise capacity and location, and so on; agricultural development indicators, such as the quantity and quality of required agricultural raw materials; indicators governing the development of sectors and subsectors ensuring material and technical supplies of specialized machines and equipment to agriculture; assignments issued to related sectors for the production of specialized equipment for the processing industry; and planning the development of specialized types of transportation, construction of food and raw materials storage areas and other elements of the production infrastructure.

Along with the development of product subcomplexes it would be expedient to formulate a number of subprograms of resource and support nature. They should include subprograms for raising soil fertility and improving the utilization of land resources, ensuring cadres for the sectors within the complex, construction of roads and transport facilities, scientific research and so on.

Conversion to the program-target planning of the development of the complex will require changes in planning technology. The food program must not be the result of the combination of individual sectorial plans. It must start with a determination of requirements and of possible scales of output. The production of finished comestible goods must become the most important program target indicator. Target indicators must include, above all, physical indicators by groups of products. The program resource indicators include above all those which characterize the resources allocated for the entire food complex and which can be redistributed among the subcomplexes, sectors and subsectors. The group of indicators of the economic effectiveness of the food complex includes capital returns, working capital turnover and capital investment returns within the food program, as well as indicators of the relative conservation of production resources in the implementation of the food program measures.

The food program is not an alternative to the plan. It is distinct from the plan above all by the fact that it contains a set of measures of different natures: socioeconomic, industrial, technical and scientific research which are integrated in subprograms not on the basis of affiliation with one or another department but from the viewpoint of meeting specific objectives. In the formulation of the plan for economic and social development all of these measures must become part of sectorial and territorial plans of respective departments and territorial units. This will balance needs with resources for the entire national economy.

In his address at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that "The agroindustrial food complex must be planned, financed and managed as a single entity, ensuring high end results."

The elaboration of the food program can ensure the solution of the first two problems--unified planning and financing--if capital investments are allocated for the entire food complex and if their breakdown within the complex is subjected to the effective reaching of end results. To this purpose, it is necessary to indicate the sectors and subsectors which must be given priority in the allocation of financial and material resources. Currently, with a view to improving the structure of the food complex and upgrading its effectiveness, computations indicate that priority should be given to the following sectors and subsectors: production of machines for feed manufacturing and treatment and equipment for animal husbandry farms and complexes; production of mixed feeds with balanced nutritional substances; goods produced through microbiological synthesis; production of phosphates, plant protection chemicals and lime for acid soils; production of fertilizer application machines; production of specialized hauling equipment; construction of produce storage areas; road construction in rural areas; manufacturing of modern equipment for sectors producing agricultural raw materials; production of refrigeration equipment; and production of containers made of progressive materials.

The sharp increase in the amount of capital investment in the nonproduction rural area--39 percent higher than during the preceding 5-year period--between 1981 and 1985 will be of particular importance in supplying agriculture with cadres.

The reorganization of the USSR Gosplan structure and of the gosplans of union republics, and the creation within them of administrations in charge of agroindustrial and food complex planning, will contribute to the conversion and financing of the food complex as a single entity.

In our view, however, further work must be done to improve the organizational structure of the management of the complex and of the economic mechanism of interaction among its sectors.

A number of problems related to the development of the food complex can be resolved best only with the creation of a state organ which will coordinate sectorial activities within this complex. This means the implementation of functions such as a unified technical policy within the complex, coordination of commodity prices among interrelated sectors, operative coordination of intersectorial problems, amended plan assignments and some others.

It would be expedient to create similar management organs on the level of union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts. They must focus their attention on the development of agriculture and on balancing it with the primary processing of agricultural raw materials and their storage, and crop marketing.

Positive experience in the integration of agricultural management with related sectors has been acquired in the administrative rural rayons of Estonia, Latvia and Georgia. The further development of such processes is delayed by the fact that departmental lack of coordination in the management of the food complex sectors remains at the higher levels.

Of late a process of separation among specialized product complexes and their development as separate administrative systems may be noted. Let us refer to the fact of the establishment of a union-republic ministry of food and vegetable resources, which must administer the production of such commodities, their storage, processing and marketing through the retail trade system. This is a significant fact, which proves that objective changes in the production process are being reflected in the area of management. However, the appearance of a sectorial management structure of produce complexes, which combine a variety of subsectors and activities, must not exclude the creation of the overall food complex. The efficient combination of sectorial with territorial management will be particularly important in the development of the food complex. We must take into consideration the territorial distribution of basic resources for the production of foodstuffs (farmland, manpower resources) and the location of the consumers. Considering the scale of our huge country, with its various natural and weather conditions and national, historical and social characteristics of the individual areas, routine solutions which ignore local distinctions are dangerous.

In addition to the importance of improving planning methods and structural organizations, the coordinated interaction among all units within the food complex can be fully achieved if we add to such measures an economic mechanism which will ensure the interest of all participants in the "field-consumer" and "farm-consumer" systems in achieving the best possible end results. The absence of such interest is the reason for many "shortcuts" in the work of such systems. The personnel of the Goskomsel'khoztekhnika system are not materially interested in the increased productivity of fields and livestock farms. Farm workers, concerned with harvesting the biggest

possible crop in terms of weight such as, for example, vegetables, do not take into consideration the requirements of canneries regarding standards and quality of the raw materials. Frequent difficulties are created in the marketing of agricultural commodities because of the sluggishness of trade and procurement workers. The organizations under the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources operate under an autonomous status. Capital investments for reclamation projects are given not to the agricultural organs but directly to the ministry. Since their plan is formulated in terms of volume indicators, the ministry's enterprises frequently fulfill their plan in areas not particularly needed by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes but wherever a given department finds this suitable. Furthermore, the ministry is both the contractor and the customer of projects. This procedure hardly contributes to land reclamation improvements.

Such facts, more of which could be cited, prove the need for serious work to improve the economic mechanism in the food complex. In our view, long-term contracts, based on cost effectiveness, and including conditions and incentives for reciprocal commodity and service procurements and other obligations and indicators for assessing the activities of individual subunits, could become the main form of reciprocal economic relations in this system.

Therefore, both principles of democratic centralism must be developed in the management of the food complex. Increased centralism makes it possible to make better use of a lever such as capital investment in the development of an effective structural policy and to pursue a unified technical policy. The development of democratic principles ensures the initiative-minded and operative solution of many problems which arise at various management levels and contributes to the fuller utilization of cost-effectiveness possibilities.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress are a major contribution to the development of the party's agrarian and food policy. Their implementation will play a tremendous role in increasing agricultural production and improving the well-being of the Soviet people.

5003
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AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF LIFE

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[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] Just as, according to Stanislavskiy, the theater begins with the cloakroom, the enterprise is judged by its entrance gate. Today's economic managers are well aware of this, and one will almost never come across the type of plank-made barracks-looking entrance passages which were frequent only 20 years ago. As a rule, entering the plant, directly from the street one finds himself in a spacious, carefully furnished entrance hall. Some entrance halls have a strict appearance, with reflecting mirrors and plastic-covered walls, where chrome-plated turnstiles make dry clicking sounds, the lights of electronic gates blink, while guards decorously sit in glass-walled booths. There are entryways in which the light comes through stained glass, reflected in mosaic wall panels, lighting up hanging decorative plants.

Compared with other fellow industrial giants, the entryway of the Tallin Clothing Industrial Association imeni V. Klementi appears modest. However, looking attentively at its finishing touches one can unwittingly appreciate the fine taste and feeling of proportion of those who invested their work in this project. There is not a trace of pretentiousness which, alas, is frequently the sin of many enterprises. Here one immediately develops a feeling of coziness which might appear to be quite alien to an industrial production facility. In the cloakroom one immediately notices a mirror covering the length of the wall and then a detail which may seem minor but is quite noteworthy: your overcoat, cloak or jacket is neatly put on a rack before being hung.

Every morning, the flow of workers entering the building, after crossing the entranceway, disperses among the "amenities rooms" which are adjacent to the shops. Here they may put on their smocks and hang their shawls or suits, hang their bags on special hooks and, if necessary, put their umbrellas up to dry (there is plenty of space for this). There are no lockers or padlocks, as they were abandoned long ago. Every worker, however, has her permanent space. There is no fuss or pushing and the whole thing takes no more than a few minutes.

The first shift begins precisely at 0630 and the shops are filled with the noise of the sewing machines. The multicolored bits of cut fabric are moved by a transporter from one place to another and the agile hands of the workers put them together and sew them in accurate seams. In the hands of the seamstresses, backs, flaps,

yokes, gussets, sleeves, cuffs, collars, frills, joinings and drawstrings blend, turning into dresses, smocks, blouses or skirts.

The usual working day goes by rapidly in the enterprise, which has become a second home to hundreds of people.

People and Production

The importance of achievements always becomes clearer when one looks at the beginning. To do this, we must go back several decades, to the end of September 1944, when a workshop employing about 100 women, who were sewing soldiers' underwear, opened at No 5 Vira Street, in Tallin. Five years later, the workshop developed into an underwear factor which was named after Vil'gel'mina Klementi, the Estonian revolutionary.

Several semiartisan cooperatives located in various parts of the city joined the workshop. The equipment was of the simplest sort: small manual sewing machines, electric irons and sewing needles.... At that time they did not even dream of modern technology.

Those days are well remembered by Luule Allika, who has been working in this collective for 33 years! As she showed me an album with all the photographs, she said with sincere amazement:

"How could we work under such conditions?!"

Judging by the photographs, the conditions were indeed not among the best: narrow premises, crowded by the sewing machines and seamstresses crowding one next to the other.

"There was no ventilation at all," Allika says. "We worked under natural light. No one had any idea of industrial aesthetics. Shops and sectors were scattered among various parts of the city and it was difficult for the collective to feel united.... Naturally, the production process changed in the 1950's and 1960's and the equipment was improved. However, radical changes took place after 1971, when the specialized clothing association was born."

Luule Allika describes the difficulty which accompanied the introduction of even the simplest of innovations. Nevertheless, things progressed and labor productivity and quality improved gradually. The previously scattered shops, sectors and services were assembled under the roof of the head enterprise. The new building was constructed and equipped in accordance with the latest achievements of the domestic and foreign clothing industry, laying a firm foundation for the future. To this day, 7 years after its completion, all production premises and the production process itself are consistent with modern requirements.

Luule Allika knows the history of her enterprise better than anyone else in the collective, for her entire conscious life is linked to its history. She came to the semiartisan workshop as a very young girl and completely mastered the work with the manual sewing machine. She became so attracted by sewing that she enrolled in the evening department of the technical school, after which she graduated from the institute. It was not easy, for she had a family and growing children. However,

Allika's character proved to be unusually stubborn. Having begun her labor career as an apprentice seamstress, she systematically went through a number of administrative steps and 6 years ago became association director. Today, Luule Allika, bearer of the Order of the Labor Red Banner and deputy to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, heads a collective which is the main supplier of light clothing in the republic.

In addition to the head enterprise, the association includes a branch in Pyarnu and clothing shops and sectors in Tyuri, Raple and Keyle. All in all, it employs more than 1,600 people with annual sales of 32 million rubles. Nearly two-thirds of the workers are in the head enterprise located not far from Tallin's residential micro-rayons in Mustamaye. It is precisely here that most valuable experience has been acquired both in the development of the production process and in the solution of social problems. The main thing is constant concern for improving labor conditions. Both the administration and the republic organizations are doing everything possible to make the work ever more creative and pleasing to the people.

The use of modern sewing machines and semiautomatic equipment, minor mechanization facilities and latest technological developments with the use of computer and the specialization of sewing processes have substantially changed the nature of the work and improved its productivity. The use of industrial aesthetics, which is a serious concern here, played a tremendous role as well.

The shops give a feeling of spaciousness. Natural light floods them through the side windows. When darkness begins to fall on the streets, fluorescent lights are turned on, located in such a way that no single workplace is in the dark. In order for the level of lighting to be consistent with health norms, measurements are regularly conducted in the shops, to determine how many luxes there are per sector.

The interiors of the work premises are colored in soft combinations. Pastels predominate in the decoration of the walls, tables, machines and equipment, beige, green, pale yellow, ocher, or gold-lemony. They form a harmonious range of colors as recommended by the designers.

The bright spots of living flowers are part of this gamut. House plants are placed between machines in special pedestals. Fresh and well tended, they give a pleasant feeling. It is noteworthy that they are brought in by the workers themselves, who care for them jointly.

Seamstresses, cutter, controllers and foremen all wear regulation cotton smocks. Each brigade has its own color and design, with different cuts and shapes. The clothing of the workers is in harmony with the overall color range of the interiors. Once again, this is no accident, for the color combinations were recommended by industrial psychologists. They also recommended the types of functional music in the shops--the selection of melodies and their tonality. The tastes of the people and musical fashion are taken into consideration as well. Psychologists also determine the nature of calisthenics at work.

In accordance with AUCCTU requirements, each shop has its health-technical documentation, which is filled by the shop chief, the physician and the safety engineer. It has dozens of parameters, from the condition of the equipment and the extend of dust in the air to the level of noise pollution.

A campaign approach, in which projects are carried out hastily, occasionally and merely for the sake of meeting a deadline, is extremely harmful in terms of improving working and living conditions. The people have a natural inclination to straighten up their homes and their workplaces on the occasion of holidays. However, it is bad when soon after a hasty "cosmetic" preholiday repair, the paint begins to peel off and the plaster begins to crumble. In such a case walls and shelves become an unseemly sight until the next rush, while unswept garbage accumulates in the corners and unwashed windows become dust gray.

No such thing happens in the shops of the association imeni Klementi. Holidays or workdays, winter or summer, decorations on the walls and the equipment are always fresh, the light is even, and the carefully washed window and floors shine. It is clean everywhere--at the workplaces, warehouses, staircases and basements. Shop commissions exigently supervise this order. Any spot on the wall is cleaned, bits of thread noted somewhere in a corner or any other such matters are immediately eliminated.

Such cleanliness can rarely be seen elsewhere. Naturally, there are production facilities, in electronics, for example, in which instruments count the number of dust particle per cubic millimeter of air and calculate to thousands of a percent. However, this cleanliness is like that of a sterile laboratory. Here, however, it represents the neatness of the people who care for the workplace and who try to develop a cozy environment.

Labor conditions in the association are improving with every passing year. Unfortunately, however, not all problems have been resolved. One of the most "sensitive spots" is the condition of the ventilation system. Here and there there are drafts or areas in which it is quite stifling. The head energy worker is in charge of the ventilation systems. However, it would be unfair to blame her for this situation. The fault belongs to those who designed the ventilation system ineptly. When that was done no one was held liable. Now, however, the collective cannot correct the errors made by the designers, for light industry does not have the proper equipment.

The improvement of working conditions is not a problem which can be resolved once and for all. There could be no "ceiling" here. Naturally, each enterprise had a different potential. Sometimes reconstruction, automation and mechanization of the production process, and new technological processes radically change everything, eliminating manual labor, gases, dust, unnecessary noise, drafts and other production "costs" inherent in old enterprises. But what about those which have already gone through the crucible of modernization, and for which no radical change is planned for the immediate future? The experience of the association imeni V. Klementi proves that in such enterprises as well working conditions can be improved steadily although, naturally, not so radically.

Conveniences Are a Common Concern

The party criticism addressed from the rostrum of the 26th party congress to economic managers who consider problems of conveniences insignificant and secondary, was very just. We have frequently witnessed the opening of new enterprises whose industrial plants rose at a truly incredible pace whereas housing, kindergartens, stores and laundry rooms crawled behind. The results are familiar: the people are justifiably insulted, there are conflicts and complaints, increasing cadre turnover and permanent manpower shortages. The pace of development of the production process itself, for the sake of which "social projects" were given a secondary role, slow down.

However, amenities should not be found only outside the enterprise. In the course of this third of his life which a person spends at work he must have normal conditions for changing clothes, eating without being pushed, glancing at the latest journals and taking an invigorating shower after his shift. It is even better when a bookstand awaits him in the entry hall. These may seem commonplace things but there still are enterprises in which output is computed to the second while lunch break takes a few hours because of crowding in the cafeteria. The shop personnel go to lunch in sequence, sometimes starting at 10 in the morning to 3 or even 4 pm. The people develop a sour mood because of the narrowness and pushing in the cafeterias and are unable to relax properly during work breaks. In the final account, once again, all of this is converted into production losses....

In the Clothing Association imeni V. Klementi problems of amenities are never given secondary priority. The administration and the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are always concerned with them. Such problems are resolved systematically, in accordance with five-year plans for economic and social development. The entire collective is pleased by what has been accomplished so far.

Let us take as an example the problem of public catering, which to this day remains a tireless subject in the press. One should visit the association's cafeteria to see how this problem can be eliminated once and for all.

As in the production shops, it is vast. The walls are painted in bright colors and there are vases with flowers on tables made of dark wood. The chairs are comfortable. The line moves along the glistening nickel-plated counter. Behind a decorative grid is a glass shelf and an electric espresso coffee machine. Everything is beautiful, comfortable and cozy. However, all of these are the external attributes. What about speed? What about the choice of meals? How much do they cost and what is their quality? Agate Kurvits, chairman of the association's trade union, willingly answers these and other questions:

"We have a ticket food system. Complete lunches come in four types. After choosing from the menus, the worker purchases a set of tickets for the week. The three-course meal costs no more than 40 kopeks. Almost one-third of the cost is paid by the enterprise. No more than 15 minutes are spent per meal. The clothing workers may spend the rest of their break with a cup of coffee at the refreshment room, looking at journals and newspapers in the red corner, browsing at the bookstand, making purchases in the delicatessen store at the cafeteria, or simply relaxing outside. Let me point out in particular the quality of the meals: the customers are pleased."

Literally everyone lunches in the cafeteria, for who could object to the fact that he can eat here quickly, inexpensively and well? There are no separate halls or rooms. The apprentice and the association's director eat from the same cooking pot and in the same location. I lunched too. It was "fish day," and the chosen meal included a vinaigrette, fish soup, broiled cod with buckwheat porridge and a cup of cocoa. I confirmed that it was indeed tasty!

Actually, this is the general opinion. The first entry in the book of complaints and suggestions, which the cafeteria director showed me at my request, read: "Very tasty lunch." The date was 31 July 1974. The latest entry, 7 years later, was yet another expression of thanks for good service and a tasty lunch. The entire book was an expression of gratitude and there was not a single complaint!

Today's cafeteria has its functional subdivisions. The baking and sweets shop, with a modest staff of three people, supplies the collective of the head enterprise with rolls, loaves, pirozhki and other baked goods. A special section at the kitchen prepares semifinished meat and fish meals, pastes, potato and carrot patties, buckwheat meal, salads, vinaigrettes and jellies. All this is sold through the refreshment room and the delicatessen store, which are located next to the cafeteria. The food block contains yet another small establishment which, according to the usual concepts should not exist under industrial conditions: a bar. Here, after the shift is over one may drink a cup of coffee with liqueur, talk with friends behind a bottle of dry wine or Estonian aperitif. The atmosphere itself predisposes to simple contacts.

The public catering system in the association operates as a well-tuned mechanism, taking flexibly into consideration the demands and tastes of the people and meeting their requirements. The fact that it has achieved this is clear proof of the joint efforts of the administration the public organizations. In the course of the designing stage the association's management saw to it that an adequate area was allocated for the cafeteria and the kitchen. Subsequently, when the idea of broadening the services developed, auxiliary premises were remade into a bakery and a shop for precooked meals. The kitchen itself is being steadily improved and, if necessary, its equipment is changed. Recently a highly productive dishwasher was installed. Over the 20 years of existence of the head enterprise the furniture in the cafeteria has been replaced on three occasions. A public commission, which has the right to reject any given meal, strictly supervises the quality of the cooking. Actually, it has not had to exercise this right even a single time.

The cafeteria and its personnel are part of the city public catering system. However, its cadres were selected with the help of the administration and the association's personnel. Since then the cafeteria workers have become part of the collective, sharing its affairs and concerns and using, along with the workers, their rest center, participating together with them in sports and in amateur activities. They have become members of a single production family and, feeling as they do, they try to please everyone.

The personnel of the medical service are equally closely linked with the collective and feel themselves to be full members. Incidentally, by decision of the trade union committee, they were given the right to a salary from the association's budget. This is the source of substantial funds for the purchasing of medical equipment, various instruments and furnishings for the medical center. The blue smocks in which physicians and nurses are impressively dressed were issued by the association and, naturally, were sewn here. Every year the sociocultural fund allocates 2,700 rubles for the purchase of medicines and vitamins issued to the clothing workers free of charge through the medical center.

Naturally, if necessary, the association's workers have the use of the rayon polyclinic and the city hospitals. However, first aid and the following of medical rules are, above all, the concern of the medical center. The main feature in its work is the prevention of diseases. Prophylactic examinations are conducted by specialists according to schedule. Sir'ye Oyasson, a feldsher in charge of the center, spends a great deal of time at the Health People's University where lectures are delivered by the best physicians in Tallin; the university offers a 2-year study program. Currently it is training its fourth group of students (as many as 100 people per group).

A visit to the small medical establishment of the association, with its five offices equipped with modern medical facilities and a look at its work and the references of the patients convincingly proved that the success which this center achieved at city competitions, in which it has invariably come out the winner, is natural.

The recreation base located in Aegna, one of the most picturesque islands in the Gulf of Finland, where pine trees alternate with meadows and sandy beaches, enjoys great popularity in the collective. Every season here up to 300 association workers with their families spend their leave. Approximately 60 people spend their leave in the small (five rooms) but exceptionally comfortable rest home in Rokhukyula, on the seashore. About 200 plots of land have been set aside for amateur gardeners. Every year the trade union committee allocates dozens of reduced-cost cards for sanatoriums and rest homes located outside the republic. Curiously, a considerable percentage of the collective prefers to spend their leave with relatives in the countryside, among nature, as they say.

True, only the amateurs of hiking and tourist trips on the water consider themselves the true lovers of nature. There are many of them at the combine. Of late organized tourism has been actively developing. Every year it involves several hundred people. Clothing workers have visited Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Vil'nyus, Novgorod, Petrozavodsk and L'vov.

The association spares neither efforts nor funds for the physical development of the people. The council on sports, which includes representatives of all shops, the feldsher and other psychologists, is very active. It is headed by engineer Irma Takhur, member of the trade union committee. The council considers the extensive development of industrial calisthenics one of its main activities.

At a given time work stops during the shifts, the loudspeakers are turned on and voluntary instructors head the exercises accompanied by music. The effectiveness of the industrial calisthenics system in the association was studied by specialists from Tartu University. On their recommendation some exercises were changed so that the stress on one or another group of muscles may be more balanced.

Another important work of the sports council is the involvement of a maximum number of people in training for the "Ready for USSR Labor and Defense" complex. The results of this work are confirmed by the fact that the clothing collective is in a leading position in Tallin in its group of enterprises in the competition for covering the Ready for Labor and Defense norms.

Lovers of individual sports are also greatly encouraged. Hundreds of people engage in track activities, skating, swimming, volleyball, competition and art gymnastics, and marksmanship. Unfortunately, the association does not have its own sports premises and only chess, draughts and ping-pong amateurs can compete at the enterprise. However, the trade union committee sets aside funds for the rental of premises for sports, marksmanship, swimming and athletics.

As to material facilities, all sections have what is necessary. There are 200 pairs of skates alone in the warehouses! Furthermore, there are balls, rackets, discuses, javelins, firearms, boats, aqualungs, and sets of sports clothing. Therefore, there are substantial opportunities for physical improvement. They are adequately used.

Let us note in particular one type of competition which is particularly popular in the collective, sports competitions among workers' families. Most frequently they are held in the hall leased from the Polytechnical Institute and are attended by masses of fans. The results achieved by both parents and children are considered in determining the winners.

In concluding our story on the organization of working and living conditions of the personnel of the association imeni V. Klementi, let us emphasize yet once again that the enterprise enjoys no particular advantages compared with other enterprises. Personnel are not tirelessly on the lookout for improving existing conditions or finding possibilities of doing so. There were no special plans in building the bakery or the treatment room. However, when premises allocated for other purposes were reorganized, it became possible to create additional amenities for the people (for example, a beauty shop was set up in a room, preferred by many of the seamstresses to those in town).

As we know, basements are rarely used efficiently. This collective, however, decided to make them socially useful. An efficient ventilation system was set up, adequate lighting was provided, the walls were painted in pleasant colors, the floors were covered with a plastic lining and comfortable and attractive furniture was procured and a very comfortable premise was the result. It has a billiards room and ping-pong and chess tables. Medical calisthenic exercises are conducted here at specially assigned hours.

The clothing workers are now planning to organize a small cafe in the still unused part of the basement, where young people can relax after their work shifts are over. Unquestionably, like all the others, this plan, too, will be fulfilled.

United Family

During a conversation with personnel from the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee apparatus, the conversation turned to the type of enterprises where one might find good experience in the solution of social problems and where working and living conditions were being steadily improved. I was given the names of several plants and factories. The question arose: Where precisely was work being done which had the greatest impact on the people themselves, on their attitude toward labor, their collective and their fellow workers? The unanimous answer was the study of the example of the Tallin Clothing Production Association imeni V. Klementi. There were no reservations in the statement that this enterprise has become the second home of the collective of clothing workers.

Frankly speaking, I was doubtful at first: Was this not an exaggeration? Actually, expressions such as "collective--family," "home" and "friend and teacher" frequently appear in the press. Alas, sometimes they are not supported by the actual circumstances at the enterprise.

However, having studied the life of the association imeni V. Klementi, I can boldly state that the assessment of the attitudes of the working people toward their enterprise was accurate. Naturally, the use of the concept of "home" to describe production conditions is somewhat metaphorical. However, it is a fact that the people who work here love their enterprise, are proud of it, value their work and share the ideals of the collective.

The results of the work speak for themselves. For seven consecutive years the collective has won the all-union socialist competition of light industry enterprises. Its name has been inscribed on the all-union honor board of the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy. Its output is in great demand. The collective was awarded the Order of Friendship Among the Peoples for results achieved in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The goods produced by the association, which is the main supplier of light clothing in the republic, enjoy tremendous demand! Its dresses, smocks, blouses, jeans, childrens' clothing, mens' raincoats and mens' jackets sell like hotcakes. This is natural, for they are all most fashionable and impeccably made. Every year 70 per cent of the output is renovated (which means that every year 250 new models are introduced), and one-half of the entire output bears the Emblem of Quality.

The clothing workers care for the honor of the collective and their trademark. At a ceremony in which the association was awarded an order, K. V. Lebedev, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, said:

"Your successes, dear comrades, are the result of the selfless efforts of the entire collective. They prove the steadily improving skill of the people, high production standards and a highly conscientious attitude toward the work. Everyone knows that if good work is to be done there must be great desire to improve the production process, to love one's work and to be a patriot."

The feeling of responsibility to the collective and the good attitude toward it are manifested in a variety of ways: in the fact that the people approach the management with their counterplans, and the fact that they answer the call for finding reserves, saving raw and other materials and that they work without stragglers, with specific actions. It is standard behavior to help one's comrade, to substitute for each other and jointly and, above all, with great willingness, to participate in subbotniks dedicated to the improvement and retooling of premises.

As to improving working and living conditions, the workers themselves have done a great deal in this respect. Their active help is seen in the installation of automated equipment which facilitates their work, the transformation of basements into functional and comfortable premises and the efficient work of all social services. The people answer the constant concern for the satisfaction of their needs with concern for meeting the needs of the collective.

At the association imeni V. Klementi I met with two psychologists from Kemerovo. In their own enterprises they are working on the development of a psychological-sociological service for the local clothing factory. This, however, required the study of the experience acquired by light industry enterprises of many cities. That is how they came to be in Tallin. My encounter with them was quite appropriate: it was interesting to compare my impressions with the views of specialists who had already studied the microclimate of several factories.

Here is the summarized view of candidates of psychological sciences N. Ya. Logina and Yu. V. Izyumskiy:

"What is striking in the association is that, whatever their level, the workers are perfectly informed of all current enterprise affairs and of current and long-term

plans. They have a clear idea of their own role in the production process. Anyone we spoke with referred to the collective with a great deal of love and pride. Here feelings of duty, conscience and responsibility have become mobilizing factors. Thanks to the constant attention to people and their needs, the workers feel like members of a 'household collective.' The general conclusion is that a good psychological microclimate has developed in the association, which contributes to the strengthening of collectivistic relations and the achievement of production successes."

This is a high rating. In this connection, let me discuss one problem: frequently in press publications on working and living conditions everything is reduced to material features. Yet production conditions in which people spend such a great deal of time do not merely mean a comfortable workplace or the condition of the bathrooms or the quality of meals served by the plant's cafeteria. The mood of the people is influenced even more strongly by interrelationships, the overall feeling within the collective, the level of human warmth and friendliness. A good moral microclimate is a most important factor which multiplies the strength of the people and make the more effective and faster solution of many production problems possible. Credit for the creation of such a microclimate in this collective goes above all to the party organization. Let us stipulate here that virtually any problem related to improved working and living conditions is resolved here through the joint efforts of the management and the public organizations. Nevertheless, there is a "division of labor." For example, the administration is mostly in charge of industrial aesthetics; the trade union committee is responsible for public catering and recreation; the field of activity of the party organization is the strengthening of collectivistic relations, the development of responsibility to the collective, the unifying of the collective and the creation of the proper atmosphere of interrelationships within it. Together with candidate party members, the party organization numbers about 90 period. It influences the collective not with statements and appeal but with the personal examples of the party members.

Party member El'vi Koolmeyster, a seamstress and specialist of the highest grade, was the first among the clothing workers in the republic to be awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. On the eve of the 26th party congress, answering the questions of a correspondent of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on the vanguard role of the party members, El'vi Koolmeyster said:

"I believe that our productive successes depend on the people, on their attitude toward the work. I have worked in this association for more than 20 years. I have personally witnessed the development of many workers who have become excellent specialists and have earned honors and universal respect. What helped them to become famous? Only their efficient and dedicated work, loyalty to their collective and their profession. When I meet with young people I always emphasize that all of my awards are the result of many years of conscientious labor. One must work with one's heart, with a feeling of high personal responsibility for the quality of one's labor. We cannot work otherwise. All production processes in clothing are interrelated. If someone has done a faulty job and someone else has failed to notice it because of his carelessness and the parts have gone on along the conveyor belt, the finished good will be worthless. This means the waste of the collective efforts of many people. As a party member I consider it my primary obligation precisely to develop this feeling of responsibility for assignments and promote a worker's pride in every member of the collective."

Party member El'vira Maksimova is a seamstress and bearer of the Order of the Red Labor Banner. On the eve of the 26th congress she reported the fulfillment of two five-year norms. As a social activist by inclination--she works as a trade union group organizer--she is active as a member of the quality control group. She heads the brigade council. At the last city party conference she was elected candidate member of the Tall'n city party committee.

Party member Pil'vi Otsmaa is also a seamstress in the same brigade. She is the bearer of the Orders of Labor Glory Second and Third Class. She too dedicates a great deal of effort and time to social work. She is involved in the organization of many collective measures such as recreation evening, sports competitions and concerts.

Such people are the pride of the association. They are the beacons who guide the others. It is precisely they who set the tone in the collective and determine its spiritual atmosphere. It is precisely their example that the party bureau uses in the development of a suitable moral climate.

This is a fine and delicate matter and here constant attention paid to the joys and disappointments of the people and to their spiritual problems is of great importance. The party bureau is particularly concerned with the status of war and labor veterans. Those who have worked at the enterprise no less than 15 years are honored in ceremonies and awarded honor badges. Their names are inscribed in a special honor board. Topic evenings and trips are organized for the veterans.

Actually, the young workers as well are not ignored. The prospectus which is issued to newly hired workers contains the following significant statement: "Welcome to the progressive collective of the association. Here you will engage in interesting work and make good friends." The young men and women quickly realize that this is so. Training teachers, instructors and tutors in the shops help them patiently master all the fine points of their profession. From their very first days the young workers feel the attention and concern of their new comrades in the collective and their active interest in the results of the work of the novices, as well as their constant readiness to support them in major or minor matters. Once every quarter roundtable discussions are sponsored for student seamstresses, attended by the association's director, the heads of the social organizations and the production frontrankers. The first, although still modest, successes of the girls are warmly noted.

The thousand-strong collective never forgets the birthday of even a single person. Every morning the local radio presents congratulations and plays the favorite music of the "newborn." If the person is 50 years old a chorus comes to his shop to sing for him and the association's managers offer their congratulations.

The social organizations use a variety of methods to promote unity within the collective: recreation evenings, competitions for best souvenirs, handcraft exhibits, culture trips and mass travel to recreation centers outside the city.

While closely working on the development of a favorable microclimate, the collective reached the conclusion that no further progress was possible without specialized skills and a scientific approach. Four years ago the association hired a psychologist. Margot Delskiy, a graduate of Tartu University (true, she had already

worked for 3 years at the Khar'yuskiy Rayon Executive Committee) undertook to organize the association's psychological service. Her first task was to study the attitude of the workers at all levels toward their daily assignments. She then worked on adaptation problems: drew up tests for newly hired workers, studied the microclimate in shops and brigades and determined the potential of the people.

Margot Delskiy remembers a memorable event: she was asked to determine the reason for the bad relations which existed between the leader and the members of the Noorus (Youth) Brigade in shop No 2. An unhealthy situation had developed there, labor productivity had declined sharply and the earnings of the young seamstresses had dropped. Initially the psychologist found this a hard assignment. Unanimously the girls claimed that there were no differences in the brigade. It was precisely this that drew her attention. The truth, which was eventually reached, was that the reputation of the girl who had been appointed brigade leader by the administration was considered by her peers to be more than doubtful. However, once this had been determined, it was necessary to find out who could be made an adequately prestigious brigade leader. On the recommendation of the psychologist, the young party member Ludmila Chizhik was appointed head of the brigade, while two excessively "temperamental" girls, who did not like what they considered to be the phlegmatic nature of their fellow workers, were transferred to the neighboring shop. Substantial changes occurred as a result: the brigade began to fulfill its plan and the earnings of the young seamstresses rose to 190 rubles per month. As to relations within the brigade, today they can only be considered as pleasing.

Of late the association has been closely studying the question of why some workers leave the collective. Naturally, some of the reasons are clear: marriage, moving, joining an institute or technical school. However, there are also less obvious reasons.

...A young seamstress submitted her resignation. The reason was the usual: it was for "personal reasons." When such a petition is unexpectedly filed by a leading worker, a person upon whom the fulfillment of the plan at the sector or the shop depends greatly, as a rule an investigation is made as to the reason, while if an inexperienced novice, who must still be carried along, wants to leave, no particular thought is given: if he doesn't want to work, let him go.

The author of the request was not a frontranking worker. However, in this collective it is not usual to let a person go without determining the reason. The seamstress told the same thing to the foreman, trade union organizer, shop chief and representative of the cadre department: "I do not like the work and that is all." The psychologist talked to the worker. She spoke as someone who was concerned, without insistence, showing a personal interest in the girl's life. Suddenly, the girl broke out in tears and told the truth. Apparently, she had been insulted by a fellow worker. To some this may have seemed a trifle, and depending on whose side of the story was considered.... The conflict was settled. The young seamstress was overwhelmed not only by the fact that a woman who was older and more experienced honestly apologized to her but by the fact that it had been done in the presence of the entire brigade and that those around her had displayed their sympathy and sincere involvement. She withdrew her petition.

Characteristically, after this occasion in which it was her own work that had led her fellow worker to make an incautious statement, the young seamstress changed. She tightened up, became more attentive and exacting toward herself and, with the help of her fellow workers, quite quickly reached the level of the leading workers.

However, there is also a reason for resignation to which neither the administration nor representatives of the public can object: when it becomes a question of housing. Quite frequently workers move to other enterprises merely because of the possibility of obtaining an apartment. Alas! The association imeni V. Klementi, to which the majority of the workers are very loyal, is unable to offer such opportunities. It lacks its own construction organization and the funds it receives from the city sovet and the republic's Ministry of Light Industry are minimal. During the previous 5-year period all in all five apartments were allocated to the collective. In 1980 the Tallin workers completed 4,254 apartment units, but not a single one of them went to the clothing workers.

No more than 32 people urgently require better living conditions. However, even this small group (classified here as first-stage needy) would hardly obtain housing until the year 2000 with such a scale of housing allocations unless, naturally, additional measures are taken. We believe that this leading collective deserves greater attention to its needs....

"Everyone knows that people work better and more willingly whenever they feel that constant concern is being devoted to improving their working and living conditions. Wherever it may be, in a plant or on a livestock farm, the place where people spend a minimum of one-third of their lives must be a place where everything is convenient and modern, ranging from the working place to amenities and cafeterias."

The words, expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev from the rostrum of the party forum, define briefly and profoundly the essence of the social problem of "man at work." That which has been accomplished and is being accomplished for the working people under the specific conditions of the Production Association imeni V. Klementi confirms the accuracy of these words most clearly. When the shop becomes a home, the mood is better, the work goes well and the results of the work bring happiness to the people.

Note: this is a good example, and a good example is worth considering.

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UNIVERSITY IN THE HIGHER SCHOOL SYSTEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 58-64

[Article by S. Ambartsumyan, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences academician and rector of the Yerevan State University]

[Text] In the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, while noting the successes achieved by the Soviet higher and secondary specialized education system, also drew attention to the need for its radical improvement. This means "above all, the quality of teaching and strengthening ties with production. Fuller use must be made of the scientific potential of VUZs in which nearly one-half of our doctors and candidates of sciences are concentrated. As the national economy develops demand for cadres with one or another skill changes. This means that the system of planning cadre training in the VUZs must react to such changes sensitively."

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and Through 1990," passed by the congress, defines a comprehensive program of higher school activities under contemporary conditions. The higher school must maintain an effective tie between science and the requirements of the national economy, which is intensively developing in all sectors, and train for it broad specialists who combine theoretical knowledge with the ability to resolve practical problems on a highly skilled basis.

Long practical experience has indicated that universities, as the leading training-methodical and scientific centers of the higher schools, play a particular role in the implementation of these assignments. This is understandable, for the universities are training cadres not only for the various economic sectors but for the entire educational system (including the higher schools themselves) and for science. They are engaged in extensive research also. It is precisely the universities that have the greatest potential for developing and recommending new ways and means for combining training with scientific research and for active participation in the solution of major social, economic, ecological and other problems of one or another area or of the country as a whole.

The Yerevan State University, which is of the same age as the republic, has trained more than 35,000 highly skilled workers for the various economic sectors in the course of its existence. In terms of its training-educational and scientific potential, Yerevan University is one of the leading VUZs in the country and it is entirely understandable that the requirements of the party in the area of science and education are directed above all to universities such as ours.

The purposeful organization of the training of the students depends, above all, on the efficient division of the entire VUZ training curriculum in the general scientific and specialized disciplines and the successful practical training of the students. It has long been pointed out at various conferences and in the press that unresolved problems exist in this area. It has been pointed out in particular that little time is being assigned to the study of disciplines related to the future profession and that frequently practical student training is based on obsolete curricula and occasionally reduced to work in construction detachments. It is no accident that many enterprises, scientific institutions, ministries, departments and other organizations criticize many VUZs for the quality of student training. It would be expedient to review the curricula in to determine efficiently the ratio between the teaching of the various disciplines and the type of specialization of VUZs and universities. Specialized VUZs should pay greater attention to the study of disciplines within a narrow professional range. Universities which train a broad range of cadres should pay considerable attention to the teaching of general scientific and basic subjects.

Contemporary integration trends between the natural and social sciences have formulated new requirements regarding the existing traditional disciplinary structure in the organization of science and education, including university work. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress stipulate that "interaction among social, natural, and technical sciences must be intensified." In the light of this requirement, it seems to us that one of the urgent tasks facing university education is to coordinate the departmental and discipline principle in the organization of cadre training and instruction with the new integration trends in science. The formulation of unified scientific-integrational interdepartmental university training curricula may contribute to the solution of this problem.

We have already earmarked initial steps in this direction. In recent years special courses on the methodological problems of information and on social and natural sciences are being offered by the philosophy department of the school of history. Since the range of problems covered in the special course is of interest to virtually all faculties, the rectorate to broaden considerably student attendance and make such subjects interdepartmental.

The optional organization of similar specialized courses, of interest to representatives of many fields of knowledge, can be easily achieved. Here everything depends on the level of the lectures, the properly organized information, the number of hours and efficient scheduling.

The task of upgrading the quality of specialist training also requires radical changes in the planning of VUZ enrollment. We know that currently enrollment plans are essentially drafted automatically, as a rule on the basis of local needs for cadres in one or another area. However, the country's interests dictate that such plans for each individual VUZ be based on its specific nature, availability of proper professorial-teaching personnel, level of scientific development and available training and scientific facilities.

Thus, Soviet Armenia has good schools for mathematicians, machine engineers, physicists, astrophysicists, chemists, biochemists, philologists, historians, philosophers, archeologists and others. However, in a small republic the need for cadres in such areas is far below the potential of its VUZs. It would be desirable

for the proper authorities to direct on a planned basis a certain number of young people from other parts of the country to our university. In turn, we would like cadre training in VUZs throughout the country in the areas of the Russian language, history and culture of the fraternal peoples, a number of foreign languages, art, economic organization and management and others.

The sociopolitical significance of this approach to VUZ cadre training is that in the case of a considerable percentage of young people more favorable conditions will be created which will enable them to become directly acquainted with the life, history and culture of fraternal peoples, develop in them a feeling of profound reciprocal respect and promote socialist internationalism.

A similar approach would be expedient in the training of highly skilled scientific-pedagogical cadres through postgraduate studies. We know that together with academic institute, universities play a leading role in this area. Their successes are obvious. With every passing, however, the need for highly skilled cadres rises. Many scientific institutions and VUZs need scientists and teachers with degrees. Today there is a shortage of highly qualified scientific workers and teachers not only in the outlying areas but in many big cities as well. One of the reasons for this situation, in our view, is the insufficiently planned organization of the enrollment of postgraduate students. For example, the VUZs formulate their plans for postgraduate study enrollement on the basis of the suggestions of the chairs, which draw up their requests for the number of postgraduate students as a rule only on the basis of their own needs for cadres. In frequent cases such requests are submitted exclusively for prestige purposes. Obviously, if this shortcoming is to be eliminated, we must abandon this "equalizing" approach to planning the enrollment of postgraduate students. It is a question of enrolling postgraduate students in specific scientific directions by VUZs which can ensure skilled scientific guidance and have the proper technical facilities. In this connection, the practice of target postgraduate studies must be expanded.

In calling for improvements in the cadre training system in accordance with economic requirements, the 26th party congress paid particular attention to the need for specialists for the newly developed parts of the country. The congress called for rallying the efforts of all union republics for the accelerated solution of the party's comprehensive program for the development of the North, Siberia, Far East and Nonchernozem of the RSFSR. Understandably, our universities must answer the party's call above all through specific accomplishments. Obviously, the annual enrollment plans of universities and of other republic VUZs must stipulate the training of specialist cadres for these areas.

The establishment of a more efficient ratio between the number of students and teachers in VUZs is an important aspect of improving the work in the higher schools. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and On Upgrading the Quality of Specialist Training" calls for a gradual lowering of the student-teacher ratio. However, here again we must not allow the development of routine or a purely mechanical approach. It seems to us that we must take into consideration not only the teaching load of the instructors but, above all, their scientific research activities and the scientific potential of the specific VUZ. In this case, with a view to upgrading the role of universities as leading training-methodical and scientific centers of the higher school, not only to lower somewhat their student enrollment plan, without a reduction in the size of the faculty. The trend toward opening new universities in various parts of the

country regardless of whether or not that precise university (and not any given VUZ) has the specifically needed teaching cadres and scientific and technical facilities, could hardly be considered justified. There are universities which can successfully resolve the problem of training highly skilled specialists and develop science. We must take into consideration that under contemporary conditions of steadily increasing requirements concerning science and higher education, the individual university cannot become a full and comprehensive scientific and training center. Obviously, while meeting general requirements, it must become the leading institution while retaining its specific features in certain scientific areas.

Such directions and assignments are dictated by the overall trends in the development of education and science, the opportunities for the development of specific trends of scientific research, the characteristics of the development of the economy of a republic or kray within the single economic complex of the country, the historical and cultural characteristics of the people and, finally, the availability of scientific cadres and the theoretical interests of the leading scientists of a given university.

At Yerevan University research is conducted in close cooperation with the institutes of the academies of sciences of the USSR and the individual republics. Here the foundations of a very effective form of cooperation have been laid, based on the following formula: university, academy of sciences, sectorial institute and industry. Many examples of this could be cited. Thus, our university's chair of radiophysics and electronics is fruitfully cooperating with the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Radiophysics and Electronics; the molecular physics and biophysics chair is cooperating with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Biology, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and of the Soyuzglavkabel' All-Union Production Association and so on.

Practical experience has confirmed that this form of cooperation among VUZs, academic institutes, ministries and enterprises is most promising and that it must be comprehensively supported and developed. Obviously, this calls for the formulation of unified programs for comprehensive research in accordance with the specific features of all performers, ranging from VUZs to industry. Actually, we are directed to this by the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, which stipulates: "To ensure the development and implementation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and of target programs for the solution of most important scientific and technical problems."

The further expansion of relations between the higher school and academic and sectorial scientific research institutions largely depends on the purposeful coordination of their activities. Of late increasing attention has been paid to this problem. In order to improve this important project it appears expedient to organize such coordination on the basis of target planning. It is a question of assigning studies based on a respective program to academic institutes for university chairs and laboratories, clearly and specifically naming the leading coordinating organization, based on the availability of leading scientists and of the scientific potential of the scientific research institute or VUZ in one or another scientific area. All forms and directions of activities of such organizations must be included in the state plan.

In recent years inter-VUZ centers for service in scientific research have begun to be established in the country. Here once again the universities play the leading role and again, depending on the scientific potential and the material and technical facilities of the university, such centers could serve not only individual republics, oblasts or cities (in which they are located) but, in terms of specific directions of research, other parts of the country as well. Therefore, the common interests call for the concentration of funds and the strengthening of material and technical facilities for the creation of inter-VUZ scientific research centers, above all in universities. We consider this one of the most important conditions for the successful solution of the party's task of raising the level of effectiveness of scientific research in higher educational institutions.

One of the real ways for strengthening inter-VUZ cooperation and the ties between VUZs and academic institutes, as the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree we mentioned stipulates, is the involvement of academicians, corresponding members and other leading scientists in scientific research in higher educational institutions. In this respect positive experience, practically tried and approved by the CC CPSU, in the organization of effective cooperation between Novosibirsk State University and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian department, may be drawn upon. We know that for many years a large detachment of noted scientists from the Siberian department has been steadily combining their work in academic institutions with participation in the training process and management of scientific work done by students of Novosibirsk State University. Of late this experience has been successfully applied at Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk State Universities. However, in the case of most VUZs the holding of combined jobs by academic scientists and major production specialists faces certain difficulties. The existing procedure for holding dual positions is regulated by a USSR Council of Ministers decree which was passed more than 20 years ago. This procedure does not make it possible to ensure the leading participation of many top scientists in the scientific and educational work of VUZs, which is something so greatly needed today.

Increasing the cooperation between universities and other major VUZs with academies of sciences and production collectives will contribute to the successful implementation of the task set by the 26th CPSU Congress of ensuring the more effective utilization of the potential of VUZs in the implementation of most important scientific and technical and socioeconomic programs and in accelerating the practical utilization of results of scientific research.

Yerevan State University scientists are maintaining and strengthening relations with labor collectives and production associations in our republic and other parts of the country. The work conducted by all problem and sectorial laboratories and by a considerable number of university chairs calls for the solution of problems of immediate interest to the national economy. About 70 of the many scientific research topics worked on at Yerevan State University are most important in terms of the production process. Some of them have been included in the plans for the economic and social development of the republic and of the country. Studies conducted on the basis of economic contracts with various ministries, departments, production enterprises and scientific institutions are increasing with every passing year. In 1980 alone the actual economic results of the practical utilization of scientific studies conducted by our university exceeded 5 million rubles.

Although some successes have been achieved, we can also see the many shortcomings and unused reserves in our work. We have not as yet seen to it that the teaching of all disciplines is conducted on the basis of the maximal reflection of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. In some cases the lectures are not on the required professional and ideological-theoretical level. Scientific research projects in many social departments are abstract and unrelated to the topical problems of economic and social development. Major omissions exist in postgraduate training and so on.

The practical utilization of the results of scientific research is the weakest point in the organization of the interaction between science and production. The point is that until recently some ministries, enterprises or even individual scientists did not show proper responsibility concerning the prompt practical utilization of scientific achievements. Practical experience indicates that, as a rule, chairs and laboratories carry out their contractual work on time and that such work is highly rated by the clients. However, subsequently nothing is done for months or even years. By some strange logic accountability for application and actual effectiveness is required only from VUZs and not from customers. We believe that proper responsibility must be specifically assigned to each of the contracting parties. This will be consistent with the general instruction issued by the 26th congress: "To upgrade the responsibility of ministries and departments for the level of research in scientific institutions and to ensure the fastest possible practical utilization of the results of completed scientific developments and inventions."

Naturally, it is not a question of the scientific institutions, laboratories and chairs to consider their task as completed after completing one or another research assignment. We must help the enterprises in the accelerated practical application of such developments for, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the congress, "science itself must be a constant 'disturber of tranquillity,' indicate the sectors which have become stagnant and fallen behind and sectors in which the contemporary level of knowledge makes it possible to move ahead faster and more successfully."

In order to accelerate the practical utilization of the achievements of VUZ science in the national economy, 3 years ago Yerevan University organized a design bureau on a cost-effectiveness basis. By establishing in this bureau engineering, design and technological services and creating the necessary material and technical facilities, we made it possible to ensure on a contemporary level the development of technological processes, instruments and systems applicable in various industrial and scientific sectors. Such a form of organization of development within a VUZ seems to us to be very effective, for it enables us to close the research-development-experimental production cycle and to upgrade the responsibility of VUZ scientists in making the results of their studies applicable and considerably shorten application time.

Let us also emphasize the major positive influence which all of this has on the training process. The latest scientific and engineering developments are used in training laboratories, thus considerably facilitating the question of supplying them with modern equipment. The students, who are most actively involved in such developments, are given the opportunity not only to become familiar with the organization of the experiment but to act as full-grown performers, thus acquiring specific practical work skills. Having analyzed this experience, we deem it necessary to organize under VUZ design bureaus the development and production of

specialized laboratory training systems. This matter requires clear coordination with the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

The creation of scientific research sectors at the leading VUZs in the country and granting them in a number of cases the status of scientific research institutes would greatly contribute to the further enhancement of the scientific potential of the universities.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the steady broadening of the scale of socioeconomic and ideological and political tasks, improving the management system assumes increasing importance. This was pointed out at the 26th party congress, which earmarked a comprehensive program for the further improvement of the organization structure of management and of the ways and means of activity of administrative organs. Understandably, the implementation of this program would be impossible without the specific training of corresponding cadres.

We know that after long discussions on this matter a Management Institute was created in Moscow. The various ministries offer courses on upgrading the skills of leading personnel. However, one or two VUZs and short courses could hardly resolve the problem of training management cadres in the entire country. For quite some time the problem of introducing a course in management of science in all VUZs and secondary specialized schools has been under discussion. In practical terms, however, little has been done. Meanwhile, the study of management problems by every student is becoming an urgent necessity in the current stage of VUZ cadre training. It is unquestionable that not only management cadres but all specialists must be familiar with the foundations of scientific management. Furthermore, reality demands of the VUZs that they undertake the training of highly skilled management cadres. The universities can assume a leading position in the solution of this problem as well. We believe it necessary for the country's universities to open respective departments for studies by those who have successfully graduated from other VUZs and have displayed the ability to engage in organizational management work. Understandably, the training period in such departments could be considerably shorter.

The training of management cadres, along with mastering the Leninist science of management, must include the ideological and moral upbringing of the students. This task becomes very topical under developed socialist conditions, when "along with major social and economic changes an active process is underway of shaping the best human qualities--the qualities of a member of the communist society."

The universities play a special role in the ideological training of the students. They have a widespread network of social science and humanities departments and extensive facilities for upgrading the skills of teachers and providing theoretical and methodical aid to social sciences department of other VUZs. The universities must also supply highly skilled teaching cadres to such departments throughout the country.

Naturally, the ideological training of cadres cannot be reduced merely to mastering theory. The main thing is for the professional knowledge and Marxist-Leninist outlook of the students to be successfully applied in their practical activity. In other words, in the course of their training and ideological upbringing in the VUZ, firm foundations must be laid for the unification of knowledge, convictions and practical activities.

Let us emphasize, in conclusion, that the vital tasks facing the higher school, formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, can be successfully implemented on the basis of the comprehensive consideration of the specific nature of each VUZ and, on this basis, upgrading VUZ responsibility for the solution of specific problems, from the enrollment of students and the organization of the training process to scientific research and its practical application.

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ORGANIC INTEGRITY AND DYNAMISM OF SOCIOCLASS RELATIONS AT THE STAGE OF MATURE SOCIALISM

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[Article by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member M. Rutkevich]

[Text] The concept of mature socialism as a legitimate historical stage in the course of the establishment of communism was formulated on the basis of the summation of the historical experience acquired in the building of a new society in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity in the 1960's-1970's. The most important element of this concept is the scientific definition of the trend of the development of the social structure of the socialist society. The profound study of the contemporary condition of this structure and of the classes and social groups of which it consists was provided at the 26th CPSU Congress. Its historical documents show the prospects for the further rapprochement among classes and social groups and formulate the thesis that "the establishment of a classless social structure in its main and essential features will take place within the historical framework of mature socialism." The contemporary working class was and remains the leading force in this process.

In his article "Historical Landmark on the Way to Communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev characterized developed socialism as a stage of maturity reached by the new society "in which the reorganization of the sum total of social relations on the basis of collectivistic principles inherent in socialism is completed." He named as characteristics acquired by the social system at the mature socialist stage organic integrity and dynamism. We shall consider here these general characteristics of the social system of mature socialism as applicable to the realm of socioclass relations. As we know, these relations are the pivot of the system of social relations as a whole, leaving their mark on all fields of social life.

The concept of organic integrity in the characterization of a society began to be applied in the middle of the 19th century. Currently it is extensively used in sociological and philosophical literature, both Marxist and bourgeois.

Following the discovery of the cellular structure of the organism as the basis of its differentiation into organs, tissues and cells, on the one hand, and the role of regulators (including the nervous system), on the other, which ensure the coordinated interaction among all parts and systems within the organism and their integration, the concept of organic integrity became extensively applied in biology. It was also "tried" in the characterization of the equally striking integrity of the social

organism, i.e., of society. Here, however, two conflicting lines became apparent, which are confronting each other to this day.

The so-called "organic theory" in bourgeois sociology, which originated in the second half of the 19th century, tried to explain social life on the basis of an analogy with the activities of the individual organism or else according to the laws governing relations within and among species. The actual laws of social life and the replacement of one historical age by another were and remain outside such considerations.

However, this concept assumed its place in the conceptual system of the scientific sociology developed by K. Marx and F. Engels on the basis of their dialectical-materialistic views of society.

Let us note two basic distinctions in the concept of "organic integrity" as understood by Marxism and by bourgeois sociology. First of all, Marxism considers society a qualitatively higher form of structural organization and movement of matter compared with organic life, and the laws of social life as essentially distinct from any biological law. Therefore, the concept of "organic integrity," as applied to society, assumes an additional meaning (compared with biology), which takes this specific feature into consideration. Secondly, Marx' most important discovery was his substantiated view of social history as a process of change of socioeconomic formation, a process characterized by progress in the structure of social systems. The study of social history conducted by Marx, V. I. Lenin pointed out "indicates that social organisms are as different from each other as those of plants and animals" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 167).

It is precisely in connection with the study of the process of the breakdown of feudalism and the establishment of the capitalist production method that in his 1857-1859 economic manuscripts Marx turned to the concept of organic integrity. "Whereas in the complete bourgeois system," he wrote, "each economic relation presumes another relation in a bourgeois-economic form and, therefore, a given is also a prerequisite, the same takes place in any...organic system" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 41, prt I, p 229). He then pointed out the more general order which must be taken into consideration in the study of ways of establishment of the organic integrity of a separate social organism such as the socialist society. "This organic system itself as a single entity," Marx pointed out, "has its prerequisites and its development toward integrity consists precisely of the subordination to itself of all social elements or the creation from it of the organs it is short of. It is thus that in the course of its historical development the system becomes integral. The establishment of such an integrity by the system is one of the features of its development" (ibid).

Under socialism the organic integrity of the social relations system is qualitatively different from all preceding types of social organisms, including capitalism, regardless of the level of technical and economic development. The foundations of an organic integrity of a new type, inherent in socialism, were laid in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. By the end of the 1930's the USSR had built a society which consisted of elements of a different social nature: a socialist working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia. At the same time, a new type of relations developed among them, based on a coincidence of the fundamental economic and political interests. The decisions of the 18th VKP(b)

Congress, held in 1939, noted that with the victory of socialism "the foundation for the moral and political unity of Soviet society was created."

Unquestionably, such basic features of the system of socioclass socialist relations exist in the USSR today as well. However, prerequisites and foundations of organic integrity are one thing, while such an integrity as a distinguishing feature is another. Over the past 40 years the new society was able to cover a great distance. Let us note, however, that the process of the growth of the organic integrity of socioclass relations in the USSR is continuing and is taking place in the course of the struggle against phenomena alien to socialism and with contradictions and difficulties.

According to Marx, the heroic working class is the "backbone" and the "social mind and social heart" of all social changes. The most important change in the social structure of our society over the past 40 years has been the rapid increase in the number and share of workers in the country's population. Whereas before the war workers with their families accounted for more than one-third of the population, they account for three-fifths today. The working class has become dominant in terms of size in both town and country. The qualitative growth of the working class is even more impressive. Its educational and skill standards have risen and so has its social activeness. The revolutionary ideology, collectivistic mentality, communist ideals and socialist interests of the working class are the leading force of our society and a feature made available to the entire society. It is precisely the progressive Soviet workers who are displaying today the characteristics which will be typical of the working person of the future classless society. The conversion of the Soviet economy from extensive to intensive development will trigger in the future certain changes in the pace of the quantitative growth of the working class while at the same time it will encourage its further qualitative growth.

In the course of the establishment of developed socialism in our country, major changes have taken place in the social aspects of the kolkhoz peasantry. Compared with 1939 its numerical strength after the war, on their request, formulated at general kolkhoz meetings, some of the kolkhozes became sovkhozes, because these kolkhozes had become weakened and could not progress without state aid; that segment of the kolkhoz peasantry became sovkhoz workers. The country's industrialization demanded the migration to the cities of the rural population, which was made available thanks to the mechanization of labor in agricultural production. This was a progressive and a natural process. The offspring of the Soviet peasantry played and continue to play an important role as sources of reinforcement of the working class and of the socialist intelligentsia. In the 1960's and 1970's the migration from town to country, based on the insufficiently high pace of development of labor productivity in the towns, on the one hand, and the even more significant lagging of the countryside in the cultural area, on the other, worsened the problem of manpower resources in the countryside in many parts of the country, above all in the Russian Nonchernozem. Apparently, although on a lesser scale, the migration of the rural population to the cities will continue in the immediate future as well. However, the main way to the elimination of class disparities is the industrialization of agricultural production, a rapprochement between the work of the kolkhoz member and that of the worker, the cultural upsurge of the countryside and the accelerated growth of the well-being of its working people. The kolkhoz-cooperative form of ownership proved its vitality in the course of the decades of existence of a kolkhoz system in the USSR and will continue to develop and to come closer to the

nationwide form of ownership. Over the past decades it is precisely the process of intensive rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership that has been characteristic, in particular thanks to the development of interfarm organizations. The changes in the social structure of the countryside enabled the 26th congress to reach the basic conclusion that a process was currently underway of the elimination of disparities between the social status of workers and peasants.

Today the intelligentsia is the fastest growing stratum of the Soviet population. Its growth rates are based on the requirements of scientific and technical progress and the development of health care, education and culture. Therefore, the process of rapprochement among the basic social groups is developing against the background of the substantial changes which are taking place in the population's class structure and the increasing role of the working class. The process of elimination of boundaries between classes and social strata is affecting all major socioeconomic characteristics indicated by Lenin in his familiar definition of classes on the basis of their position within a historically defined social production system, attitude toward productive capital, role in the social organization of labor and means for earning and size of the share of the earned national wealth (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 15). The same process is noted in the superstructural area, affecting the level of the sociopolitical activeness of the working people, their awareness of the law and observance of legal norms, the extent and nature of their adoption of a communist outlook and their behavior in the sociopsychological area. All of these processes are developing on a parallel basis although not entirely evenly.

The strengthening of the organic integrity of the system of socioclass relations is expressed in the elimination of interclass and intraclass disparities, i.e., in the growth of the homogeneity of the system considered as an entity.

Soviet sociological literature has analyzed the inner structure of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia and proved that under contemporary conditions the social characteristic is still part of the distinction among the individual strata and the detachments of which they consist. The rapprochement between the working class, on the one hand, and the kolkhoz peasantry, the employees and the specialists, on the other, is inseparable from the further consolidation of the working class itself and the elimination of social disparities among the individual workers' detachments, engaged in basic public production sectors on the one hand and among its strata classified according to skill on the other. The main detachments of the working class are its industrial nucleus, i.e., workers in industry, construction and transportation; a big agrarian detachment; and workers employed in services. The existence of social strata within the working class is determined by socioeconomic labor disparities. This applies to highly skilled, skilled (averagely skilled), underskilled and unskilled workers.

The kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia also retain a certain social heterogeneity. Some differences have been preserved in the countryside among the basic detachments of kolkhoz members in crop growing and animal husbandry; let us particularly single out members of cooperatives engaged in fishing and hunting and in cattle pasturing in mountainous, steppe and semidesert areas. Under contemporary conditions kolkhoz peasantry strata such as mechanizers, machine milkers and so on have been given solid vocational training. However, to this day the kolkhoz peasantry includes a considerable stratum of workers without any clear specialization or professional training, doing manual labor.

The most complex structure is that of the army of mental workers. Essentially, they may be classified into two social groups: employees-nonspecialists (those whom a survey would not classify as employees) and specialists. Usually "specialists" are intellectual workers who require high-level specialized knowledge, acquired in a technical school or a VUZ, in order to fulfill their professional functions; a certain percentage of specialist position in the national economic and cultural sectors are held by individuals without the corresponding diploma, the so-called "practitioners."

The disparity between the two basic groups of intellectual workers today remains social, for it is related to the performance of jobs of different complexity and, therefore, wage differences. The group of specialists itself has a rather complex structure, for it includes a variety of strata and detachments of different skills (engineering and technical workers, physicians, educators and so on). Let us also take into consideration differences between performing and highly skilled mental work and organizational work. The fastest growing stratum is that of specialists with a higher education: from 0.9 million in 1940 to 12.1 million in 1980, i.e., an increase of more than a factor of 13 in 40 years.

The growth of the organic integrity of the working class and of its social homogeneity is inseparable from the growth of the social homogeneity of society at large. Thus, the rapprochement between the working class and kolkhoz peasantry is, in terms of the nature and conditions of labor, also a rapprochement between its agrarian detachment, which numbers about 11 million working people, and its industrial nucleus, as well as a rapprochement between agricultural workers and kolkhoz members. This process is based on changed conditions and nature of labor, the role of the private auxiliary plot in the family income, the qualificational breakdown, living conditions, cultural standard, labor discipline, organization of labor and attitude toward labor and so on, i.e., it is a process which covers all known aspects of life. The social distance separating sovkhov workers and kolkhoz members is in many respects less than that between sovkhov workers and workers in a big urban industrial enterprise.

The second direction involves the existence of a considerable and rapidly expanding detachment employed in material services in the ranks of the working class. In 1979, 8 percent of the entire population was working in trade, public catering, material and technical supplies and marketing, and procurements, while 4 percent were employed in the housing-communal economy and consumer services.

This detachment of workers numbers no less than 10 million people and its structure is quite disparate. It consists essentially of workers in trade (salesclerks and auxiliary workers), public catering (cooks, waiters) and consumer services (workers in public baths, barbershops, repair shops and so on). Although the level of labor industrialization at trade, public catering and service enterprises is gradually rising, so far it has remained incomparably below that of industry. Furthermore, this area is characterized by the small size of its collectives. The average labor collective at trade and public catering enterprises is approximately 7 people; in services it is about 10. In terms of the conditions and nature of the work and its organization and labor discipline, habits and level of awareness, this working class detachment is quite different from workers in big industrial enterprises and is far closer to employees and specialists in the service industry (cashiers,

bookkeepers, accountants, managers of stores and reception centers, hotel managers and so on). The gradual rapprochement between them and the working class as a whole is inseparable from the process of surmounting social disparities within the working class itself--between its main nucleus, i.e., the industrial workers and workers in the service industry).

The third direction is the rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia. The closest detachment of the intelligentsia is the one employed in material production. It is part of the same labor collectives facing joint assignments in the implementation of production plans. Engineering and technical workers (ITR), who account for a considerable share of the personnel (in industry approximately 14 percent of the entire industrial-production personnel) are the closest to the industrial nucleus of the working class. Today, in terms of many social indicators the ITR are closer to the highly skilled segment of the working class than to specialists employed in other sectors such as education or health care. That is why the rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia could be properly interpreted only as a process of rapprochement between workers, particularly the highly skilled stratum of the working class and the ITR, and between the production intelligentsia and its other detachments.

The organic integrity of the socioclass structure of the socialist society is strengthened also through the gradual elimination of essentially nonsocialist elements. This applies in particular to petty producers such as private farmers and noncorporated artisans. In 1939 they accounted for 2.6 percent of the population; by the end of the 1970's their number had been reduced to such an extent as to be indicated in statistical references with the symbolic figure of 0.0 percent. Nevertheless, according to the USSR Constitution (Article 17) private labor activities remain fully accessible to the citizens (under the law).

Let us point out that engaging in private work is not necessarily related to the private ownership of capital assets. Tutoring, for example, which has become quite widespread, particularly in VUZ centers, presumes as a prerequisite that the person providing such a service has the proper knowledge and experience and sometimes the necessary contacts, used with a view to "facilitating" the enrollment of "his" students in one or another VUZ. There is also some small-scale industry at home, outside of work, based on private orders (sewing, embroidery, repairing household appliances and others). Occasionally, such work is done during working time as well with the use of state- or kolkhoz-owned tools and materials. In this aspect "on the side," small-scale production is a phenomenon whose nature is alien to socialism, for it may become the source of unearned income. Such income may also be earned from black marketeering in scarce goods, bribery or other criminal actions. Our society still has a certain number of parasites. The 26th CPSU Congress called for increasing the struggle against all such phenomena and their carriers. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "the avoidance of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This means that all opportunities for parasitism, bribery, black marketeering and unearned income and for any other encroachments on socialist property must be stopped with the help of all available organizational, financial and juridical means."

Let us particularly point out a form of small-scale production such as private plots. The population category engaged exclusively in their cultivation is diminishing rapidly. The bulk of the work in the production of farm goods from private plots

today is that of retired people, students and individuals working in public production but allocating some of their free time for such purposes.

The private plots of kolkhoz members, workers and employees living in rural areas, urban suburbs and workers' settlements play an important role in the country's food balance. In 1980 they accounted for 31 percent of the gross meat production, 30 percent of the milk, 32 percent of the eggs, 33 percent of the vegetables and 64 percent of the potatoes.

The main purpose of such plots is to serve as an additional source of food for the family, for which reason they are described as private, similar to a family farm. However, they produce substantial commodity surpluses. In 1979 the private plots accounted for 12 percent of the entire amount of farm goods marketed in the USSR, including 14 percent of the meat and 43 percent of the potatoes. To the extent to which the products grown on private plots are sold to the state or the consumer cooperatives or else on the kolkhoz market, this represents a certain element of small-scale commodity production. The private plots are still necessary and will remain needed for quite some time as an additional food source.

The September 1977 and January 1981 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions are aimed at the comprehensive support of citizens cultivating their private plots and the development of truck gardening cooperatives of workers and employees, which include about 9 million families today.

All of this represents a substantial addition to our overall food supplies. On the other hand, the farm essentially oriented toward the market offers the opportunity of selling surplus produce at prices inconsistent with labor outlays, particularly when bread and groats are purchased in stores at government prices but used for cattle feed, or when feed is stolen from kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Such phenomena harm society. We must also bear in mind the fact that the private plots are mainly market oriented, which, given the shortage of one or another product, frequently involves black marketeering.

The main trend in the development of the private plots is their transformation into a kind of "supplementary shop" of kolkhoz-sovkhos production. This is supported by the increasing help to citizens to farm the land, supply their privately owned cattle with feed and organize commodity purchases in the rural areas. Some experience has been acquired in the direct participation of such plots in public production on the basis of contracts for raising poultry and cattle belonging to kolkhozes and sovkhoses, with feed procured from public stocks and allocation of additional land for the sowing of feed crops or hay mowing. Such practices contribute not only to the growth of production effectiveness in citizens' private plots but to surmounting the negative phenomena we mentioned.

The conclusion is that the increased organic integrity of the system of socialist socioclass relations means the growth of common elements shared by the basic social groups (the elements of the system) and the strata and detachments of which they consist ("subelements" of the system). At the same time, a process of elimination of interclass and intraclass disparities and of upgrading the level of social homogeneity as a whole takes place.

The organic integrity of the system of ~~social~~ class relations in the mature socialist society is inseparable from another one of its features--the dynamism of all social relations. This rather extensively used term is usually defined as the wealth of dynamics and saturation with action.

The concept of the dynamism in nature and in social processes was established together with the acknowledgment of the universality of motion as an attribute of matter and as the rejection of the mechanistic concept of motion as a simple movement of eternally unchanged particles. The results of the development of the natural sciences in this area in the 19th century were summed up in Marxist philosophy. "Motion as applied to matter means general change," Engels pointed out. He applied this definition to all forms of motion, including its superior aspect--social life (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 563).

The view that social history is a process was imposed upon social science by the course of history itself and by the ever more tangible acceleration of social development in the age of capitalism. Here again the radical difference between the Marxist and the bourgeois approaches became apparent. "In the 20th century (starting with the end of the 19th century) 'everyone agrees with the principle of development.' Yes, but this is a superficial, hasty, accidental and philistine 'agreement,' a kind of agreement which suppresses and debases the truth," was the way Lenin characterized this attitude taken by the bourgeois ideologues toward the principle of development ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 229). It was precisely Lenin who provided the classic formulation of the problem of the true concept of development. In his words, the first, the metaphysical one, is "dead, pale, dry," whereas the second, the Marxist, is "vital" (ibid, p 317).

Modern bourgeois science--sociological, political or economic--willingly acknowledges the dynamism and change of social processes in our stormy age. It was no accident that the main topic of the latest Ninth World Sociological Congress (Uppsala, 1978) was "Ways of Social Development." However, bourgeois science considers development as a process which is taking place within the limits of a strictly defined system of social relations, using the concept of "dynamism" most frequently simply to describe the pace of economic growth measured in terms of quantitative indicators such as the growth of the gross national product, production, consumption, per capita income and so on. This understanding (as any other one-sided view) has an element, a "bit" of truth. The dynamism of development does presume the growth of production forces and therefore of the gross national product and of production, consumption and income. However, the Marxist understanding of development in general and the dynamism of the development process in particular are incomparably fuller and broader, as we pointed out.

In dialectical materialism the overall progressive development of the forms of dynamics of matter on our planet, including society, is an unquestionable fact. The history of mankind has been accelerating with every passing stage. The slaveowning society existed for thousands of years; the feudal lasted several centuries and the bourgeois society, which was relatively young even in Western Europe and the United States in the middle of the 19th century, is already aware of its doom. Lenin pointed out that "it is only socialism that will mark the beginning of a fast, real and truly mass progress in all areas of public and private life with the participation of the majority of the population and, subsequently, of the entire population" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, pp 99-100). This Leninist prediction has been fully confirmed by the entire course of the building of socialism and communism in the USSR and the increased power of world socialism.

The dynamism of the development of the system of socialist social relations and of its organic integrity is distinguished by a very specific feature which is manifested above all in the fact that under mature socialist conditions the economic and social progress of society is accelerated substantially. The reason for this is that the exploiting classes have been eliminated and that the classes, social groups, strata and detachments of working people are acquiring an increasing number of common features based on their objective status and of its interests. These interests are profoundly interpreted in the party's documents, which are reflected in its policy. The increased role of the party, of the subjective factor at large, is a general law in the development of socialism.

Furthermore, the antagonistic nature of social progress is eliminated under socialism. Today, the dynamism of social development is manifested not only in achieving higher production growth rates compared with capitalism, in which inequality among classes and peoples is intensified; under socialism, particularly in its mature stage, the absence of exploitation and oppression of one class by another or of one nation by another and the rule of collectivism and mutual aid among the classes and nations lay the foundations for the gradual elimination of all vestiges of social inequality.

The growing dynamism of social relations in the mature socialist stage is manifested most directly in the accelerated process of the elimination of social disparities. The characteristic feature of the dynamism of social processes in the mature socialist society is found in the fact that the remaining disparities among social groups in the basic indicators which characterize the level of material well-being and culture are surmounted not by "averaging" them, i.e., by raising the living standard of some social groups at the expense of others, but on the basis of a general upsurge and in such a way that these indicators show their fastest growth in population groups which have remained below average for historical reasons. In other words, under socialist conditions, particularly at the mature socialist stage, the dynamic development and progress of production forces and culture is progress in the condition and the interest of all working people.

Real worker and employee income per working person quadrupled in the USSR between 1940 and 1980, while the income of kolkhoz members rose by a factor of 6.9. As a result of the important social steps taken in recent years, the real income of kolkhoz members has become closer to that of workers and employees. The introduction of guaranteed wages in kolkhozes and the uniform system of pensions and social insurance were of major importance. Compared to the real income of workers and employees, per household member, the level of real kolkhoz member income rose from 75 percent in 1965 to 89 percent in 1980. The incomes of physical and mental workers employed in the national economy have become closer to each other as well. Thus, if we consider the worker wage as equally 100, in 1940 it was 215 for engineering and technical personnel in industry and 111 for employees (in the narrow meaning of the term, health specialists essentially). The respective figures for 1980 were 115 and 79.

This trend is characteristic also of processes occurring within the main social groups: the income of less prosperous families is growing at a faster pace compared with that of the population as a whole. The extensive changes which have been made in the distribution area are confirmed by facts cited in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress: "In the 1970's, the number of families of workers, employees and kolkhoz members with family members earning in excess of

100 rubles per month has almost tripled. Conversely, the number of families in which the individual income is under 50 rubles per month has been reduced by approximately the same amount. In other words, there is not only a growth but a rapprochement among the living standards of all groups of working people. This trend will become stronger and faster the more effectively everyone works."

This trend of rapprochement among social groups is manifested also in educational standards, which is an important area. Whereas in 1939 only 87 out of 1,000 workers were graduates of higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) schools, by 1981 their number had risen 787; the respective figures were 18 and 634 for kolkhoz members and 546 and 984 for employees. Therefore, the enhancement of culture as well not by quote "averaging" this indicator in the realm of education but on the basis of a general upsurge, with workers and peasants steadily coming closer to the intelligentsia in terms of general educational standards.

The dynamism of this process becomes particularly noticeable if we compare it with changes in the different age groups. The conversion to universal mandatory secondary education in the USSR by the end of the 1970's means that in terms of general educational standards the young reinforcements of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry were essentially equal to the mass stratum of the industrial intelligentsia such as technicians and other specialists in terms of secondary specialized training.

Today the rapprochement among classes and social groups in terms of the nature of labor and, therefore, their place within the system of the social division of labor and of its organization becomes particularly important. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that the nature of the work of the contemporary worker is changing rapidly, that the work of the kolkhoz peasantry is becoming gradually similar to that of the workers and that physical and mental labor are becoming ever more closely interwoven in the production activities of workers and kolkhoz members. The elimination of social disparities among these basic types of labor is the most complex task in the building of a socially homogeneous society. In the area of socioclass division of labor it means a gradual elimination of the lines dividing the working class from the kolkhoz peasantry, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other. In the area of the professional and organization division of labor (which does not disappear but is substantially changed in the course of the elimination of class disparities), such a rapprochement means the intellectualizing of the various forms of physical labor and the development of technological features in intellectual work. Scientific and technical progress and the use of its achievements in production, management, services, health care, education, culture and way of life, are the main motive forces of these interacting processes.

The intellectualizing of physical labor means, first of all, upgrading the share of mental efforts in the activities of workers, directly affecting the labor objects; secondly, it means that qualitative changes in the nature of the physical efforts themselves which, with the awareness of the objectives of labor operations, become "imbued" from within with scientific and technical knowledge. The activities of workers in the installation, tuning and repair of modern technical system and their operation and control with the help of instruments are impossible without a certain amount of knowledge of the principles governing one or another system or other technological processes occurring within it. In the case of a considerable percentage of workers and kolkhoz members who are essentially involved in controlling automated equipment and operating machine units with the help of instruments, the process of rapprochement between physical and mental labor has reach such a point

that we may speak of their organic combination. In Soviet sociological literature this stratum of the working class is described as that of workers-intellectuals. It is showing a tendency to grow rapidly, particularly in technically most advanced production sectors.

This marginal stratum does not "hang" somewhere "between" the working class and the intelligentsia. It is a part of the working class, its technologically most progressive one at that. Its labor combines the features of the activities of workers and engineering and technical personnel. The increased stratum of this working class is, unquestionably, a progressive phenomenon. The list of skills requiring secondary specialized training today includes 380 names.

However, we must not ignore the frequent cases of using engineers and technicians for operations in which their knowledge is not properly applied. Occasionally, young specialists are left to practice at workplaces for excessively long periods of time, because of the shortage of openings for engineering and technical personnel. Many workers trained in technical schools or even those with on-the-job VUZ training refuse to accept positions as foremen or section chiefs, for this would entail a lowering of wages. This is one of the real contradictions of today. It can and must be resolved by improving the entire wage system and the wage rates which sometimes call for an engineer and technician to perform functions unrelated to their educational level.

Scientific literature usually pays less attention to the other aspect of the process of surmounting the social disparities between mental and physical labor--the technologization of the mental process--although this too is of prime importance for social progress. This trend is most clearly manifested in science and scientific services. An increasing number of scientific workers, engineers and technicians who are engaged in experimental activities in scientific research institutions and plant laboratories organically combine skilled mental work with skilled physical work and with the practical skill to handle equipment. The technologization of mental work is taking place in management as well, where automated control systems (ASU), computers and technical facilities for the follow-up and control of execution of decisions are being applied ever more extensively. Therefore, scientific and technical progress determines the dialectical, the twin nature of the process of rapprochement between workers and engineering and technical personnel and, in general, of physical and mental workers, in the course of which the broad strata of the intelligentsia are acquiring the features of the leading segment of the working class. Already today we find in this process embryos, elements and characteristics of a merger. As a whole, however, this is a lengthy process, for its objective is the elimination of the most durable social distinctions.

A manifestation of dynamism in social processes such as social mobility, i.e., the moving of working people and their children from one social group or stratum to another, is assuming a growing importance in the development of social homogeneity. Today workers and their children account for one-half of all university and secondary specialized school students, which is similar to the percentage of workers in the country's population. Furthermore, today young people raised in the families of intellectual workers occupy a substantial position among the working class reinforcements in the most industrialized areas. The number of families in which the father and the mother belong to different social groups is rising rapidly, so that the young citizens are not always able to answer clearly the question of their social origin.

The processes of elimination of social disparities, which are taking place on the level of the family, the basic social cell, with its special microclimate, substantially accelerate the course of these processes on the social scale. Conversely, the closer classes, social groups and strata become on the "macrolevel," by virtue of their objective status and mentality, the faster said processes develop on the "microlevel." They stimulate each other reciprocally, increasing the level of dynamism of the processes of surmounting socioclass disparities and thus accelerating the progress of society toward social homogeneity.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that work on problems of the social structure is one of the most important directions along which social scientists must focus their efforts. This calls for the further energizing of scientific research and for surmounting within it trends such as scholastic theorizing, on the one hand, and mindless accumulation of empirical data, on the other.

In our view, currently there are several clear lines of research of the further development of the social structure of the mature socialist society. To begin with, a thorough study must be made of the unevenness, of the imperfect synchronizing of processes of surmounting socioeconomic, sociopolitical, sociocultural and socio-psychological differences among and within social groups. For example, the rapprochement among social groups in terms of income is developing as a whole more quickly than in culture, participation in production management and social affairs. However, this fact does not give grounds for the conclusions made by some Soviet sociologists (criticized in the Soviet press), according to which one notices not a rapprochement but a divergence among classes and strata of the socialist society in the sociocultural area. Reality has entirely refuted such hasty suggestions based on partial observation. The most important aspect of the increased organic integrity of the social relations system is the elimination of such unevennesses.

Secondly, the organic integrity of social relations means that essentially inter-class and intraclass differences are interwoven. However, the elimination of all such differences is also an uneven process. Differences related to the existence of two forms of socialist ownership, particularly in connection with the development of the agroindustrial complex and of interfarm associations, can be surmounted as a whole faster than differences in the nature of labor and wages. On the social level, this means that differences between the two main classes in society are being eliminated more intensively than among skilled strata within them or between such classes and the intelligentsia. A study of the processes of the establishment of a classless structure requires the thorough analysis of the situation of the different strata and the detachments of working people in accordance with the totality of characteristics of social differences.

Thirdly, the socioclass structure is the main but not the only aspect of the social structure, for which reason the elimination of socioclass differences does not mean the disappearance of socioterritorial (settlement), sociodemographic, professional, sectorial and other structures. All such particular types of the social structure are based on the various "cross-sections" of the system of the social division of labor. They are not eliminated in the course of the elimination of the classes but become substantially changed, for they gradually lose their still existing socioclass aspect. How does the elimination of socioclass differences influence a rapprochement between living conditions in rural and urban settlements

of different types and, conversely, how does a rapprochement between town and country influence changes in the socioclass structure? Such questions arise when we study the situation of young people, women or the retired, i.e., the socio-demographic groups and the migration processes which are of such great importance in the development of Siberia and the Far East.

Let us particularly point out studies of the interconnection of changes in the socioclass and professional structure. The simplistic ideas of "imminent" withering away of professional skills, which were popular not so long ago, have been refuted by life itself. Our society today suffers tangible losses from the fact that not all young people are able to acquire one or another professional skill in full-time schools. The vocational guidance of the young generation (which is also a social orientation, and orientation in joining one or another social group, detachment or stratum) is far from playing its entire role, particularly in encouraging young people to take up workers' skills and participate in agricultural production, despite some positive changes which were made in the 1970's. This offers the broadest possible area for scientific research directly aimed at meeting practical management problems in accordance with local characteristics, for the conditions governing the reproduction of the social structure are substantially different in the various parts of the country and the individual republics and oblasts.

The purpose of this article was not to provide a complete survey of the complex processes governing socioclass relations or formulate corresponding research tasks. We believe, however, that these considerations prove the idea that the establishment of a socially homogeneous society in a huge multinational country with a great variety of historical traditions and natural-geographic conditions, to which we must add the complex international situation of the end of the 20th century, cannot be considered an even and easy road. The management of such processes, on the basis of the plans for the economic and social development of the country and of the individual republics, oblasts, cities, sectors, associations, enterprises and kolkhozes, requires the maximal stress of efforts, the steady improvement of the management mechanism and the comprehensive development and ever more effective utilization of the results of scientific research. The stipulation formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th party congress on the role of science under contemporary conditions as the "disturber of tranquillity" fully applies to the natural sciences. The concentration of the attention and the efforts of the social scientists on unresolved practical problems and on the study of the profound processes taking place in the area of social relations is a necessary prerequisite for the further intensification of the role of that conscious principle in the life of Soviet society and the ever fuller subordination of our plans to the process of the development of a social homogeneity.

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SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE: MAN AT THE CENTER OF ATTENTION

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[Article by E. Strukov, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] If we look closely at the problem of the socialist way of life through the lens of the documents of the 26th party congress, we cannot fail to see at least three interrelated aspects. The first is the principled view of man as the highest value or humanistic characteristic of our way of life. The second is the profound concern shown for the improvement of this component of the developed socialist society and the strengthening of the material and spiritual foundations of the way of life, closely related to the shaping of the new man. The third is the systematic solution of the problems in the development of the Soviet way of life created by theoretical and practical activities, and the clear and precise answer to the questions of how, by what means and in what directions to implement man's change. Precisely these aspects were the subject of primary attention in the CC CPSU accountability report, the speeches of the delegates and guests at the congress and the resolutions and directive documents which were adopted for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period through 1990. This shows the rising importance of problems related to the way of life in terms of the theory and practice of the building of communism.

The interest shown by the party members in this matter is entirely natural, for today we are laying the foundations for the way of life which will largely determine the nature of human activities in the future, starting with material production and ending with the forms of social awareness. Therefore, the problem of the way of life and of man is becoming increasingly topical both theoretically and practically. Reliable theoretical guidelines help us to check the real progress of the mature socialist society against the communist way of life.

As the congress materials particularly emphasize, the country's future lies in the unity of its economic, social and spiritual progress. Only the knowledge of this totality of factors which influence this comprehensive process can make it possible to utilize the potential found in the socialist way of life and its influence on the minds, activities and behavior of the builders of the new world more effectively.

Finally, we must upgrade the general activity of the masses and individuals, for we are faced with a great deal of work to improve the socialist way of life and uproot anything which hinders the shaping of the new man. The congress' materials carry a

powerful ideological and moral charge. They mobilize the party and the entire Soviet people for the building of communism.

The many-sidedness and inexhaustibility of the problem of developing all aspects of the way of life are obvious. They can be studied in their interaction with scientific and technical progress, urban development, art, daily life, etc. This is being successfully accomplished in the area of the Soviet social sciences. However, despite their great importance and usefulness, these approaches cannot provide an exhaustive characterization of the nature and content of the way of life as a type of activity, relations and behavior in the course of which man transforms the world and himself. As the 26th party congress directs us, we must approach the socialist way of life as a new type of activity carried out within the new system of social relations in the course of the improvement of which a broader problem is being resolved -- the shaping of a new type of person and his purposeful upbringing. This is an essential viewpoint on the way of life which reveals its truly human characteristics. We shall consider a few key problems from the viewpoint of improving the type of activities, relations and behavior which are the main components of the socialist way of life of the masses and the individuals.

1

In their "German Ideology," K. Marx and F. Engels substantiated a radically new principle for the approach to man and his way of life. It is as follows: "The premises with which we begin are not arbitrary. They are not dogmas. They are real prerequisites from which one may abstract oneself only in imagination. We are dealing with real individuals and their activities and material living conditions..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 18).

To this day the view of the founders of scientific communism helps us to develop the social sciences and to enrich the practice of the building of communism. If man has a dominant position, the sum total of the economic and social problems being resolved by the mature socialist society must be considered from the viewpoint of the development of the human factor, for in the final account, the extent of our achievements in the building of communism depends on the total blossoming of the capabilities and talents of the socialist personality. The classical formulation contained in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress, "specific concern for the individual person and for his needs and requirements is the first and last point of the party's economic policy," expresses the general interest of the socialist society in the individual aspect of the way of life of the Soviet person, the bearer and creator of new forms of human community life.

Such interest and focusing of attention on the development of man is entirely natural: it runs through all the documents of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses, which considered the question of the shaping of the new man together with laying the material and technical base for communism and the improvement of social relations and the socialist way of life. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the inseparable link between the shaping of the new man and the solution of the main economic problems of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the topical national economic problems of the 1980s, the sociopolitical and spiritual development of Soviet society, the reorganization of its socioclass structure and national relations, the consolidation of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of

life, the improvement of ideological and political-educational work and the enhancement of all activities within Soviet society to a new and higher level.

Activity, in terms of the activeness of our entire society with its class, social group and individual components, is the linchpin of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the way of life, as was creatively developed at the congress. By activity Marxism means all the forms of the activity of the people, taken together. This term usually indicates activity in material production, in the spiritual area, etc. In the interpretation of the way of life by Marx and Engels they mention first of all a "specific type of activity by specific individuals, their specific form of activity and their specific way of life" ("Soch," Vol 3, p 19). In a word, activity reveals the way of life of society and its classes, social groups and individuals.

Productive forces and social relations are reproduced and developed in the course of various and comprehensive human activities, and a material and spiritual culture is created. The history of human society is the history of its activities, the history of alternating generations which inherit and change both the activity itself and its means, as a result of which the continuity in social development is formed. It is precisely in terms of the form of activity and the attitude toward it that one way of life may be different from another. If we compare the forms of the activity of people in different socioeconomic systems from the historical viewpoint, we obtain a description of human society in a cross section of activity. The socialist way of life is no exception. "It is an old truth," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "that party slogans and programs live in the activities of the masses."

The way of life is a synthetic category which includes all types of human activities but cannot be reduced to any one of them. It is incorrect, therefore, to include as part of the way of life only the human activities in daily life, family relations or behavior, which was characteristic of the initial stage of the theoretical studies of this problem by our social sciences.

The 26th party congress ascribed great significance to improvement in all types of activities aimed at the comprehensive development of man: labor, sociopolitical, political-educational and cultural. The CC CPSU accountability report and the congress documents consider the specific conditions for each type of activity and earmark the prospects for their expansion in the interests of society and man himself. Particular attention has been paid to the most widespread types of activity typical of developed socialism.

Marx and Engels pointed out that the differences in historical epochs are seen not so much in what is being produced as in how it is produced, using what labor tools and by what types of workers. This thought provides the key to explaining the social significance of the conversion of the economy to intensive development and improving the quality of the work both on the scale of society as a whole and in terms of the personality factor in the production process.

The party's course of production effectiveness and high work quality is the most important component in the economic strategy. A number of reasons dictate the orientation toward intensive development: the aggravated problem of manpower resources, the increased cost of power and energy production, which requires increased capital investments in this area, higher appropriations for environmental protection, and so on. We must also take into consideration the fact that under the

11th Five-Year Plan the infrastructural sectors become more important -- transportation, communications, material and technical supplies, road construction, warehousing facilities and so on, and they require taking materials and manpower from other areas. Therefore, intensification becomes the basic condition for increasing production effectiveness -- the all-round improvement of the production forces on the basis of scientific and technical progress, improved quality of work and management and increased creative activity by the working people.

The comprehensive improvement of work quality in the broad meaning of the term, covering the full set of objective and subjective production factors, plays a particular role in upgrading production effectiveness. The quality of work is based on the quality of labor and output and the attitude of the worker toward his work. The entire mechanism of planning and management and the material and moral incentive system are focused on upgrading work quality. Consequently, a general improvement in work quality becomes not only a matter of great national importance but also an effective factor in the reorganization of the entire way of life, its labor area in particular. Actually, it is a question of raising labor activities to a new level consistent with the requirements of developed socialism.

The 26th CPSU Congress, which justifiably rated labor as the core of our way of life, paid the necessary attention to sociopolitical activities, which are becoming increasingly important in upgrading the social activeness of the people, developing in them the ability to combine social and group with personal interests, and encouraging a conscientious attitude toward the implementation of party and civic obligations. By increasing material and sociopolitical prerequisites for social work, Soviet society is thus expediently influencing the improvement of this very substantial aspect of the way of life. The party's social policy has a clear orientation toward comprehensive development of the types of human social activities which help in the implementation and consolidation of its principles. Mass social movements involving the participation of dozens of millions of people are becoming increasingly more typical of our reality. The social nature of man is being systematically developed in socialist society. "The enhanced sociopolitical activeness of every citizen" is the task set by the party forum. Essentially, on both the theoretical and practical levels, the task involves making sociopolitical activities a social need of every Soviet person.

The social policy of the CPSU, a concentrated version of which is reflected in the documents of the 26th congress, proceeds from the new opportunities for the planned improvement of overall human activities. It is characterized by humanistic direction and orientation toward "loftier activities" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part II, p 221).

The way of life cannot be developed without consideration of living conditions as a determining factor. This includes the social, material and spiritual foundations for the strengthening, development and improvement of human activities. By changing and improving living conditions, mature socialism enriches the content of the activities of every citizen.

Social production and material living conditions are the material foundations for improving the way of life and satisfying the steadily growing needs in connection with the physical and social existence and development of the people. The practical aspect of this problem was considered at the 26th CPSU Congress. Its "Basic

Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" call for ensuring the further growth of the people's prosperity and the development of the socialist way of life and the entire system of social relations on the basis of economic upsurge and improved public production effectiveness. Consequently, it is a question of intensifying the social trend in economic development, and directing the economy even further toward upgrading the living standard of the people. The purpose of the party's social program, which is developing in close unity with the economic program, is to create the entire complex of the necessary material prerequisites for human activities and to develop a way of life consistent with mature socialism.

The more complex tasks assigned by the 26th CPSU Congress in the area of spiritual life, including education, science and culture in the broad sense of the terms, must be considered in relation to this prospect. A desirable type of personality, oriented toward communist ideals, can be developed only after such leading spiritual production sectors have reached a certain level.

Since any influence on human spiritual activities is largely determined by education, the congress paid attention to the role of this factor in the improvement of the Soviet way of life and assigned the task of upgrading the quality of education at all levels.

The development of socialist material and spiritual production is based on the achievements of science. Science is increasingly influencing the outlook, way of thinking, value orientations and attitude of the individual toward the riches of culture. Marxist-Leninist social science plays a particularly important role in the reorganization of spiritual life. It contains an extremely rich stock of knowledge, without which a person would be unable to understand questions related to the development of human society or to become a conscious participant in the historical process, for which reason the congress asks that this knowledge be mastered. Socialist culture is actively becoming a part of life and is helping to channel it toward a direction desirable for our society.

Therefore, the socialist way of life as a whole and its individual elements are shaped and developed in the course of the labor, sociopolitical and cultural activities of man, developing in him one set of qualities or another. Let us point out that we are discussing the nature and type of activity, i.e., that we have in mind not simply professional characteristics but the entire organization of social life inherent in developed socialist society, and the granting of material and spiritual opportunities to every one. All of these possibilities in the development of man are brought into action at the developed socialist stage.

2

The social relations which dominate in a given society are reflected in the way of life of the people. Relations of individualism, based on private property and the exploitation of man by man in the bourgeois world, and relations of collectivism based on the joint ownership of productive capital are determining factors in the shaping of the respective ways of life.

The founders of scientific communism established the "eternal" interaction among the production method, social relations and the way of life. In particular, in

considering the influence of scientific and technical progress on the people's way of life, Marx emphasized that technological inventions create a "'turn in the production method' (Produktionsweise), hence in production relations, and consequently in social relations, and 'in the final account' 'in the way of life'" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 488).

Under socialism, production forces are used jointly and exist only within the framework of a "universal relation" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 68). This determines the collectivistic nature of relations among people, which are reflected in the way of life. Here socialism is both an essential feature of socialist social relations and an essential facet of our way of life. Collective activities and the collectivistic nature of social relations determine the content of the socialist way of life. The basically important conclusion formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress was that "In the period of developed socialism, the reorganization of all social relations on the basis of the collectivistic foundations internally inherent in the new system is completed. This reorganization applies to the material and spiritual areas, to our entire way of life." This is a new social law formulated by Marxist-Leninist social science as a result of the theoretical interpretation of the practice of building communism.

How is this law manifested in the area of the way of life? Let us attempt to define some of its basic directions.

Collectivity in the area of the way of life is based above all on the common basic interests of the people and their common concern for the enhancement of social production and upgrading its effectiveness and, on this basis, satisfying the growing material and spiritual requirements of all members of society. Common interests create unity of action, which is manifested in planned cooperation in the course of which one of the basic features of our way of life, its collective character, is reproduced.

Relations of collectivism are the basis for the shaping of a specific means of action, relations among people and their behavior. A number of indicators determine the degree of collectivism reached by our society at each one of its developmental stages. Thus public ownership of productive capital makes the Soviet working person the owner of the production process, and becomes a nutritive ground for collectivism. If he multiplies the public wealth and uses it as an equal member of society, the working person is objectively interested in increasing it. However, this objective interest does not automatically, by itself, lead to the organic synthesis of social, group and individual interests. A temporary noncoincidence among the interests of society, the collective and the individual is not excluded. This arises when priority is given to group interests, such as, for example, those of a kolkhoz which produces goods which primarily benefit the cooperative farm. Such a contradiction is nonantagonistic in nature and can be surmounted through the methods for the coordination of plans inherent in socialism, in which the interests of both the state and the cooperative are taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the problem of combining common, group and individual interests remains quite complex.

The level of collectivism rises and the extent to which it is reproduced in the social and individual ways of life is increased in the course of the building of communism. Today collectivism is a manifestation of high conscientiousness and the

aspiration to work better for the good of society. It has its full manifestation in the attitude toward labor as a social duty and a prime vital need, a statesmanlike approach to obligations, concern for the comprehensive establishment of truly socialist relations and the observance of the principles and norms of communist morality in the behavior of all people.

The production collective has the greatest possible opportunities for the expanded reproduction, so to say, of the collectivistic and labor nature of the socialist way of life. By developing the socialist qualities of every working person, the collective raises the conscientiousness of the working people and their feeling of responsibility for the state of affairs both within and outside this social nucleus. It is precisely through the production collective that the individual becomes involved in all types of activities typical of the socialist way of life.

As an essential characteristic of the socialist way of life, creative activity becomes particularly extensive on the level of the production collective. In the labor collective the socialist individual finds new opportunities for the development of his self-awareness, and ways of and reasons for engaging in social activities aimed at improving the Soviet way of life. The socialist labor collective plays a central role in completing the reorganization of our way of life on the basis of the collectivistic principles inherent in the new system.

Socialist competition is the proof of the growth, development and strengthening of such collectivistic principles. It represents a new social relation inherent only in socialism and its way of life. At the present stage, competition resolves the problems of upgrading work effectiveness and quality, accelerating scientific and technical progress and successfully implementing the 11th Five-Year Plan. Essentially, competition is a deeply patriotic movement based on the high conscientiousness, initiative and steady creativity of the Soviet people. In accordance with the prime significance ascribed to its development and to increasing its role in resolving the problems related to the country's economic and social development, the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee passed a special decree "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan" in March 1981.

All constructive activity is based on a specific understanding of distribution relations. They must be given one interpretation or another by the individual before he can determine his approach to them and correlate them with his own thoughts and wishes. In accordance with his thoughts and feelings, man makes his choice on the basis of the possibilities available to our society at a given stage in its development and the concepts he has developed thanks to his practical experience and upbringing. As we know, all the goods produced by our society are distributed according to two methods: according to the quantity and quality of the work done by the individual worker, and through the social consumption funds. As the opposite side of production, according to Marx, distribution relations "are consistent with historically defined specific social forms of the production method and the relations which develop among people," and it is "only production results" which can be distributed (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, Part II, p 456; Vol 12, p 721). The social consumption funds represent this "method of participation" in the distribution process. They pay for a wide variety of social measures which are of essential significance in equalizing living conditions among

workers, employees, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, urban and rural residents, women, the retired and the young. The social funds strengthen the social confidence of the Soviet people.

At the same time, some aspects of the distribution mechanism must be updated and improved, and further efforts must be made to resolve the problems which arise in this area. We can distribute only that which has been produced, "production results," as Marx said. This, in turn, depends on the dedicated work of every member of society. The 26th CPSU Congress quite clearly formulated the question of a just and objective assessment of the labor contribution to the common project. "Conscientious workers must be given comprehensive encouragement," the Central Committee's accountability report emphasized. "No loopholes enabling loafers and waste makers to live well without work should be allowed to remain. He who wants to live better must work more and better." This formulation of the problem is the key to the establishment of truly equitable relations, the implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor and the strengthening of the labor character of our way of life.

Socialism creates new forms of human community life. We see them in the voluntary participation of millions of people in social work, in the healthy moral and psychological atmosphere which surrounds the people and contributes to their successful activities, in the collective and individual forms of organization and use of leisure time and so on. Naturally, the strengthening of collectivistic principles in our way of life has nothing in common with the distorted ideas of the bourgeois ideologs and revisionists, who say that socialism has "forgotten" the individual, his thoughts and his expectations. In mentioning the immediate problems in the reorganization of our way of life on a collectivistic basis, we must emphasize that their solution is directly related to achieving the programmatic objective of communism -- the all-round harmonious development of the individual, rich in content and variety of interests, capabilities, esthetic tastes and human concerns. That is precisely why the congress' materials pay such great attention to the needs and requirements of the people, for the way of life as a whole will be determined by the nature of man and the way he works.

Human interrelationships develop in the course of production and nonproduction activities. The vital problem today is to improve relations among people in the so-called area of concern for man.

Dozens of millions of people are employed in education, social insurance, health care, the soviet organs, the militia, the prosecutor's office, and in communal and consumer services. Along with historically developed individual forms of services, an increasing number of collective forms are appearing. In this area human activities are favorably influencing the strengthening of the moral and political climate in society, the general feelings and moods of the masses and a sense of psychological comfort. The concern shown for workers, kolkhoz members, employees, those disabled in war and labor, Great Patriotic War veterans, the retired, women and children is a vivid confirmation of the humanism of our way of life. However, the area of concern for man occasionally teaches us a lesson which it would be hard to overestimate. As confirmed by everyday life, it encompasses the greatest difficulties in human relations. It is fertile ground for the appearance of moral evils such as a callous attitude toward people, bureaucratic attitudes,

narrow-mindedness and excessive verbiage. A callous attitude toward the legitimate requests and petitions of the working people, rude behavior and other negative phenomena increase feelings of tension in relations among people. The reorganization of relations in this area is a slow and painstaking matter. However, it is necessary in order to consolidate the entire way of life.

The congress indicated ways of improving relations among people and their interaction. "What we are talking about," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, "for example foodstuffs, consumer goods and services, are problems affecting the everyday life of millions and millions of people. Every day the people patronize stores, cafeterias, laundry and dry cleaning establishments. What can they buy? How are they received? How are they addressed? How much time do they spend on all such types of daily concerns? The people judge our work largely on the basis of the way such problems are resolved, and their judgment is strict and exacting. This, Comrades, must be remembered."

The reorganization of life on a collectivistic basis means above all the reorganization of relations among people. The acceleration of this process in depth and width means focusing our efforts on the topical problems in improving the socialist way of life.

3

Within the context of strengthening the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life, the congress considered the question of the shaping of the new man, the bearer of this way of life. The problem of man and his upbringing is theoretically and practically as complex as the problem of the way of life. The comprehensive approach to the upbringing of the new man is based on an all-round consideration of the realities of social, economic, sociopolitical and spiritual life. In its most general aspect, it includes the molding of the sum total of qualities inherent in an integral and harmoniously developed personality and the utilization of all objective and subjective factors, means of ideological influence in particular, for the sake of attaining this objective. In the congress' documents, the party members focus their attention on the new opportunities for shaping the new man and the ways of utilizing them. All the problems in the further development of the way of life as well are considered from the same angle.

The congress drew attention to the main problems in communist upbringing. It is of essential significance to understand that successful upbringing is achieved only on the firm basis of socioeconomic policy. This means that the stable growth of the socialist economy and culture is the material foundation of upbringing and that it is through the actual results of the building of communism that the lofty objectives and ideals for the sake of which the people work and achieve successes are practically realized and appreciated. Speech, which is one of the powerful means of education, can yield the desired results only if it is not separated from reality but is on the contrary based on a growing economy and mature socialist social relations, which are the source of the Soviet people's confidence in the future. In the opposite case, the effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work among the masses is lowered and it becomes alienated from life.

The 24th and 25th party congresses developed a long-term course of expansion of the material and spiritual potential for ensuring the ever fuller development of the

individual. This course was supported at the 26th congress, which added the practical stipulation that material and spiritual possibilities be increased and sensibly utilized in accordance with the interests and requirements of the individual.

According to Marxism-Leninism, economic relations in any society, socialist included, are manifested above all as interests (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 18, p 271). The entire range of interests -- social, group, individual, economic, political, spiritual, spontaneous, realized, real and imaginary -- are present in the activities of our society and its classes, social groups and individuals. The toiling masses act not because of orders but in accordance with their interests and, furthermore, according to the extent of their awareness of interests of a selective nature, aimed at targets related to their activities and requirements. As a rule, individual interests are realized faster than social interests, and all social educational institutions must engage in very effective work so that the individual may become aware of social interests and act accordingly. This is a particularly important problem in terms of improving the way of life.

On the educational level, the problem of the needs of the individual is even more difficult. Life has shown that the development of sensible needs in people and social groups causes a bottleneck in educational activities. Needs are always of a historical and social nature. They are determined by the possibilities of society at any given stage of its development and depend on the development of the individual as well. The 26th congress directed the attention of all educational institutions toward the active side of the individual and the sensible use of existing possibilities.

The developed socialist society actively influences the structure of needs by steadily expanding the volume of material consumption. As was emphasized at the 26th congress, CPSU social policy is characterized by increasingly systematic development of the material and spiritual needs of the people. This balances the consumption of material and spiritual goods. In this case, the adequate availability of material goods is considered a necessary prerequisite for a full and meaningful spiritual life. At the same time, Soviet society comprehensively encourages the development of spiritual needs, which are more flexible than material ones. The orientation toward the spiritual needs of the individual -- creative work, social activities, knowledge and so on -- reflects the overall direction being pursued by society in the transformation of the way of life. With the necessary levers at its disposal, it influences the structure of needs and the scale of values which guide the individual in his life. However, as experience has shown, economic influence alone is not sufficient to ensure the purposeful shaping of interests and needs. It must be strengthened by education.

The study of value orientations and public opinion assumes topical significance in upgrading the effectiveness of ideological work. "In recent years," Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "we have seriously undertaken the study of public opinion in accordance with the stipulation formulated by Leonid Il'ich's at the 25th congress. Studies have indicated that we shall succeed in developing an active life stance in the people who object most strenuously to precisely those vestiges which are the opposite of socialism: unfairness and subjectivity, however insignificant and superficially innocuous they may seem."

Let us point out that until recently the problem of value orientation was extensively studied in philosophical, sociological and ethics publications. In particular, the works of O. G. Drobnitskiy, V. P. Tugarinov, K. A. Shvartsman and A. F. Shishkin quite properly drew attention to the human, social and cultural sides of values. Today, less interest is being shown in this topic. Yet major areas of social life such as spiritual culture, the tenor of life and the comprehensive development of the individual demand a theoretical substantiation and scientific guidance of the value orientation of social communities and individuals. This must be mentioned, for in daily life production values are beginning to be opposed by consumption values; working time by leisure time; and real values by false ones.

Naturally, the problem of value orientation is far from insignificant. Under the conditions of steady growth in material prosperity, the possibility and temporary animation of a consumer mentality are not excluded. Some people begin to see the increased consumption of objects as the meaning of their life, and go no further. In turn, consumerism leads to a distorted value orientation which, as it becomes reality, begins to act as a prerequisite for a philistine and petit bourgeois way of life.

In the spirit of the Leninist tradition of the struggle against philistinism, the 26th party congress raised the question of surmounting recurrences of philistine and petit bourgeois mentality in socialism. "The term 'philistine,'" Lenin pointed out, "is one I use not in the ordinary but in the political and economic meaning of the word" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 413). In emphasizing the negative attitude of the proletariat toward philistinism, he pointed out that the proletariat "is interested in freedom to wage the struggle and not for the sake of petit bourgeois happiness" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 16, p 343). The stipulation of the 26th party congress on the need to direct all classes and strata in our society toward the social mentality of the Soviet working class was fully consistent with Lenin's ideas.

Philistinism is not inherent in man, as the ideologs of "objectism" in the West are trying to convince us, in the hope of spoiling the Soviet person and turning him into a philistine. It does not stem from the nature of socialism but remains as a vestige of the past the elimination of which will take some time. A distorted value orientation in the individual may make egotistical consumption possible, for the shortage of some goods in greater demand than others not only triggers consumption for the sake of prestige but enriches some people materially. From the purely economic viewpoint, such a situation may create disparities in living standards which lead to the development of a corresponding mentality. As sociologists in the socialist comity have pointed out, the development of a certain stratum whose living standard is higher than the current average and is incompatible with its labor contribution energizes the petit bourgeois mentality and helps the philistine way of life to sink roots.

The developed socialist society formulates special demands of the individual way of life of the party member who, as in any other area of life, enjoys no privileges. He must be crystal pure, must set an example in his daily behavior and must inspire the people to pursue a healthy way of life. He must be noted for the richness of his inner spiritual potential and requirements, consistent with the communist concept of the comprehensively developed and harmonious personality. The party is increasing its exactingness toward party members and is taking strictly to task

those who abuse their social or official positions and violate party ethics. Data on the number of party members expelled for a variety of reasons were cited at the congress. This proves that the party is concerned with maintaining the purity of its ranks in accordance with Lenin's behest.

Work on improving the socialist way of life includes the further theoretical elaboration of the problem itself and practical efforts by society and the classes, social groups and individuals which comprise it to strengthen the real way of life.

The question of the criteria governing the development of the way of life is of theoretical and practical interest to the social sciences. It is proper today to formulate the theoretical aspect of the question of harmoniousness as a general criterion of the way of life. Most generally, this means the best possible combination of all kinds of activities in the way of life of society, classes, social groups and individuals, confirming the integral development of those pursuing the way of life; unity among social, group and individual interests, proving the existence of collectivism as a typical feature of the way of life; rational correlation of needs, which enables us to determine the trend being pursued by the way of life and its value orientation; the extent to which disparities in the way of life of classes and social groups, urban and rural populations and people engaged in mental and physical labor have been surmounted, which is of essential significance in terms of achieving social homogeneity; and the development of the moral and psychological climate in society, which shows the degree to which vestigial phenomena in the way of life are being eliminated.

Naturally, the formulation of such a criterion is a complex matter. It is related to the elimination of all the disparities we mentioned and to success in the upbringing of the new man. The historical ripening of objective conditions and subjective prerequisites leading to a uniformly rich content in the way of life is a process which develops in time and space. The party's social policy takes the realities in the development of Soviet society into comprehensive consideration and is aimed at the improvement of all aspects of our way of life.

The 26th CPSU Congress reemphasized that the socialist way of life is a necessary component of the overall aspect of the developed socialist society. As it advances toward communism, the developed socialist society resolves not local but general problems encountered in the entire course of social progress. In this sense, the Soviet experience in the establishment and improvement of the socialist way of life is of profound international significance. The study of the general laws governing the reorganization of the way of life on a communist basis and the determination of the characteristics of its establishment and development in the fraternal socialist countries will unquestionably indicate a wealth of ways and means to establish it and will become a guide for all countries embarking upon the path of socialist change.

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GUIDED BY THE DECISIONS OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 89-99

[Article by Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary]

[Text:] The activities of the communists and of the entire people of the GDR and their creative initiatives are aimed at implementing the plans of the 10th SED Congress, which was held in April 1981. Despite the worsening of the international situation, the high communist forum resolved to pursue the systematic implementation of the party's main task with a unified socioeconomic policy: the further enhancement of the material and cultural standard of the people on the basis of a high development pace of socialist production and the enhancement of its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and labor productivity. The congress inaugurated a new stage in the implementation of our party's program.

The Central Committee's accountability report submitted by Comrade Erich Honecker, CC SED general secretary, which was unanimously approved by the congress, clearly indicated the path leading to the building of a developed socialist society in the GDR in the 1980s. Taking the growing requirements of the current decade into consideration, in comprehensive coordination with the policy of the historical 26th CPSU Congress and in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, we are following our tried general line for the sake of the good of the people and with a view to securing peace and strengthening world socialism. As a firm and indivisible link in the comity of socialist states we are successfully intensifying the process of socialist changes in the GDR and are thus creating prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Our progress in all directions of social development is defined by the strategy and tactic developed at the party congress and the unity between our foreign and domestic policies. Based on Marxism-Leninism and encompassing the rich treasury of experience of Lenin's party and of the other fraternal parties, the decisions of the 10th SED Congress are a reliable compass for our socialist society. They indicate the course we must follow in order to improve the processes of profound changes in the political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural areas in order to establish a mature socialist society in the 1980s.

The Central Committee's accountability report is a Marxist-Leninist program for action of profound theoretical depth, scientific nature and vitality. This document is imbued with faith in the strength of the people. It confirms the creative application of the general laws governing the socialist revolution. It contains an

analysis of the experience and successes of socialism and of the revolutionary processes in our country and throughout the world and equips the communists and all working people with the ability to anticipate social developments and to assess the situation soberly. It encourages further dedicated work. It shows the scale of our accomplishments and the tasks which lie ahead and, as confirmed by the period since the congress, is both a source of strength and a manual for action.

We consider the participation of 125 delegations of parties and organizations from all continents in our congress an acknowledgment of the achievements of the SED in the revolutionary struggle. We shall use this as our support in future work. We are proud of the assessment made by Comrade M. A. Suslov on behalf of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, and all party members and Soviet citizens to the effect that the successes achieved in building a developed socialist society in the GDR convincingly confirm the vitality of SED policy.

The 10th party congress was imbued with the living breath of the building of socialism in our country. In the past years the party has successfully withstood all the trials of the class struggle. Today it is providing political guidance for social processes which is improving steadily. The SED is increasing its leading role in the socialist society, fully aware of its responsibility as a vanguard theoretical and practical force, strengthening relations of trust with the working class and all working people, and strengthening the prestige and effectiveness of the state power of the workers and peasants.

The SED pays particular attention to the elaboration of a scientific strategy and tactic and to relating them to the world revolutionary process, overall laws of development, specific conditions of our struggle and the experience of the fraternal parties. As a combat Marxist-Leninist party with a clear objective, united with and closely linked to the masses, in the spirit of Leninist policy the SED mobilizes all social forces for the systematic implementation of its domestic and foreign policy and thus becomes the embodiment of the unity between revolutionary theory and practice and between word and action. It is a party of revolutionary action.

SED's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism was and remains inviolable. It is based on a profound understanding that the triumph of socialist ideals can be ensured only through the systematic and undistorted implementation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The SED is tirelessly training its detachments and cementing their political, ideological and organizational unity and cohesion. As it teaches the masses and at the same time learns from them, it enjoys unquestionable prestige and trust among the people. This is confirmed by the broad people's movement for the implementation of the congress' resolutions and the fact that in the 5 years which have passed since the Ninth SED Congress, our combat alliance has been joined by another 351,953 members, mainly young workers.

SED members and candidate members are militantly and creatively implementing the decisions of the 10th congress. The party forum's decisions, which reflect the interests of the people consistently, and the united efforts of all party members, aimed at their implementation meet with a great response throughout the entire society.

The working class, all working people, and the entire people of the GDR responded to the decisions of the 10th congress with new pledges and initiatives of unparalleled scope. Individual working people, entire collectives, trade union activists and meetings of representatives accepted the party congress' decisions as their own and are actively participating in the socialist competition. They are working under the slogan of "High Production Rates Through Increased Labor Productivity, Effectiveness and Quality -- All for the Good of the People and for the Sake of Peace!"

The pledge, comprehensively made throughout the GDR, to overfulfill the already stressed 1981 plan and to produce 3 days' worth of additional goods (without essentially increasing the quantity of raw and other materials and energy) worth 3.5 billion marks and finished consumer goods worth one billion marks, and to reduce basic material outlays by 500 million marks above the plan is an expression of the unity between words and actions in the struggle for the implementation of the congress' decisions.

It is thus that the republic's working people are creating decisive prerequisites for achieving high growth rates in all areas of the national economy. This was the purpose of the extensive debate directed and organized by the congress on how to ensure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments contained in the directives of the 10th party congress on the 1981-1985 five-year plan. Tens of thousands of specific suggestions on the use of new reserves for a sharp increase in production capacities were formulated in the course of the debate. Millions of working people are creatively involved in the elaboration of the five-year plan, which makes high yet realistic assignments. All of this strengthens the foundations of economic and social party unity and represents socialist democracy in action.

The unity of will and action of our people and their aspiration steadfastly to follow the path indicated by the 10th SED Congress are manifested also in the attitude of our youth toward the party's policy and in their efforts to strengthen socialism and to ensure the reliable protection of its accomplishments. The Free German Youth is the loyal assistant and reliable combat reserve of the party on all the fronts of the building of socialism. This was reasserted at the 11th FDJ [Free German Youth] Congress. On behalf of its four million members and the Ernst Thaelman Pioneer Organization, the FDJ stated that "...We shall spare neither effort nor work so that our GDR can successfully withstand the trials of the present decade. As the heirs to "The Communist Party Manifesto" and reliable fighters of the SED program, socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists we stand conscientiously and consistently prepared to carry out any assignment issued by the party of the working class." The 11th FDJ Congress approved the slogan "The Decisions of the 10th Party Congress Are the Assignment of the FDJ."

The fact that the 10th SED Congress is considered a historical milestone in our people's life was confirmed by the 14 June elections for the National Assembly and the district councils. They were a major test of our ideological and political and educational work conducted after the party congress and aimed at involving all citizens in the implementation of its decisions.

Hundreds of thousands of electoral meetings at enterprises and residential districts were held under the sign of the main idea of the electoral address of the GDR

National Front: "The Decisions of the 10th Party Congress Are Our Electoral Program." In the course of the nationwide democratic debate, the tasks for the new decade and the problems related to the further pursuit of the political course of the GDR were frankly discussed. Nothing was concealed. Problems to be resolved, which affected the citizens and shortcomings caused by unsatisfactory management were discussed frankly and critically.

The nationwide elections developed into an impressive manifestation of the attachment of the citizens of the GDR to the cause of socialism and peace. This was an impressive demonstration of the moral and political unity and cohesion of our people. The fact that 99.96 percent of the votes were cast for the candidates of the National Front and the high labor indicators confirmed that the working people are clearly aware of the requirements they face in the 1980s and that the decisions of the 10th SED Congress are the work program of the entire people.

The citizens of the GDR spoke out in favor of the further all-round strengthening of the system of workers and peasants and the implementation of the main task of maintaining the unity between economic and social policy, unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and the preservation and safeguarding of peace. An object lesson was given to the enemies of the socialist state and to the opponents of peace and detente. The working people reasserted the fact that in the GDR socialism is inviolable and that the unity among party, people and state is stronger than ever before. The Leninist principle that "Socialism is not created by ukase from above...and that live and creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves" (Poln. Sobr. Soch. "[Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 57) has become deeply rooted in our society. The national elections were yet another convincing confirmation of this fact.

All the problems which were discussed at the 10th party congress and the tasks set by it were formulated in accordance with the responsibility assumed by our party and country in the international class confrontation between socialism and imperialism. New and greater assignments were formulated. They constitute the contribution of the GDR to the further strengthening of the cause of socialism and peace and the joint efforts aimed at defeating imperialism's aggressive intentions. Our party's primary foreign policy assignments for the forthcoming period include the further systematic expansion of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the tireless struggle for securing the peace and stopping the arms race, active anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and the broadening of relations with the capitalist countries for the sake of peaceful coexistence.

Through our active efforts we reassert that the communists are in the front ranks and that they are the most dedicated and firmest fighters for peace, socialism and progress throughout the world.

The unbreakable fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the firm position which our republic occupies in the comity of socialist states were and will always remain the stable foundation of our socialist development. At the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker said that "Our socialist comity has proved itself as an alliance of an entirely new type, based on identical socioeconomic and

political foundations, a single Marxist-Leninist ideology, common communist objectives and interests and the international solidarity of the working people."

He described the Marxist-Leninist parties and their combat comity as an inspiring force. The Political Consultative Committee and the meetings among leaders of Warsaw Pact members, the CEMA sessions and the annual meetings of leaders of fraternal parties and countries with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Crimea play an important role in resolving the frequent complex problems of the building of socialism and cooperation.

A tremendous amount of ideological and political work has been done by the CPSU and the SED, as a result of which the peoples of the USSR and the GDR have become allies, fellow-workers and friends. Friendship with the Soviet Union is a deeply personal matter for every communist and citizen in the GDR. They are deeply convinced that without the Great October and the historical liberation mission of the Soviet Army and without friendship with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic would not have existed.

The fraternal ties between the two countries were expanded in all areas as a result of the 7 October 1975 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty concluded between the USSR and the GDR. The material and spiritual potentials of our countries became even more closely unified. Our peoples are steadily coming closer to one another in the course of daily life. This fraternal alliance is a great revolutionary gain, the 10th party congress noted, and will remain unbreakable for all time. In accordance with Ernst Thalmann's behest, we consider the attitude toward the Soviet Union a testing stone for every party member.

The nature of socialism and peace is one and the same, our 10th party congress emphasized. That is why the struggle against the superarmament policy pursued by NATO, as a result of which the international situation has worsened considerably, and the struggle for limiting armaments and for disarmament play an important role in our policy. Our primary task is to work actively for the protection of mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. The peoples must benefit from the results of their toil under conditions of peace. All social objectives and individual plans are related to the implementation of this humanistic task which, as the SED congress proved, imbues all aspects of the party's policy.

Faced with the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States and its NATO partners aimed at changing the ratio of forces in the world and giving imperialism military-strategic superiority, our concept of peace includes constructive steps for ensuring international security along with the necessary measures for ensuring the defense of the socialist fatherland.

We actively favor the implementation of any suggestion aimed at pursuit of the all-embracing peace initiative of universal and historical significance formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. We consider it proof of a constructive approach to the gravest problems of international politics, an approach entirely dictated by the interests of peace. It is aimed not only at temporary but at long-range radical improvement in the international situation and the establishment of a long and durable peace.

In our policy toward the FRG we proceed, here again, from the most important need to serve the cause of peace and to preserve it for many years into the future. We believe that the development of normal relations between the two German states is of great importance to the situation in the rest of Europe. They are influenced by the international situation. In turn, however, they can influence the international situation favorably. Naturally, this cannot take place if the FRG becomes a launching pad for the new U. S. nuclear missiles, if it keeps proclaiming the hackneyed pan-Germanic doctrine of the "existence of the German Reich within the 1937 borders," dares to speak on behalf of "all Germans" and tries to lead West Berlin in violation of the quadripartite agreement, into the fairway of NATO policy.

True, the political leaders of the FRG have frequently stated that they do not ever want to see a war originate on German soil. However, the fate of the world is decided above all not by words but by actions. Those who support a policy of superarmament of NATO and fan anticommunism and anti-Sovietism with the help of lies concerning the "threat from the East" threaten the peace and hinder the further normalizing of relations between the two states.

The 10th SED Congress reemphasized that in accordance with the world revolutionary process the people of the GDR have irreversibly spoken out in favor of socialism. Under the leadership of the working class they have created a socialist German nation. Nothing can change this fact. That is why one must always proceed on the basis of the actual existence of two independent and sovereign German states with different social systems, always and without any stipulations.

The GDR intends to implement its international duty sensibly at the crossroads of the socialist and imperialist worlds, and of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in the future as well, and to contribute to the preservation of peace in Europe.

The 10th SED Congress summarized the results of GDR domestic and foreign policy. The major efforts made by the party and the people in recent years yielded good results. This has created an awareness of strength and confidence in the successful solution of new problems.

In the course of the fierce battles against imperialism the SED and GDR have realized their national and international duty. Despite fierce enemy attacks, the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil has strengthened its political stability. Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, it is acting as a bulwark of peace in the heart of Europe. Thanks to its anti-imperialist cohesion, as was emphasized by the representatives of fraternal parties attending the 10th SED Congress, it enjoys international prestige.

Whereas one crisis follows another in the capitalist countries, a dynamic upsurge is continuing to take place in all realms of social life in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, including ours. The GDR has firmly established itself as one of the ten most industrially developed countries in the world. The crisis and unrestrained price increases on the world's markets have had an adverse effect on our economy. However, even under such circumstances the GDR was able to increase its productive capacity substantially and to raise labor productivity thanks to the development of science and technology. A course leading to the implementation of the main task was systematically pursued through unified economic and social

policies. The foundations of social insurance and social progress were reliably guaranteed and broadened. The material and cultural standards of the working people were raised further. Production forces grew systematically and socialist production relations improved. Thus, as of 1980, GDR industrial and construction activities have been conducted almost entirely on the basis of 157 combines controlled on a centralized basis. This marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of our socialist planned economy.

Social production intensification, which is the main road leading to economic progress, is yielding increasingly better results, as confirmed by the following figures: compared with the 1971-1975 period, during the last five-year plan the national income rose by 25.4 percent while the production of means for increasing national economic efficiency rose by 60 percent; 90 percent of the growth of the national income in 1980 was achieved as a result of higher labor productivity. Science and technology are the main intensification factor and the most important lever for higher economic productivity and effectiveness.

The results of the party's agrarian policy proved that the new social system requires the use of socialist production relations in the countryside as well. Over the last 5 years GDR socialist agriculture became even stronger politically, economically and socially. The major disparities between town and country were reduced and high production indicators were reached.

The division of labor and production concentration and specialization were developed successfully through socialist cooperation. Modern crop-growing and animal-husbandry agricultural production cooperatives and people's estates, farming respectively 87.6 and 6.9 percent of the arable land, were created after the Ninth SED Congress. In accordance with the congress' assignments, new model statutes and work rules for agricultural production cooperatives were drafted, discussed at cooperative farmers' conferences and ratified by the Council of Ministers. Under the new conditions, democracy in the cooperative farms developed and strengthened even further.

The great successes achieved in all economic areas made possible the construction of 813,000 apartment units, 63,000 of which above the plan, in 1976-1980. We have thus come considerably closer to the implementation of our sociopolitical program, according to which the housing problem will be fully resolved by 1990.

Thanks to the application of a socialist policy of wages, based on the quantity and quality of labor, rise in minimal wages, larger pensions and improvements in the social insurance system, the population's real income rose. Substantial measures were implemented to reduce the length of the working time, longer paid leave was granted to 8.7 million working people, leave for pregnancy was extended further and so on.

All that was achieved in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the ninth party congress was the result of the intensive and efficient work of millions of working people. It is the result of relations of firm and unbreakable trust between the party and the people. This clearly shows the way the advantages of socialism are translated into practical policies under the party's guidance and the way the possibilities of the socialist planned economy and the achievements of scientific and technical progress are used for the good of the people.

The distance covered since the Eighth SED Congress has proved that intensive work is contributing to the good of the entire people and of each separate individual. This must continue in the future as well. "That is why," Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized at the 10th party congress, "in the future as well the SED's social policy will be focused on...our economy and on the adamant efforts of our people to upgrade its effectiveness. This is the main key to further progress in the building of mature socialism...The requirements facing our economy are increasing noticeably. However, we can deal with them, for our forces and possibilities of keeping pace with the headlong development of contemporary production forces have increased.

The working class and the entire people warmly approved of the decision of the 10th party congress to continue the policy geared to the implementation of the main task in the 1980s as well. This will mean the systematic implementation of the course of gradually raising the material and cultural standards of our people on the basis of high socialist production rates, increased effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and higher labor productivity.

This is specifically expressed in the "Directives of the 10th SED Congress on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR National Economy in 1981-1985." The directives are based on the economy strategy for the 1980s, which consists of the 10 points listed by Comrade Erich Honecker at the congress.

This strategy emphasizes the need for taking an essentially new step in combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, reaching a significant increase in labor productivity, making effective use of fuel and raw material resources, earning worldwide recognition for the "GDR quality product" label, increasing the labor effectiveness of the national income by lowering costs and improving economic results, ensuring the fuller utilization of socialist efficiency, reaching a new level in capital investment policy, increasing the production of higher-grade consumer and export goods and making socialist intensification the determining feature of the planned economy.

Since a sharp increase in economic effectiveness requires a considerably enhanced economic influence on the part of scientific and technical achievements, the idea of the use of the achievements of the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution as the main reserve for reaching higher economic power runs throughout the overall concept of the new economic strategy.

That is why we are even further encouraging the development, production and application of items based on microelectronics and the use of industrial robots and of highly productive technology with a view to ensuring the more economical utilization of petroleum, natural gas and soft coal, which is our domestic resource, and are focussing our efforts on developing chemical processing and expanding nuclear power engineering. In order to ensure a new upsurge in labor productivity and upgrade technological standards substantially, the number of installed industrial robots will reach 40,000-45,000 rather than 9,000 as initially stipulated in the five-year plan. This project was taken up with particular enthusiasm by the FDJ. At its 11th congress, it adopted as youth shock targets the state assignments related to industrial robotics and capital construction with a view to contributing to the comprehensive application of highly productive technology.

The five-year plan directives make a number of important assignments. They call for raising the volume of industrial output, labor productivity and the national income by 28-30 percent by 1985, while steadily reducing production costs. In agriculture, crop growing in particular, yields must reach 43.2-43.7 quintals of grain per hectare of farm land by 1985.

New successes can be achieved in our social policies on the basis of such dynamic economic growth. Thus, as a result of the building of new and the modernizing of existing housing facilities, 930,000-950,000 apartment units will be completed by 1985, as a result of which another 2.8 million citizens will have improved their housing conditions.

Real income and retail trade will be increased by 20-22 percent and sales of new types of high-grade items will be expanded. Under this five-year plan, social consumption funds will rise by 26 percent and reach 295 billion marks.

All in all, as Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized, the five-year plan directives include all the basics required for the implementation of our party program, presented in terms of specific objectives and tasks clear to everyone. This applies equally to the upsurge of the national economy, the communist upbringing of the youth, cultural and spiritual life and the development of science, public education, health care and other areas of social life.

The further intensification of the progressive and humanistic nature of science will always remain an important party concern, so that science may increasingly contribute to the growth of GDR economic power and the enhancement of the living standard of the working people. Higher and specialized secondary schools must train cadres familiar with the latest scientific achievements, possessing practical knowledge and skills, acquainted with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and able to assess their individual contributions to the all-round strengthening of socialism on a principled basis and from party positions.

The public education system must do everything possible to ensure the skilled practical training of young people so as to develop in them class-oriented thinking and readiness to engage in politically conscious actions. Literature and the arts, party-minded in nature, closely linked with the people and socialist in content, the party congress emphasized, contribute to the shaping of a socialist awareness and co-bringing out the creative powers of the working people.

Great tasks were set by the 10th party congress. We have undertaken their implementation with a feeling of optimism and the awareness that our socialist society has all the necessary prerequisites for achieving this. Most decisive among them are the party's policy, systematically aimed at ensuring the good of the people, trust in the party and readiness for new accomplishments on the part of the working people of town and country, their socialist convictions, high educational standards and extensive experience and, above all, the militant party organizations closely linked with the masses.

Economic and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and socialist economic integration constitute yet another decisive prerequisite for the development of socialism in the GDR. The agreements concluded with the USSR on energy and raw

material supplies at prices which will remain below those on the world capitalist market are of vital importance to the GDR, as a country poor in raw materials.

The increasingly complementary nature of our national economies, the implementation of the specialization and cooperation program and mutually profitable cooperation strengthen the joint potential of real socialism.

The 10th SED Congress emphasized that ideological and organizational unity and cohesion are the inviolable foundation and important prerequisite for our new victories. The further enhancement of the party's leading role in all areas of social life, constant improvements in ideological and organizational activities and a policy of alliances are necessary prerequisites for strengthening the worker-peasant system.

Our Marxist-Leninist battle vanguard has grown considerably since the ninth party congress. Today, it rallies 2,172,110 party members and candidate members. It is based on 79,668 primary and shop party organizations with whose help it has won reliable positions in all areas of social life. The combat power of the primary party organizations is rising steadily. They have become centers of political activity and are based on relations of trust in the working people. They are acting ever more successfully as organizers in the implementation of our course of unified economic and social policy.

The social composition of the party has strengthened and so has its age structure. The educational standard of the party membership has become higher. Workers account for 57.6 percent of the total membership, the highest ever; 42.5 percent of the party members and candidate members are under 40 years of age, 34.1 percent are graduates of higher or secondary specialized schools, and 21.9 percent of all working people in the GDR are party members. The 10th party congress called for strengthening the party's class structure and for creating in all labor collectives an active nucleus of party members without substantially increasing the size of the party's membership. Ensuring the active and dedicated activity of every party member remains a decisive feature, in accordance with our tried slogan: "The Party Is Wherever a Party Member May Be."

"The implementation of this slogan," Comrade Erich Honecker said, "is determined by the way every party member and manager combines words with actions and the example he sets of unity between conviction and behavior. His class position, loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism and cohesion and personal contribution to the strengthening of our economic power are quite important, for they inspire the working people to dedicate their efforts to the all-round strengthening of the GDR."

The strict requirements governing the leading role of the party are based above all on the tasks substantiated at the 10th SED Congress in the new stage of our social development, in the areas of politics, economics, ideology and defense. They are dictated by our international duty in the class confrontation with imperialism and the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist comity. The new requirements concerning the party's political leadership are also based on the increased spiritual requirements of the people and the high level reached in their socialist awareness and education.

The 10th SED Congress emphasized that the party must improve its political leadership of social processes along three basic directions.

First, it must strive to enhance the quality and effectiveness of leadership further through the implementation of the Central Committee's decisions on the basis of the unity and cohesion of each party group and labor collective. A comprehensive approach, collectivity and personal responsibility, intraparty democracy, active party life, strict implementation of decisions and constant party control are the elements which are becoming even more important in the organization of party work today.

The responsibility of leading party organs and party organizations becomes particularly increased in the combines, for it is there that the main concentration of the working class is to be found and the great strength of the party is most visible since one quarter of all party members are to be found here. The congress directs the leading party organs to give their maximal attention and assistance to the primary party organizations and, in accordance with Lenin's instruction, "To assist...in making a conscious choice of ways, means and methods of struggle so that the biggest and most durable results may be achieved with the lowest possible outlay of forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 208).

Second, it must take into consideration that the economy remains the decisive sector in the revolutionary activity of the party as a whole and the individual party member. The leading party organs must formulate and encourage the type of initiatives and measures which will ensure substantial increases in production capacity. Every party member and working person must be told what he can do and the new and specific contribution he can make for the good of the people. Political leadership means the ability to convert such conclusions into active social efforts and to contribute to the reaching of higher economic indicators. This is the basic meaning of the action program of the primary party organizations, which was revised after the 10th party congress in accordance with the new requirements and was approved at party meetings.

Third, it must bear in mind that upgrading the political consciousness of the working people, strengthening their revolutionary positions, supporting their activeness and readiness for action, developing their moral qualities and enhancing their spiritual and cultural standards require high-level management of mass party work. The congress described its mobilizing influence on the minds and actions of the people as the yardstick for all ideological and political activity. In this case, the manner in which the party members spread the party word among the masses, the extent to which they are familiar with the feelings and opinions of the people, their reaction to them and the activeness with which they support everything benefiting the cause of socialism and its progress play a decisive role.

Ideological work has been and remains the core of SED party work.

The party has raised and trained many new cadres in the course of its successful work. They have increased its greatest capital -- the backbone of battle-tested cadres. It is precisely now, in the period of increased requirements, that we pay particular attention to and show special concern for them. Cadre problems were and remain class problems to us. Cadre activities are the work of the class. In

accordance with the stipulations of the 10th congress, we shall continue to upgrade the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party by raising the type of cadres who are familiar with the life and work of the workers from personal experience and who always act as the representatives of their class.

The 10th SED Congress reasserted that nothing done by the party is self-seeking and that everything it does is for the good of the working people. Loyal to this principle, we are marching forward as we follow the reliable course, guided by our party program, strengthening our socialist fatherland and multiplying the forces of the socialist comity and the world revolutionary movement.

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FREEDOM AND VIOLENCE -- TOPICAL ASSOCIATIONS

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[Review by N. Pokrovskiy of the books "SShA: Problemy Istorii i Sovremennaya Istoriofafiya" [United States: Problems of History and Contemporary Historiography] by N. N. Bolkhovitinov, Nauka, Moscow, 1980; and "Ideynnye Tcheniya v Amerikanskoy Revolyutsii XVIII Veka" [Ideological Currents in the 18th Century American Revolution] by V. V. Sogrin, Nauka, Moscow, 1980]

[Text] The study of U. S. sociopolitical and ideological history has invariably led and still leads to fierce polemics which essentially reflect a confrontation between radically conflicting outlooks, the proletarian and the bourgeois, particularly on the basic problems of war and peace, the revolutionary process, freedom and democracy.

The great tension which accompanies political arguments on the historical path of the United States is explained not only by the fact that its history is the history of the most prominent country in today's Western world, but also the fact that in no other capitalist country has the past, wrapped in skillfully created myths and theories, been brought so very close to the current tasks of bourgeois propaganda. This is the reason for which almost any seemingly strictly academic study of American history assumes a topical political meaning when considered from a certain viewpoint.

Although the two new monographs under review, written by Soviet historians N. Bolkhovitinov and V. Sogrin, are studies of a broad range of general methodological as well as relatively specific problems of 17th-18th century U. S. history, in the light of the contemporary ideological struggle they are of unquestionable significance. Furthermore, the changes in the political premises of American propaganda, related to the advent to power of the new administration headed by President Reagan, and the boosting of the many-faceted and far-reaching thesis of the threat of "international terrorism," lead us to see in these works new meanings which bring to life quite contemporary and even topical associations.

A consideration of so-called early U. S. history, i.e., the process of the establishment and shaping of the American nation in the 17th-18th centuries, is the type of very fruitful topic which leads to thoughts and comparisons which go beyond the limits of American history studies, conceived in the strict meaning of the term.

A truly scientific work of historical research can never leave the reader indifferent however long the time segment which stands between our contemporary and the studied events may be. This generally obvious and repeatedly proven truth is reembodyed in the books under review. The very development of the current political situation in the world and the intensifying confrontation between socialism and capitalism not only pertain to but fully drag into their seething rapids a great variety of historical science sectors, called upon not only to illustrate today's political discussions but to act as a major and infallible argument in favor of the objective truthfulness of the Marxist-Leninist, materialistic and dialectical view of historical reality.

American bourgeois historiography, which in its time produced a number of big names which are of interest to modern students of American history to this day, is a widespread system of a variety of schools and directions which, regardless of their conceptual dissimilarity, contradictoriness and even occasional reciprocal and inimical hostility, invariably find grounds for unity when it becomes a question of the defense of the age-old interests of the bourgeois outlook. The familiar theory of "consensus" (accord) assumes priority in the entire ideological variety and diversity of interpretations of American history. This theory is currently enjoying a second wind on the crest of the neoconservative political and sociophilosophical wave which has been swelling in the United States since the beginning of the 1980s.

The pseudoscientific myths which have been created around the more than 200 years of U. S. history include the closely interrelated theories of "American exclusivity," the "providential mission of the United States," and the already mentioned "consensus."

In general, the essence of these theories may be reduced to the fact that the foundations of American history lie in an extratemporal and extraclass experiment, free from the burden of the age-old "divinely inspired" creation of an entire system of state and social institutions which pacify the conflicts which break out among "social groups." In his study of the theories of the supporters of the "consensus," N. Bolkhovitinov points out that according to G. Bancroft, for example, from the very beginning, the "spirit" of the first American colonists in the 17th century demanded freedom and that, by the grace of the Almighty, the Americans were entrusted with the special mission of disseminating freedom the world over. More than one century after G. Bancroft, the 19th century historian, the same ideas were taken up by the noted historian R. Hofstadter, who repeatedly wrote about a common ideological climate in the United States: "However serious differences may have existed on specific....points, the main political traditions were based on belief in the right to ownership, a philosophy of economic individualism and the value of competition." According to him, a common ground, a unity of political and cultural traditions on which, he claimed, an American civilization, an essentially "individualistic and capitalistic" civilization could be detected behind all "temporary and local conflicts" (see N. Bolkhovitinov, p 10). R. Hofstadter, R. Brown, C. Rossiter, D. Burstein, L. Hartz and their numerous followers, the author points out, comprehensively supported the unity and stability of American society, minimizing and even denying the role of class and social disparities and claiming that there had never been a "class struggle in the European meaning of the term" in America (Ibid., p 9).

One of the essential characteristics of this kind of historical and philosophical theories is that they clearly exceed the limits of academic discussions, for such concepts "are aimed at mass acceptance" (V. Sogrin, p 39). This gives U. S. history and its theoretical interpretation a very important ideological-propagandist "dimension."

The ideologs of "consensual" interpretations of U. S. history base their theoretical elaborations on the entirely incorrect exaggeration of some features of that country's history which, although important, do not change the nature of American capitalism.

The most frequent past and present interpretation of the reason for the "conflict-free" nature of U. S. history is that from its very beginning American society was not blocked by the "basalt ruins of feudal castles." Feudalism, which triggered fierce class clashes in Europe, never became the dominant socioeconomic system in the United States. On this subject Marx wrote that American bourgeois society acts "not as the result of an ancient movement which survived the old society but as the starting point of some kind of new movement" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, Part I, p 4). However, this unquestionable "novelty" in the American nation which was developing in the 18th century has been arbitrarily absolutized by bourgeois historiographers and proclaimed the main feature of the entire American system, which allegedly had no class antagonisms, as the latter are exclusively rooted in European feudal class stratifications.

One of these erroneously absolutized facts of American history which, according to the "consensualists," eliminated the grounds for class conflicts in that country, was the role played by the state stock of free land in the West (the so-called "flexible frontier") which, although in fact able to dull somewhat the gravity of social conflicts, was unable to eliminate them to any extent. Suffice it to say that as early as the 1860s (i.e., at the peak of the "free land" development), the Civil War broke out in the United States between the industrial-farming North and the slave-owning South. This was the bloodiest and longest military conflict of the 19th century. This war was of a clearly manifested class nature and can be justifiably considered as the second American bourgeois revolution.

In his study of the development of capitalism in the United States, F. Engels noted two factors which long hindered the full manifestation of all the consequences of the development of the capitalist system in America: "The possibility of acquiring land easily and inexpensively and the influx of immigrants for many years enabled the native American population at the peak of its physical strength to "refuse" to hire itself out as labor and to engage in farming, trading or entrepreneurial activities, while hard hired labor and life-time proletarian status frequently became the lot of the immigrant" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 21, pp 263-264). As capitalism developed further "in depth" and "in width," the big safety valve which hindered the formation of a permanent proletarian class actually became inoperative. "The trend within the capitalist system toward the definitive division of society into two classes -- a handful of millionaires, on the one hand, and the huge mass of hired labor, on the other -- was never manifested more strongly than in America, although it constantly clashed with and was opposed by other social factors...." (Ibid., p 264).

Instead of displaying true scientific objectivity, the contemporary bourgeois mass awareness sometimes accepts American history as virtually a grandiose historical epic of the discovery and development of the promised land -- the biblical Canaan -- on the North American continent and as the construction of the "city on the hill" -- the New Zion. In this connection, the historical path of the United States is reinterpreted and rewritten from the viewpoint of a certain single flow of the development of the entire nation, which allegedly possessed an initial "harmony of interests" and was marked with the seal of the chosen people. The modern political ideologists themselves do not ignore early U. S. history and make active use of the theses of the original "prophetic" divine choosing of America. The electoral speeches of R. Reagan, today's President of the United States, were rich in references to the sermons of John Winthrop, the religious philosopher of the mid-17th century, who entertained the new immigrants on the American continent with the prophesy that "A shining city will appear on the top of the mountain."

Such substantiations of the motive forces in American history may seem to any sober observer not only quite remote from scientific truth but also unconvincing from the logical viewpoint of common sense. Naturally, biblical providentialism and messianism as found in the mass awareness of Americans today are far different from the crude version preached by 17th-18th century American religious fanatics, those "virtuosos of sober Protestantism" as Marx put it (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 763). Nevertheless, the idea of some deep "difference" in America and its dissimilarity to Europe in culture, social customs and mores and deployment of social forces is a conviction shared by many Americans, even those considered "educated" in the present meaning of the term, a conviction which is theoretically substantiated in the works of noted historians and philosophers.

The idea of the "single flow" of American history (including its most recent period) has become the favorite tool of bourgeois propaganda, assisted by television serials, "soft-cover" historical novels and electoral speeches by politicians. Ignoring scientific interpretations of U. S. history, the imperialist ideologists are attempting to identify the present with the time of the 18th century American Revolution and thus to place themselves under the banner of the ideals of freedom and democracy raised by the American Enlightenment, ideals which were severely and even tragically tested in the course of the American War of Independence -- the American bourgeois revolution.

The celebration of the U.S. bicentennial developed into a noisy campaign, whose purpose, according to its organizers, was to demonstrate the unity of the American nation, independent of the passage of time. President J. Carter frequently delivered his addresses in that ideological key. He constantly appealed for a return to the primordial Christian morality of the historical foundations of the American nation which, in his opinion, should have looked more closely into the God-designed way to cleanse itself from the harmful foulness of growing immorality, in which he included manifestations of radical tendencies as well.

The historical mythology, which was created to meet the entirely specific "earthly" needs of the American bourgeoisie in the course of the establishment of a setting for its power, is in complete disagreement with irrefutable facts. One of them is that the American society, which appeared and was formed in the 17th-18th centuries, was an antagonistic class system with deep inherent contradictions.

In the colonial period of American history, a rather violent clash took place on the North American continent between the outmoded but still active elements of feudalism imported by the British colonial rulers, and developing capitalism. This clash, which aggravated class collisions to the point of self-ignition, could hardly be described as "social harmony." N. Bolkhovitinov notes in this connection that the ideas that colonial America was governed by "middle class democracy," "equality" and so on are quite distant from real historical truth. In American colonial society, class, civic and economic inequality (although not so grave as in Europe) gradually intensified rather than diminished. This leads the author to the important methodological conclusion which marks the main watershed separating Marxist from bourgeois historiography: "...The establishment of capitalist relations in North America during and after the colonial period was closely related to the development of capitalism in Western Europe, Great Britain above all. The birth of capitalism in the United States was not an isolated American phenomenon but part of the common European-American and, in the final account, global process" (N. Bolkhovitinov, p 48).

Therefore, the initial "material" of U. S. historical development contained within it grave social contradictions which made themselves known quite clearly in the age of the American bourgeois revolution.

The historical path of the American nation, which was formed in the 17th-18th centuries, was marked not by a conflict-free "consensus" among social groups, as bourgeois researchers constantly write, but by blasts of violence and open terror aimed against the liberation movement of the people's masses in the North American colonies. The question of peaceful or violent ways and means of political struggle in the age of early American history shows the conflicting dialectics of U. S. social development, considered in a single yet very important aspect.

Until 1776 America was an English colony inhabited by settlers in the "classical" meaning of the term, with all deriving economic and social consequences. The majority of the population in the North American colonies, consisting mainly of small and medium farmers, was subject to double oppression: on the part of the English and the local American magnates -- the real landlords who owned huge land and other wealth not only comparable to that of the richest British aristocrats of that period but occasionally even greater. Need we say that the social situation which had developed in colonial America was far from idyllic?

Thus, N. Bolkhovitinov points out, in the Colony of New York, where the Van Rensselaer, Livingstone and other families owned hundreds of thousand of acres of land, agrarian conflicts were commonplace, if such phenomena, which involved casualties and official terror could be considered commonplace. The 1766 farmers' rebellion in the Hudson River valley was particularly violent. Farmers and small land leasers demanded the abolishment of leases, transfer of the land to those who worked it and an end to the unchallenged arbitrariness of the magnates. As was to be expected, the farmers' rebellion was put down with the joint efforts of British colonial troops and local landlords, and W. Prendergast, its leader, was sentenced to death. But due to fear of even worse popular disturbances, he was pardoned by the authorities at the last minute (see N. Bolkhovitinov, pp 28-29), it is true.

The convincing data cited by N. Bolkhovitinov and V. Sogrin prove that the struggle which the American farmers waged against the rich and influential land owners was

never "sectional" or "regional," i.e., dictated by strictly local and limited interests. On the contrary, it represented a broad mass movement of social protest triggered, in the final account, by the intensified process of initial accumulation of capital in the North American colonies.

Mass violence (for example, during the rebellion of the "regulators" in North Carolina between the end of the 1760s and beginning of the 1770s, farmers freed debtors from jail, attacked courts, chased out sheriffs, wrecked the estates of particularly hated landlords, and so on) was not an act of anarchic arbitrariness but was always an extreme forced measure directed against the covert and overt economic and political pressure exerted by the ruling class, invariably resting on the force of arms for the sake of maintaining "order."

All of this proves, yet once again, that the people of any country or age do not resort to violence for the sake of violence or to "terrorism," as labelled by bourgeois ideologs who are thus trying to ascribe to national liberation or revolutionary protest the features of recklessness and adventurism. The people's masses resort to arms only under the pressure of cruel and bitter necessity, in answer to the terror practiced by the ruling rich. This truth was revealed even more strongly in the stormy years of the struggle for the independence of the North American colonies.

N. Bolkhovitinov and V. Sogrin proceed from the most important Marxist-Leninist methodological thesis according to which the War of Independence was of a revolutionary nature. In his "Letter to the American Workers" Lenin described the struggle of the rebelling colonies as "one of the great, truly liberation, truly revolutionary wars of which there have been so few in the tremendous mass of predatory wars" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37 p 38). He described the U. S. War of Independence as a "great war of liberation" as well.

The American Revolution of the end of the 18th century pursued two most important objectives: freedom from British colonial dependence and reorganization of the social system of the provinces in a bourgeois-democratic spirit. On the eve of the historical 1776 and in the course of the further development of the revolution two main political camps developed within American society: the "loyalist" camp, which was trying to preserve at all cost socioeconomic and particularly political ties with England, and the camp of the revolutionary bourgeoisie which, in a period of growing national liberation struggle, was expressing the profound anticolonial feeling of the masses, who saw in the "English bandits" their principal enemies.

It was precisely in those prerevolutionary and revolutionary times that the political radicalism of the patriotic anticolonial bourgeoisie reached its peak, as was clearly manifested in the ideology of the leaders of the revolutionary movement J. Otis, P. Henry and S. Adams and the outstanding American enlighteners and democrats B. Franklin, T. Paine and T. Jefferson. P. Henry's words have become a graphic leitmotif of the anticolonial struggle waged by the American people: "...But there is no peace. The war has actually begun!...Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I do not know what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

S. Adams, who was one of the first to realize the full futility of appeals to the British parliament and King George III, openly incited his fellow-citizens to physical opposition to the colonial authorities. This call met with lively response among the broad strata of small farmers, land leasers, craftsmen and the urban population of Massachussets. Boston initiated the armed struggle of the colonists for their civil rights. The first bloody clash with English troops took place there in 1770. In 1773 the famous "Boston Tea Party" took place in Boston harbor (armed attack on English ships) which became a most important milestone along the road to revolution.

Typically, the revolutionary radicalism of the leaders of the American patriotic bourgeoisie was based on the idea of people's sovereignty and democracy. For example, S. Adams wrote that "the only power which, under Divine providence, must save us in the final account" may be "the common people of the continent" (see V. Sogrin, p 93). Although the end objectives of the leaders of the left wing in the patriotic camp were always purely bourgeois, they did not conceive of their accomplishment without the involvement of the broad popular masses in the armed struggle for the independence of the colonies and the subsequent administration of the new American state.

In this connection Marx wrote that it was in the American revolution that the "Idea of a united great democratic republic" arose for the first time, the "first declaration of human rights was proclaimed and the initial impetus to the 18th century European revolution was provided" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch., Vol 16 p 17). Naturally, the democratic revolutionism of the American radical bourgeoisie pertained above all to to the realm of "ideas" and "declarations" rather than to practical politics, particularly in the period of decline of the revolutionary process. As we know, however, together with other factors of historical development, ideas have major destructive and constructive power.

T. Jefferson, the outstanding American philosopher-enlightener and subsequently diplomat and statesman of the young republic, became the central figure and leading ideolog and political leader of the left wing of the patriotic camp. Regardless of his great services to science and culture, his main contribution to the history of the world's political theory and revolutionary practice was as the author of the Declaration of Independence.

The initial sociopolitical principles of the Declaration include the assertion of the right of every nation to self-determination and independence, which can be achieved through all available means, including violence. The quintessence of the political and philosophical radicalism of the Declaration is the recognition of the right to revolt: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.... That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Thus, in his programmatic document, Jefferson firmly combined the anticolonial struggle with the task of the subsequent democratic reorganization of society, including the right of the people to overthrow a government no longer controlled

by the people by the force of arms. The right of the people to armed rebellion itself was considered by him (and by other ideologs of the left wing of the patriotic camp, such as T. Paine) the most important civil right of the American people. Naturally, Jefferson's political revolutionism was limited to the interests of the working farmers and the petite bourgeoisie. However, even despite its greatly abstract nature the Declaration of Independence represented an ideological danger to the victorious bourgeoisie which, under the new circumstances, wanted not appeals to disobedience and struggle, as contained in the Declaration, but the assertion by all possible means of its right to rule the masses. Therefore, soon after 1776, the Declaration of Independence became an "inconvenient" document which, on the one hand, could not be rejected, for it actually proclaimed the founding of the United States, while on the other, the deeper study of its philosophical and political meaning raised too many "touchy" problems for official America.

The campaign of struggle against "international terrorism" currently being waged in the United States, i.e., a campaign of slandering the international liberation movement, is hardly consistent with the history of the United States itself, which came into this world as a result of the armed struggle waged by the American people against colonial rule. This fact in particular was pointed out in the 3 February 1981 TASS declaration on the subject of the propaganda stir about "terrorism: "The inconsistency of the newly-hatched 'theoreticians of terrorism' is clear from the fact alonethat, according to their logic, George Washington and the other 'founding fathers' of the United States, who headed the struggle of the American colonies for independence, should be classified as terrorists."

In pitting the present conservatism of the American monopoly bourgeoisie against the democracy of the left wing of the patriotic revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1776, we must bear in mind that this revolutionism and democracy were, unquestionably, quite conflicting and limited. For example, while proclaiming that all people are equal, the Declaration of Independence had in mind only "free" white men, and not at all the blacks, the "indentured servants" and women, H. Aptheker, the Marxist historian, notes. (For the sake of comparison let us point out that at that time the country included 650,000 slaves, 300,000 Indians and 250,000 indentured servants.) Therefore, 40 percent of the male population alone of the country, not to speak of the women, were not covered by the provisions of the Declaration of Independence.

Such a list of various contradictions in the revolutionary enlightenment ideology of the 18th century could be extended further. However, within the context of the specific historical struggle of ideas which accompanied the founding of the United States, Jeffersonian democracy not only does not lose stature but may appear as one of the highlights of bourgeois humanism in the age of enlightenment, although it may look limited in terms of contemporary standards. This becomes particularly clear if we compare it with the views of A. Hamilton, the founder of the other political and philosophical tradition in the United States and inspirer of the "Federalist" Party.

Hamilton was hardly inferior to Jefferson in terms of innate brilliance and gifts, depth of theoretical knowledge, practical and economic above all, and ability to organize political movements. In the period of active anticolonial struggle, Hamilton, still a very young man, like Jefferson, firmly joined the patriotic forces. He joined the active colonists' army and was Washington's favorite aide de camp. However, the young and ambitious secretary of the treasury directed all his scientific talents toward aims different from Jefferson's.

Hamilton and the Federalist Party he headed were willing to farm out the entire future of the United State to the big land-owning and financial bourgeoisie. According to the Federalists, rallied around a rigidly centralized hierarchical state, this bourgeoisie was to reject all democratic prejudices and rule the American nation with an iron fist. "Whereas Hamilton cynically assumed that 'the people are a huge savage beast' while J. Adams, the leader of the moderates, called for entrusting full power in the country to an educated political elite, Jefferson, the leader of the democrats, invariably proceeded from the principle that...the republican freedoms in the United States can be preserved only 'if the people themselves were put in charge of safeguarding them'" (V. Sogrin, pp 158-159).

The 1787 U. S. Constitution was drafted mainly by the Federalists, for which reason it is to this day an excellent example of their ideology. It was only the first ten amendments to the Constitution (known as the Bill of Rights), adopted as a result of a fierce struggle between the Jefferson and Hamilton factions, that sanctioned the legal observance of basic bourgeois democratic freedoms. The Federalists combined reverence for English constitutional monarchy (even in the United States its supporters tried to get the President appointed for life) with almost visceral hatred for the French Revolution. Typical of the views of the big American bourgeoisie of that time, and not only of then, obviously, was Hamilton's tirade against a speaker who had dared to proclaim his democratic convictions: "Your people, kind Sir, you people are simply animals!" Equally characteristic is the statement by Jefferson, Hamilton's direct enemy: "I am not among those who fear the people. It is they and not the rich who support us in our constant struggle for freedom." In the best traditions of the Enlightenment, in the sunset of his years Jefferson wrote about the universal spread of the light of knowledge, which taught the masses that "they were not born slaves or with saddles on their backs so that a few of the privileged could spur them on and rule them with the help of the law and by the grace of God."

On the basis of the theory of "natural law," traditional to the 18th century, Jefferson did not exclude from the future development of the United States a possible armed uprising of the people's masses, which he considered as natural to the political climate of the United States "as a storm in the universe of physical phenomena," as he himself said. Under the influence of the 1786-1787 farmers' rebellion, led by D. Scheis, Jefferson's firm and, for his time, most consistent belief in democracy was strengthened even further. Toward the end of the 1780s, V. Sogrin points out, the philosopher substantiated the idea of popular rebellions, according to which the American people's defense of their rights should be an indicator of the strength and viability of the spirit of democracy nurtured in the masses and developed in the course of the revolutionary struggle against English colonial rule.

It is of interest that Jefferson reached these conclusions, which were important in terms of sociophilosophical theory and political practice, while serving as American ambassador to the court of Louis XIV. The political sympathies of the American diplomat were no secret: many leaders of the revolutionary opposition gathered in Jefferson's home and many of the programmatic documents of that movement were drafted and discussed with his participation, including the historical Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. In that famous year of 1789, Jefferson was an enthusiastic witness to the revolutionary events which shook up Paris and all of France.

However, we must also be aware of the utopian nature of Jefferson's ideas, which made the educated agrarian bourgeois-democratic republic, based on the small farmers' class, the basic ruling system. According to Jefferson, the sole purpose of popular uprisings should be to determine and redress any deviation of this form of rule from its ideal condition.

However, to the philosopher-democrats on Jefferson's level, philosophical and political theory was not a self-seeking factor in social development. All of Jefferson's activities were imbued with the desire to establish a concrete link between the realm of "ideas" and that of sociopolitical and economic practice. Along with examples of naked social, economic and political violence provided by U. S. postrevolutionary social life, which were in such striking contrast to the initial slogans of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, the philosopher was endlessly concerned with numerous manifestations of a hidden ideological violence which entrapped the American mind. In exposing the obvious disproportion between the "physical" possibilities which were being opened up for the young nation, which was conquering a huge continent, and its backwardness and even stagnation in the field of social education, in the broad meaning of the term, Jefferson wrote: "This country, which is giving the world an example of physical freedom, is delinquent when it becomes a question of spiritual emancipation, for in our country it is only nominal. In practice, inquisition by public opinion predominates over the freedom theoretically guaranteed by the law."

It must be remembered, however, that Jefferson's extra-historical and extra-temporal view on the form of political system and social consciousness, which appealed to the "eternal reason," was as a whole typical of both the American and European enlightenments. "We now know," Engels pointed out, "that this kingdom of reason was nothing other than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie....Like all their predecessors, the great 18th century philosophers could not exceed the limits imposed upon them by their own age" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 17). However, even the very rigid "frames of the age" made it possible for the most far-sighted minds of the time to define the general prospect, although approximately and occasionally contradictorily, but still with a feeling of inner conviction: the road to freedom and democracy leads through a people's revolution.

The conservative American bourgeoisie, headed by the Federalists, invariably shed crocodile tears on the subject of the violence and human casualties which accompanied the American Revolution and which allegedly constituted its essence, thus offering proof of their thesis of the sameness of violence and the revolutionary transformation of society. One century later, in his answer to such promoters of pacification, and referring to the history of the French bourgeois revolution, Mark Twain wrote: "It is as if I am reading about France and the French and their forever memorable and blessed revolution which, in a single bloody wave, washed away thousands of years of such abominations and repayed the old debt: half a drop of blood for each bucket of blood extracted from the people through slow torture in the course of thousands of years of injustice, shame and pain not found even in hell. Let us remember and not forget that there were two "reigns of terror:" In the first murders were committed in the heat of passion, while in the second they were committed coolly and deliberately; the first lasted a few months while the second a thousand years; the first took the lives of tens of thousands of people and the second those of hundreds of millions."

The ruling exploiters, intent on maintaining the political and social status quo at all cost, invariably try to depict the revolutionary actions of the masses as typical "mob" actions, as unrestrained and blood-thirsty "terrorism." Thus, the English King George III himself accused the American colonists who objected to the oppression by the mother country of "open mutiny" and sentenced T. Jefferson, the author of the anticolonial pamphlet "General Survey of Rights of British America," to death in absentia. One quarter of a century later, however, following the victory of the bourgeois revolution and the establishment of the United States, the Federalists headed by Hamilton passed through the Congress a law on foreigners and on incitement to mutiny which contained charges levelled against Jefferson's party and the French emigrants, who were allegedly spreading the bacillus of radicalism in the United States.

Obviously, when we discuss the birth and development of durable national traditions in the United States we must distinguish between Jefferson's revolutionary, democratic and equalitarian line, which expressed the generally democratic ideology of the small working farmers of the second half of the 18th century, and Hamilton's line, which was oriented toward social elitism and the big owners, steadily gravitating toward totalitarianism and reflecting the fear of the people on the part of the American bourgeoisie.

The 200 years of U. S. history are characterized by the confrontation and struggle between these traditions (in the course of their unquestionable changes consistent with the new socioeconomic conditions). It is precisely in this sense that we must understand the stipulation entered in the bylaws of the U. S. Communist Party, adopted at its 16th national congress: "In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress the communist party tries to develop further the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglas...."

The enemies of democracy and social progress have always tried to identify revolution with violence. Unquestionably, the sharp social clashes which parallel a revolutionary process exclude the use of a pacifist ideology by the Marxist revolutionaries. However, this does not mean in the least that violence must be propagandized and applied as the only possible means in the struggle for the new. While sharply criticizing the S. R. Party, which relied on the idea of terrorism, Lenin bluntly stated that acts of terrorism disarm the people and that instead of leading to a struggle for liberation "they lead to the passive expectation of the next isolated act" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 384).

The reason for the sometimes inevitable armed violence on the part of the masses should be sought always in the fierce opposition of the reactionary forces which, in the face of defeat, resort to all possible methods, including "white terrorism," in order to postpone the outcome. It is precisely the reaction, be it the forces of the obsolete feudal society or the victorious bourgeoisie, apprehensive of the future, that encourages violence under the guise of the preservation of law and order, totally unconcerned with the fact that the country's future will be drowned in blood. In order to blacken the revolutionaries, their class enemies frequently accuse them of "terrorism," thus trying to balance on the scales of history the just struggle waged by the progressive forces for social justice and the thoughtless and adventurist and sometimes purely provocative "leftist" "outbreaks" which have nothing in common with true revolutionary theory and practice.

The monographs of N. Bolkhvitinov and V. Sogrin deal with the history of a country whose ruling classes love to speak extensively and in great detail of freedom, democracy and human rights. As a rule, they ignore the fact that the history of the United States itself has been and remains far from a loving "consensus among social groups" or the creative manifestation of the spirit of a "God-anointed" people. On the contrary, it is a fierce clash -- a real struggle between classes -- in the realms of economics, politics and ideology. On the basis of the Marxist methodology of historical research and the detailed and convincing substantiation of the facts of American history, many of which are introduced into Soviet scientific literature for the first time, the books by N. Bolkhovitinov and V. Sogrin go considerably beyond the chronological and topical frameworks indicated in their titles in terms of their ideological coverage. They enable us to understand more profoundly not only the historical path of the United States but the realities of the contemporary ideological struggle and to trace its historical and political roots.

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ENERGY CONSERVATION POLICY AND MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 111-114

[Letter to the editor by Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Leshchiner]

[Text] At the present stage in our national economic development the implementation of an energy conservation policy is becoming increasingly important.

At the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "Regardless of the pace at which we are developing our power industry, the conservation of heat and energy will remain the most important national task. That is why we must include in the plans increasing assignments on replacing obsolete and excessively power-intensive equipment, accelerating technical progress, ensuring the extensive use of energy-conserving technology and improving the heat retention of industrial and residential premises. The efforts of every collective and individual worker must be focused on the conservation of fuel and energy."

The economic significance of the conservation of fuel and energy grows with every passing year because of the increased scale of their consumption in all sectors and the steady increase in energy production costs in absolute terms and per unit of utilized resources. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" stipulates that, by 1985, compared to 1980, 160-170 conventional tons of fuel and energy resources must be saved, including 70-80 million tons from reduced outlay norms. An entire set of energy-saving measures must be implemented in order to reach this target. This will require tremendous efforts and substantial outlays.

It has been pointed out frequently that the contemporary level of utilization of fuel and energy resources (TER) in the Soviet national economy is insufficiently high and that tremendous reserves exist in this area. TER efficiency is rising but too slowly and the pace of its increases is slowing down. In 1980 unjustified TER losses in basic heavy industry sectors alone were assessed at 20 million tons of conventional fuel. Many major problems related to the rationalization of energy utilization are being resolved too slowly, such as, for example, increasing the level of centralized heat supplies and improving the utilization of secondary energy resources.

The effectiveness of the consolidation of boiler rooms was proved some time ago. This saves fuel, improves labor productivity and lowers capital investments per unit of capacity. Nevertheless, because of shortcomings in planning, financing and

management, the pace of construction of regional boiler rooms and heat distribution systems is obviously inadequate. Meanwhile, the construction of small heat procurement enterprises is growing rapidly. In Bashkiria alone, for example, nearly 1,500 such boiler rooms remain operational. Here the amount of fuel spent per gigacalorie is 50 percent higher than at the Bashteploenergo Association. The closing down of no more than 140 of them would make possible annual savings of 80,000 tons of conventional fuel and would release 1,200 men. In recent years, about 150,000 low-powered boilers have been produced in the country on an annual basis to meet the requirements of these small boiler rooms, the installation of which requires capital investments of almost 2.5 billion rubles while their operation requires the additional hiring of 120,000 workers. Consequently, today the TETs and regional boiler rooms account for no more than one half of the heat needed by the national economy. The balance comes from 250,000 small and very small boiler rooms, which consume 50,000 tons of conventional fuel annually (more than the annual amount of coal mined at the Karaganda and Moscow area coal basins). They are operated by 3.5 million people, which is higher by one half than the number of workers engaged in the extraction, treatment and transportation of the fuel and the production of electric and thermal power by the TETs.

This example enables us clearly to define the main reason for the current difficulties experienced in improving the efficiency of energy utilization in our country: the lack of a unified system for the management of energy consumption processes. Currently, such problems are being resolved on the departmental level only. Naturally, preference is given above all to sectorial interests. Bearing in mind that power outlays do not account for a determining portion of the production costs of most goods, it becomes clear why the various departments do not pay proper attention to saving on such outlays. In the majority of cases the sectors are interested only in ensuring the reliability of power supplies, for power interruptions always involve substantial losses. On the average for the entire national economy, losses caused by electric power supply failures are assessed at 30 kopeks per kilowatt/hour, which is higher than the average rate of electric power by a factor of more than 15, and is higher than the average power production cost by a factor of more than 30. Naturally, under such circumstances, economical power production objectively takes second place to reliability and the consumers try to acquire spare capacities and fuel reserves, without too much concern for costs.

Therefore, we are faced with a conflict between the interests of the national economy and of the individual sectors and enterprises in terms of resource utilization. Therefore, the problem of improving the efficiency of power consumption should be resolved on the intersectorial level. Correspondingly, a long-term fuel and energy conservation target program should be drafted on the intersectorial and national economic levels. It should be comprehensive and cover all aspects of TER conservation: scientific, production, organizational and economic.

We must bear in mind that relatively simple conservation measures requiring neither technical support nor capital investments could basically ensure no more than 10 percent of the possible fuel and energy conservation. Naturally, this possibility should in no case be neglected. However, we must clearly realize that technically supported TER conservation programs are of prime significance.

As in the case of other comprehensive national economic target programs, such technical support requires major structural changes in machine building. Technical

progress, embodied in new products of the machine-building industry and in the increased number of machines, mechanisms and instruments produced, is the basis of TER savings in the national economy. Therefore, we believe that in order to channel the entire economy into energy conservation, the following priority problems must be resolved in the 1980s: raising the production of equipment for the utilization of secondary power resources (recovery boilers, economizers, etc.), with the necessary spare parts, to the required level; establishing a specialized sector engaged in the mass manufacturing of effective gas-using equipment for various types of industrial furnaces and other gas-consuming systems; organizing the series manufacturing of equipment for the use of low-potency heat (heat pumps, heat-powered refrigeration equipment); increasing the production of gas and electric power meters in order to ensure the accurate determination of the use of power resources directly at energy-consuming systems; organizing the large series production and operation of facilities and systems for automatic control of combustion processes in low- and medium-capacity boilers and of water temperatures in heat-distribution grids; organizing the mass production of photorelay systems, programmed time relays and others, to control electric power outlays in industry and at home; increasing the production of locking-control equipment (control taps) for central-heating battery rooms, the acute shortage of which is currently causing considerable heat overexpenditures; increasing the production of systems for the compensation of the reacting capacity in power transmission cables with a view to reducing electric power losses; and organizing the production of equipment for the conversion of waste into thermal energy by garbage treatment enterprises.

C early, the solution of these very complex problems will demand major effort on the part of the machine-building ministries and a tremendous amount of organizational work. However, the implementation of an energy conservation policy in the national economy would be impossible without this.

Bearing in mind the current conversion from inexpensive energy to the use of ever more costly power resources, achieving the goal -- improving the use of TER --requires the reciprocal coordination of numerous energy-conserving measures implemented in various sectors. In this connection, the creation of a unified system in charge of controlling energy-consumption processes in the national economy becomes exceptionally important. In his article "Pressing Industrial Power-Generation Requirements" (KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1980), P. F. Lomako, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, formulated the suggestion of creating a special organ under the USSR Council of Ministers which would provide unified management of the development and improvement of industrial enterprise power engineering. While supporting this suggestion, let us note that fuel and energy outlays in the production of industrial goods account for slightly more than the total consumption of TER in the national economy, for which reason we must not ignore the rationalization of power consumption in other sectors as well. That is why, in my view, it would be better to create a single national organ in charge of managing all energy-consumption processes. It would be in charge of managing all scientific research in the area of energy conservation, would control the implementation of plans for the production of energy-conserving equipment and the application of power-conservation measures in all sectors, would provide methodical control over energy-conservation policy and, above all, would take charge of the distribution of all types of power resources among all consumers.

At present there is virtually no centralized management of TER distribution. The stocks of individual types of energy are distributed among consuming sectors without full consideration of resource interchangeability. The territorial factor is ignored in the allocation of stocks to ministries, and when consuming ministries and departments distribute their allocated amounts among their own production facilities, they totally ignore the needs and possibilities of neighboring enterprises. Therefore, no use whatsoever is made of intersectorial fuel and power-consumption factors within territorial-production complexes by centralizing heat supplies, interchanging resources, cooperating in the use of power capacities (including the utilization of secondary power resources) and so on. However, practical experience has proved that the possibilities of such territorial optimizing are quite substantial. That is precisely why, in our view, we should convert from the current sectorial TER distribution system to a territorial one. To this end, territorial organs should be set up as cost-effective fuel and power-supply administrations, and should be organized within the same territorial boundaries as the existing USSR Gosstab administrations. Such organs would be able efficiently to deal with problems of fuel and power supply to all consumers on their territory. They should have full information on the power requirements of all consumers in the area. This would ensure a considerably higher level of centralization in managing power-consumption processes on an intersectorial basis. In our view, this would substantially raise the level of TER utilization for the country at large and yield substantial economic results.

In the past few years the idea of the need for territorial administrations of power-consumption processes with a view to improving their efficiency has literally been "in the air." However, because of the lack of a special state authority to deal with such problems, its implementation has been the concern of local, mainly party, organizations. Thus, in Chelyabinskaya Oblast, a comprehensive program for improving power efficiency of production was drafted on the initiative of a number of frontranking collectives such as the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, the ChTZ imeni Lenin Association, and others. On the Southern Urals level this will result in savings of more than 3 billion kilowatt/hours of electric power, 6.3 million gigacalories of heat and 2.6 million tons of conventional fuel. In Sverdlovskaya Oblast, several local target programs were formulated under the guidance of the CPSU obkom, one of which is entitled "Optimizing the Fuel and Energy Balance and Rational Utilization of Fuel and Energy Resources." In Saratovskaya Oblast, all problems in upgrading the effectiveness of the utilization of TER is coordinated by a commission of the oblast party committee. The commission supervised the drafting of a comprehensive plan for respective measures on the oblast scale, which ensures their systematic implementation. The question which arises, however, is whether in such a case the party organs become overburdened with purely economic functions as a result of the lack of proper state management organs which would be in charge of the territorial optimizing of power consumption. In a number of areas similar problems are being dealt with on the territorial level by the local power supply organizations. For example, Azerbaijan is planning to set up a unified dispatcher service which will coordinate the allocation of fuel among the basic consumer groups with the help of the people's control organs and the State Gas Control Administration. Obviously, all of these facts reflect the objective need for increased consideration of territorial factors in the national economic power-supply system.

Problems in planning, norming and stimulating the rational use of power resources play an important role in power conservation.

Above all, a proper choice of plan indicators is needed. The production and use of power resources is not a self-seeking aim but a means for the satisfaction of economic requirements. It is entirely obvious, therefore, that in planning and assessing the activities of energy-procuring enterprises we must reduce the use of volume indicators as much as possible. Otherwise they are objectively uninterested in reducing the specific TER outlays of the consumers. This fact has been taken into consideration in the power industry which is planning not the release of power but the readiness of the equipment for carrying the load. In other systems, however, in the housing and communal economy for instance, this principle is still not being applied with the necessary consistency. The abandonment of the use of ton/kilometers as a plan assessment indicator would be of great importance in the conservation of automotive fuel. Automotive work should be based on long-term norms such as fixed payments to the budget per vehicle, freight-hauling cost under different conditions and basing the economic incentive funds of automotive enterprises on their income level and the level of their individual effectiveness indicators (such as outlays of fuel, tires and spare parts per 1,000 kilometer runs).

Fully guaranteed power supplies according to mutually acceptable volumes and delivery schedules rather than amounts marketed by power carriers should become the basic national economic plan indicator for the fuel, power and heat supply systems. The strict observance of delivery contracts, i.e., no refusals to consumers, must become the required and adequate prerequisite for a positive assessment of the work of fuel and power supply enterprises. The economic mechanism should be such as to interest the consumers in signing economic contracts for deliveries of the smallest possible amounts of power resources. To this end, a progressive scale of withholdings for enterprise economic incentive funds based on reducing specific power outlays compared with the planned figures could be applied. In our view, the producers of energy resources should acquire their incentive funds providing they meet a single condition: fulfilling contractual requirements. Additional TER savings by consumers should be particularly encouraged. In turn, this should affect suppliers' incentives. The penalty system should be used more extensively in cases of TER overexpenditures or violations of delivery contracts.

The norming of TER outlays plays a leading role in the energy-conserving organization of production processes in the national economy. Unfortunately, the present situation in this area cannot be considered satisfactory. Most current norms play no mobilizing role. An investigation of 400 enterprises under various ministries conducted by the Gosenergonadzor with the USSR Gosstnab, showed that norms higher than the actual outlays of the previous year prevailed in 70 percent of the cases, reaching as high as 85 percent in the case of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry. Naturally, most enterprises find it easy to fulfill and overfulfill them. In many cases, however, such "savings" actually conceal overruns because of inefficient resource utilization. In 1981 the electrical engineering industry pledged overfulfillment of its assignment by 10 percent. In our view, this proves that its assignment was too low.

The main reason for such a developing situation is that the norms for specific power outlays are issued to the enterprises by "their own" sectorial ministries. It would

be better to organize the norming of specific fuel and power outlays on an intersectorial basis and let the territorial administrations we mentioned take over the norm setting functions.

Norming can be improved by organizing it on a scientific basis. This involves the use of planned-technological instead of experimental-statistical norms. In turn, this will require the drafting of power conservation standards for technological and gas-utilizing equipment, fuel consumption systems and so on. The elaboration of norms governing losses of fuel, power and energy products and the refining of norms for construction and admissible heat losses in residential and industrial premises in the various parts of the country will be of great importance as well.

The implementation of such measures under the supervision of a special state management organ operating on the national economic level would lead to the creation of an efficient system for controlling the execution of energy-conserving policy. This will create the organizational and economic prerequisites for resolving one of the most important components of the overall task of intensifying the economic development of the USSR set by the 26th CPSU Congress.

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NOTES ON CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC THINKING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 115-121

[Letter to the editor by S. Starostin, editor of the planning theory and methodology section of the journal PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO and G. Emdin, USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economic Institute senior scientific associate]

[Text] The steady expansion of the nationwide search for the best possible ways and means for the implementation of the party's appeals and slogans is a characteristic feature of our time. A serious, frank and sometimes sharp and impartial discussion is underway on what hinders the improvement of efficiency and work quality. A favorable impulse to this effect was provided by the last party congress, which called for completing the conversion of all Soviet economic sectors to the intensive track in the 1980s. This is an exceptionally complex task, which requires the extensive mobilization of the creative forces and possibilities of the socialist system.

The guideline for this creative search was described in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress: the molding of a modern style of economic thinking. This gives priority to the intellectual and moral aspects of constructive activities aimed at the development of social production forces pertaining to management cadres of all levels, from the highest echelons to each of the hundreds of thousands of enterprises in industry, agriculture, transportation, construction and the nonproduction sphere.

Given the current scale of the Soviet economy, the increasing complexity of production relations and the merciless requirements of scientific and technical progress, normal economic management is impossible without mastering the latest management principles consistent with the spirit of the times. In turn, they presume above all awareness of one's responsibility to society, professional competence, ability to surmount the forces of inertia and conservatism, a realistic assessment of current and foreseeable processes and the corresponding formulation of constructive practical conclusions, as well as, naturally, precise computations, initiative and daring.

More than 7 years ago, addressing the December 1973 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined the philosophy of socialist planning as follows: To live not only for the sake of today but for the future, to see long term developments, to formulate and take principled decisions which promise great future successes and benefits, find the means for the implementation of such decisions and be able to

engage in extensive economic maneuvering. Naturally, these requirements applied not only to the planning system but to the organization of the country's entire economic activity.

Subsequently, at party congresses and Central Committee plenums and in party and government documents, the main lines of effective economic management were made ever more completely and extensively apparent on the basis of acquired experience and economic development targets. The emphasis was clearly on the priority of national interests and their proper combination with regional and enterprise needs, the timely consideration of the variety and flexibility of interrelationships within the huge economic complex and the type of work organization in which the growth of its final results would be accompanied by a reduction in all types of outlays -- labor, material and financial.

Therefore, as a collective, exceptionally broad and comprehensive concept, contemporary economic thinking is a clear and integral system of ideas concerning effective management. If such is the case, however, can we tolerate the fact that to this day thriftlessness, waste, departmentalism and parochialism, which disorganize the systematic economic upsurge, remain so durable and, looking at things soberly, are being eliminated so slowly? This often results in incalculable losses of effort, time and funds and irrecoverable moral cost. We are informed of numerous such cases by the daily reports carried by the central and local press.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, negative phenomena are caused not by any sort of special situation in which, let us say, the solution of a problem requires substantial additional investments or major technical reorganizations. No, frequently the crux of the matter lies in the unplanned organization of the work, the sluggishness of some officials or the neglect of planned and contractual obligations. This harms the interests of society and demobilizes and disorients the labor collectives.

Let us recall V. I. Lenin's words to the effect that the manager must play the role of a "national instructor...organizer and assistant in achieving the strictest possible order, the greatest possible economy in human labor and the strictest possible comradely discipline" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 32, p 111). The communist party has raised many thousands of such managers. It has done and is doing a great deal to help economic cadres to think like economists, to upgrade the standard of managerial activities vertically and horizontally, to ensure the comprehensive utilization of scientific and technical achievements and to maintain a strict regimen of economy for the sake of increasing the national wealth. All the necessary prerequisites have been created in our country for the successful solution of these problems. The USSR has assumed a leading position in the world in the production of many important types of industrial commodities. It has substantial fuel and energy resources and a powerful technical base. It has the biggest farmland area in the world, although most of it is in adverse weather zones. We are ahead of other countries in the number of engineers and scientific workers and the percentage of university and secondary specialized school graduates employed in the national economy. However, there is a disparity between objective possibilities and the available economic potential, on the one hand, and the end production and scientific results, on the other. Obviously, a closer study of the reasons for this disparity is needed, particularly since most enterprises in the

various sectors are working effectively, making use of all technical and organizational opportunities for achieving high quantitative and qualitative results.

It is natural to ask, for example, why does the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry tolerate the fact that in nine big mines under construction in more than 8 years less than one third of of the planned funds allocated for construction and installation work has been used? And how does the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry intend to improve capital investment effectiveness when its 1980 list of construction projects included six plants which have been under construction over the past 7 years, whereas construction norms called for completion in 4 years?

In 1978 the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry built an experimental shop at the Volozhin dairy plant in Belorussia for the production of a valuable biological preparation made of milk whey for the feeding of calves. However, the shop has still not been commissioned because of major technological shortcomings. The preparation was invented more than 10 years ago and such a long delay in organizing its production can be explained only in terms of the idleness of the ministry's personnel. Yet its manufacture would have made the complex treatment of the raw milk and the production of additional amounts of food possible.

The balanced development stipulated in the plan has been violated in many economic sectors, as a result of which stress develops in the work of some public production sectors and the process of production intensification is obstructed. A study of cases of imbalance proves that they are due to a far lesser extent to objective economic development factors (although, unquestionably, they exert a certain influence) than to subjective factors such as management shortcomings, slow technical retooling of production facilities and inadequate study of social needs.

What other than differences in the level of the responsibility, competence and maturity of the managers could explain the universally known cases in which enterprises and entire economic rayons operating under absolutely identical conditions achieve different results? Thus, the whims of nature notwithstanding, during the last five-year plan, the leading farms in Grodnenskaya Oblast averaged grain crops of 30-35 quintals per hectare, whereas most of the oblast kolkhozes and sovkhoses averaged under 15. Such disparities are the result of the different approaches adopted by the managers in organizing the production process, their utilization of progressive experience and the achievements of scientific and technical progress and their observance of agrotechnical requirements.

Here is another example: during the 10th Five-Year Plan, the fish-breeding farms in Rostovskaya Oblast averaged more than 20,000 tons of fresh fish per year, whereas in neighboring Volgogradskaya Oblast, the average was slightly over 1,000 tons.

There are about 1.4 million scientific workers in our country, or one quarter of all the scientific workers on earth. However, many vitally important developments are taking place with inadmissible slowness, lagging behind the actual requirements and needs of the production process. Promising and progressive technologies such as continuous steel casting, powder metallurgy, pneumatic transport and many others are taking years to develop without showing any visible progress. Is it not amazing that many ministries, departments and associations are "hurrying so slowly" although they have at their disposal a major production apparatus, an army of skilled

specialists, a sufficient number of well-equipped scientific research, engineering and design establishments and a widespread information service?

As the 26th party congress emphasized, science must be the permanent "disturber of tranquility," indicating areas in which the contemporary level of knowledge makes it possible to move ahead faster and more successfully. Unfortunately, this is far from always the case. The virtually chronic nonfulfillment of plans for the development and application of new equipment is largely related to the erroneous allocation of funds for the solution of current problems in upgrading the technical standard of output and reaching long-term goals, such as the extensive use of resource-saving, low-waste and wasteless technologies. Under all circumstances, the proper share of the resources allocated must be used for the modernization of mass production facilities and for the scientific development of prototypes of the technology of the future and the creation of conditions for its large-scale industrial mastery.

The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress emphasizes that today the importance of discipline and personal responsibility of cadres, managers in particular, for their assignments and plan fulfillments has become substantially greater.

This means that under present-day conditions, and more strictly than ever before, the activities of economic managers of all ranks must be rated on the basis of their ability to organize the work of the people, to rapidly apply scientific and technical achievements in practical work and to ensure high results based on the conservation of production resources and the satisfaction of public requirements for goods and services. In the opposite case, such managers must be removed from their positions regardless of past -- real or fictitious -- merit, length of service or someone's patronage. It is desirable for the indicators showing the rise in the educational standard of the population to be paralleled by the growing competence and social activeness of management cadres.

Therefore, in our view, we should single out the role of the administrative functions of management and their sensible combination with economic methods and the use of material and moral incentives. Modern economic thinking is inseparable from the skillfully organized administrative aspect of economic management, the establishment of efficient work order and the determination of the responsibility of every participant in the production process for the implementation of his assignments and unavoidable punishment for their nonfulfillment. Strange though it may seem, some people still confuse administrative activities with "bureaucratic administration" and thus oppose its economic incentives and levers. The groundlessness of such assertions is confirmed by long experience: wherever an atmosphere of respect for the requirements of discipline has been created for the sake of reaching set objectives, and wherever authoritative and mobilizing decisions are made, economic management methods and the principles of cost effectiveness operate more efficiently, as a rule.

It is no secret to anyone that weak administrative management and the issuing of unclear orders divide the people and have a pernicious effect on the condition of the discipline and the moral climate in the collective and, in the final account, on the results of the work. Conversely, a well-organized management system helps the cadres to develop broad and sober views on things, confidence in their work and an

active life stance, qualities which L. I. Brezhnev listed, together with conscious discipline, as components in the most important condition for progress -- "Inspired thinking, a tireless search for the new and its support."

It is thus that the concept of modern economic management combines administrative and organizational activities, the use of various incentives and promotion of the moral development of the members of society and the development in them of readiness to increase the wealth of the homeland and to see in it the guarantee for their personal prosperity. It was not in vain that Lenin, and let us turn to his behests once again, emphasized the need for "organizing the selection of the best workers for economic construction and as administrators and organizers on a specialized, general, local and national scale in a broad, planned, systematic and open manner" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 280).

The party and the state firmly observe these Leninist principles of cadre selection and training. In practice, however, they are frequently violated, which cannot be compensated for even by the most refined economic incentive system. The comprehensive and consistent observance of these principles is the key to the successful solution of production and social problems and a reliable reduction in bureaucracy, paper shuffling and red tape. The requirements of strict administrative control of the work and the observance of production and labor discipline do not conflict in the least with the aspiration to develop in the collective an atmosphere of support, which is occasionally misinterpreted to mean a concealment of inaction, slackness and even collective guarantees. On the contrary, the conscious observance of the established work order presumes precisely an attentive attitude toward people and comradely aid, but not in the least blanket forgiveness or lack of principles.

A proper level of administrative activities makes it possible to avoid phenomena such as the impossibility of identifying the actual culprits in cases of material loss, idling, breakdowns or nonimplementation of planned assignments. Such "magic circles" appear only under circumstances of diluted responsibility and lack of clearly delineated functions for every member of the economic organism.

In this connection, a number of problems related to the use of manpower resources, which are the main productive force of society, arise. The extensive discussion of such problems has indicated that a seeming shortage of manpower develops mainly as a result of the clumsy deployment of manpower resources among regions and economic sectors, gross violations of discipline, substantial shortcomings in the organization of the production, labor and management processes and "shortcuts" in the training and assignment of cadres, as a result of which there is a surplus of some specialists while others are in short supply.

Statistics prove that millions of workers are still doing manual and underproductive work. Meanwhile, indicators of cadre turnover, absenteeism and so-called "absence by permission of the administration" remain depressing. The results are low labor productivity, unnecessarily large personnel surpluses in many enterprises and selfish advantages derived by some managers from the alleged scarcity of manpower.

Naturally, universal employment and the right to work, which the USSR Constitution guarantees to every citizen, are among the main gains of the socialist system. It is important to stress that party and state documents firmly emphasize the oneness

between the right to work and the duty to work conscientiously. The primary task in improving the economic mechanism is to create the type of conditions under which all workers will truly value their work place at the enterprise or establishment and will work conscientiously and with all their strength and upgrade their skills.

This problem may not be so simple but it must be resolved. As we know, a variety of solutions have been offered. In particular, it has been suggested that economic managers be given greater authority to lay off surplus workers, to fire the careless and the violators of discipline and to use the funds thus saved to reward the remaining members of the collective. Basically, the enterprise must hire the optimal number of workers needed for the implementation of the plan in accordance with the potential for ensuring the steady technical advancement of the production process and improvement of the organization of the work. The same optimality requirement applies to the volume of management, service and scientific personnel. The wage system and the economic and moral incentives must operate along the same lines in the interests of society.

Thanks to the unified economic plan, it is precisely socialism that offers the unique opportunity to develop a rational organization of labor and wages and high work effectiveness in each economic unit through the fast application of technical novelties, while using the manpower released for developing new production facilities and services and fuel and raw material sources and ensuring the fuller satisfaction of social requirements.

Let us point out that in recent years economists and sociologists have paid very close attention to the use of the leisure time. Without belittling the importance of this problem, however, let us express the wish for scientists to pay more attention to the effective utilization of the working time, which is the most topical task.

Increasing the stimulating role of payment scales and wages, which must assume considerably greater importance in the workers income than they have at present, is a pertinent feature in ensuring the more productive utilization of manpower. At that point there will be fewer people who live well from incentive funds which, in fact, should be used only as a reward for outstanding labor accomplishments.

The strictest possible control on the part of society over the extent of labor and consumption will help us to establish a stronger tie between the growth of labor productivity and wages. This will also contribute to the assertion of the inseparable features of the Soviet way of life, such as assuring all citizens equal conditions and rights governing their earnings or labor income or payments from social consumption funds. The occasional violation of the principle of equal income opportunities is nothing but a violation of the mandatory socialist law which says "To each according to his work." The gap between word and action, unacceptable under any circumstances, becomes particularly dangerous when manifested in a weakening of control over the extent of labor and consumption.

In our view, this applies not only to individuals but to entire production collectives. Is it normal from the societal viewpoint for an enterprise, whose output piles up unsold in warehouses or bases or on store shelves not to feel any particularly detrimental effect and even to be awarded bonuses and competition ratings? Unjustified material advantages frequently appear as a result of arbitrary

plan changes (naturally, revised downwards) and enterprises which are actually lagging suddenly find themselves almost in the lead, with the resulting benefits. That is why it is so important to observe party and government instructions on the inadmissibility of reducing state plan assignments and on ensuring plan stability.

We mentioned the responsibility of scientific cadres for progress in public production. Not all in their material incentives can be considered normal and expedient. For instance, the great disparities between the wages of workers with and without scientific degrees or among scientists working in scientific institutions, schools and the national economy is hardly justified. Is this not why, having earned a degree or title, some scientists no longer serve science zealously but survive on their old knowledge, and yet continue to draw all the allowed benefits? Others, after acquiring their degrees in production work, move to scientific institutions where their income is considerably higher. The earnings of scientists must be consistent with their contribution to science, the development of the production process and the training of cadres, rather than turning into a kind of life-long revenue for past services. Although not a new one, this problem remains unresolved.

Our party has always paid great attention to the interpretation of events, the summation of new phenomena and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that during the period under consideration, the party's theoretical arsenal was enriched with a number of important summations and conclusions. It was also pointed out that not everything by any means can be considered satisfactory in the social sciences and that, in particular, many problems awaiting a solution have accumulated in the area of socialist political economy. As a rule, these are problems of great practical importance to the further improvement of the optimum planning mechanism of socialist economic management.

It is particularly important today to define accurately the place of incentives in the shaping and behavior of individuals and collectives and their area of action, degree of effectiveness and means of utilization. The range and complexity of simultaneously resolved economic-political problems is extensive and great. This is entirely natural in a developed socialist society. However, economic thinking must be focused on singling out within each historical stage and within the framework of available resources the interests and requirements most important from the viewpoint of the development of production forces. Here haste and the violation of basic economic proportions in which, for example, the excessive growth of income does not correspond to the increased volume of output of consumer goods and services, are inadmissible. They create a very big gap between solvent demand and the degree to which it can be satisfied, but also hinder the growth of social labor productivity. Commodity shortages frequently lead to acquisitiveness, a consumerist attitude toward society and violations of Soviet laws and socialist morality norms.

Such are some views on contemporary economic thinking in the light of the tasks set by the 26th party congress and the requirements formulated by the CPSU for cadres in the national economy. These notes lay no claim to comprehensive coverage of these complex topics or to presentation of simple views and conclusions. However, the topical nature of the problems related to the formulation of contemporary views on economic management is quite clear.

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MAJOR SUMMING-UP WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 122-123

[Review by Professor A. Kizchenko, doctor of historical sciences, and Professor N. Lipovchenko, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Istoriya Ukrainskoy SSR" [History of the Ukrainian SSR]. In 8 volumes. Naukova Dumka, Kiev, 1977-1979 (in Ukrainian)]

[Text] The publication of the first multiple-volume edition of "Istoriya Ukrainskoy SSR" was an important event in the scientific and social life of the republic. More than 140 specialists -- virtually all the major historians in the Ukraine and leading scientists from Moscow, Leningrad and other scientific centers in the country -- participated in its creation. The work met with the great approval of the scientific public and was awarded the Ukrainian SSR State Prize for 1980. It provides comprehensive coverage of the history of the Ukrainian people and their struggle for social and national liberation and describes the successes of the Ukrainian working people in the building of socialism and communism.

The work is based on documentary materials from party and state records, a considerable percentage of which are being introduced into scientific circulation for the first time. New archive data and the results of the latest archeological discoveries have made it possible to make a number of corrections in the prevailing concepts on the development of the historical process on Ukrainian territory and to provide better coverage of topical problems in history.

The authors have paid great attention to the founding and development of the ancient Russian state of Kiev Rus, the establishment and development of feudal production relations and the shaping of the ancient Russian nationhood on the basis of which three fraternal east-Slavic peoples appeared: Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian.

The focal points in the interpretation of Ukrainian history in the period of feudalism are its unification with Russia and the joint struggle waged by the Ukrainian and Russian peoples against foreign aggressors -- the Polish gentry and the Turkey of the sultans, and the unification of the Ukrainian and Russian masses in the antifeudal struggle, particularly during the peasant wars under the leadership of Razin, Bulavin and Pugachev.

The work provides a profound study of the socioeconomic development of the Ukraine in the period of the establishment of capitalist relations. The place and role of the Ukraine in the organization of an all-Russian market are shown and the economic

oneness between the Ukraine and Russia is emphasized in the discussion of the initial accumulation of capital.

In their discussion of 19th century Ukrainian history, the authors have paid particular attention to problems which have been insufficiently covered in other historical works: The population's class structure, the growth of the cities and the development of trade. The processes governing the formation of the new class -- the proletariat -- are described and the sources of its replenishment and national composition are indicated. For the first time summarizing data are provided on the process of class differentiation within the peasantry in the postreform period. The extensive factual data provided on Ukrainian economic and social development totally refute the bourgeois-nationalistic concepts of the "classlessness" and "non-bourgeois nature" of the Ukrainian people.

A separate volume deals with the most important problems of domestic history in the imperialist period. A study of the establishment of the objective and subjective prerequisites for the socialist revolution is presented. The struggle waged by V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he headed for the international unification of the working people and the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and against bourgeois nationalism is described more thoroughly than in previous summarizing works.

The new data provide a comprehensive description of the struggle waged by the working people of the Western Ukrainian lands against the colonial oppression of the Hapsburg monarchy and describe their desire for reunification with the Ukrainian lands within Russia.

The authors pay particular attention to the leading role of the communist party and Lenin, its leader, in the preparations for and making of the socialist revolution and in the organization of the defense of the gains of the October Revolution against domestic and foreign counterrevolution.

Lenin's plan for the building of socialism and its implementation is one of the major topics of the work. The authors systematically describe the implementation of this plan along its main lines: elimination of exploiting classes, socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivization, cultural revolution, development of socialist statehood and strengthening of the country's defense capability. The establishment of new socialist nations in the USSR, including the Ukrainian nation, was the direct result of the elimination of social and national oppression and the education of the working people in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship among the peoples. These problems are discussed in the work under review.

The authors describe in detail the struggle waged by the working people of the Western Ukrainian areas for reunification with the Soviet Ukraine within the USSR. The achievement of this national aspiration became possible in the prewar years thanks to the increased international prestige of the Soviet Union and the systematic implementation of the Leninist foreign policy.

The historical advantages of socialism were manifested with tremendous force during the Great Patriotic War. A separate volume deals with these events. It convincingly proves the nationwide military and labor exploits and the power of the

friendship among the peoples of the USSR and the leading role of the communist party at the front and in the rear areas.

The work comprehensively describes the organizational and educational work of the CPSU during the postwar five-year plans, the growth of its leading and guiding role and the struggle of the Soviet people for the creation of a developed socialist society. Particular attention is paid to the struggle waged by the communist party and Soviet government for the peace and security of the people and detente. The participation of the Ukrainian SSR in the foreign political, economic and cultural relations between the USSR and foreign countries is described.

The building of developed socialism in our country was the historical result of the selfless toil of the peoples of the USSR. The second book of Volume 8, the largest in the entire work, deals with the socioeconomic, political and cultural progress achieved by the Ukrainian SSR during that period. It deals mainly with the problem of internationalizing economic and sociopolitical life and with the friendship and cooperation among all nations and nationalities within the powerful Soviet Union. The authors treat the multisectorial economy of the republic as an indivisible part of the country's overall national economic complex. They study the process of the further elimination of class distinctions, the greater social homogeneity in Soviet society and the development of a new socioeconomic and international community -- the Soviet people. The beneficial exchange of cultural values among the Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR and the development of Soviet culture are discussed at length.

The successes achieved by the republic in its economic, social and cultural development in the mature socialist stage are the result of the dedicated creative efforts of the working people, the friendship and cooperation of the Ukrainian and great Russian peoples and all other nations in the Soviet Union and the fruitful activities of the Ukrainian party organization.

This generally successful work on the history of the Ukrainian SSR suffers from the poor work done on some historical problems. To one extent or another they have been partially covered in the course of the long preparation leading to the publication of this first edition. This work will be continued in the course of the preparation for the publication of a second edition in the Russian language, which will come out in the course of the 7th Five-Year Plan. This will make the work not merely a repetition of the first edition but a largely new work in which, naturally, the conclusions and concepts contained in recent party documents will be taken into consideration and the necessary refinements will be made in accordance with the achievements of the science of history. In addition to the 10 volumes of the Russian edition two additional volumes will be published: "Chronicle of the Most Important Events in the History of the Ukrainian SSR" and "Historiography of the Ukrainian SSR."

The summary of the new Russian edition of "Istoriya Ukrainskoy SSR" indicates that it will include a more thorough coverage of the formation and development of the ancient Russian and Ukrainian nationalities, the historical ties between the two fraternal peoples, the age-old joint struggle against social and national oppression and the reciprocal influence and enrichment of their cultures. There will be a more substantiated presentation of the problems in Ukrainian socioeconomic development in the second half of the 17th century, particularly the influence of the

reunification with Russia on the development of the production forces and the formation of the Ukrainian bourgeois nation. The economic relations of the Ukraine and the process of its inclusion within the all-Russian market will be described in greater detail. The close all-round ties between the Ukrainian peoples and the Russian and other peoples in our country, the main stages in the formation and development of the single national economic complex of the USSR, the place and role of the Ukrainian SSR in it, and the consolidation and results of the fraternal friendship and close cooperation among soviet peoples -- the great gain of socialism and the reliable guarantee of the successful building of socialism and communism -- will be reflected more fully.

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IMPORTANT SECTOR IN THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 124-126

[Review by N. Sibiriyakov, candidate of art studies, of the book by A. Ya. Zis' "Konfrontatsii v Estetike" [Confrontations in Esthetics]. Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1980, 239 pages]

[Text] In our day, artistic creativity and esthetics find themselves on the cutting edge of the ideological struggle. This is not surprising, for as the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress noted, art actively studies the place of the individual on our restless planet. As we know, this question plays a very topical and essential role in the ideological confrontation between the two sociopolitical systems. The new book by A. Ya. Zis' takes the reader into an atmosphere of tense conflict of ideas. It clearly proves the superiority of the artistic concepts and solutions supported by the art and esthetics of socialist realism over the modernistic trends of the bourgeois "mass culture."

The author makes a thorough study of the ideologically opposite esthetic theories. The book is distinguished by its meaningful and planned approach to the confrontation itself. Criticism of views essentially alien to us is paralleled by a positive interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist system of views on the nature of art and its place in contemporary social life.

The author analyses the increasingly deep relations between art and the other forms of social awareness. The ties linking them have two aspects: the progressive art of today, which draws its ideological arguments from the treasury of the Marxist-Leninist outlook, also introduces into it its own substantial contribution to the study of man as an individual part of the social relations system and stimulates spiritual and moral search. As was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, the best works of Soviet art and the vivid descriptions of our contemporaries excite the people, create arguments, and make us think of the present and the future. We are pleased by the fact that in recent years literature, the motion pictures and the theater have raised serious problems about which the Gosplan would be well advised to think. The essence of these universally significant and comprehensive problems to which public opinion, political journalism and scientific work have responded in lively fashion are profoundly discussed in the book under review.

In characterizing the trend toward creative ideological search by Soviet artists, the author justifiably notes that in recent years major problems in the advancement of developed socialism and the further shaping and assertion of the socialist way of

life have assumed a leading position in art. He pays particular attention to the innovative solutions of production topics which enable us to see the radical changes taking place in labor, the main realm of human activity. This topic, as it acquires a richer content, includes the moral searchings by the Soviet individual and the many-sidedness of his sociopsychological aspect. The author proves that problems related to the socialist way of life are of invaluable significance as a source for the graphic study of "human" and "national" destiny in our inordinately dynamic century.

The rapprochement among the various areas of the social attainment of reality, -- philosophical, political and artistic above all -- determines the integration processes in the development of esthetics as a philosophical science which interprets the nature of art and the most general laws governing its development. The author traces the tie between esthetics, on the one hand, and philosophy, sociology, psychology and the other social sciences, on the other, and describes its constant interaction with the study of art and literary-artistic criticism.

Let us particularly note the author's treatment of the correlation between philosophical thinking and artistic creativity. In the field of theoretical literature, this problem has been studied primarily in its gnosiological aspect: art and philosophy were either classified as different forms of knowledge, or art was studied as a subject of philosophical thinking, or again philosophy was studied as the conceptual basis of artistic creativity. Naturally, all of this is important and is reflected in the book. However, the author adopts a mainly new approach when he discusses the correlation between philosophy and art. He adopts a far broader viewpoint, treating it as a manifestation of the profound laws governing social development and social thinking, comparable in terms of their specific object, means for the study of reality and role and function in modern society. In concretizing the interconnection between philosophy and art as applicable to the spiritual life of mature socialism, the author proves that, to begin with, the two play a tremendous role in shaping the new man and his morality and culture; secondly, they have a tremendous impact on the development of science in the course of scientific and technical progress and the humanizing of scientific activities. They contribute to combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. Thirdly, they participate actively in the resolution of today's ideological conflicts. All of these ideas have been reflected in the book.

The author makes interesting observations on the way theoretical and philosophical thoughts have enriched the creative work of the most outstanding artists. Noteworthy in this connection is the meaningful study of K. S. Stanislavskiy's ideological legacy, particularly his thoughts on the nature and laws of the art of the stage. In arguing against the one-sided interpretation of Stanislavskiy's system, the author convincingly proves its universality. This allows even advocates of stage direction who do not at all favor deep psychological analysis to draw from the system an understanding of the paths leading to the assertion of artistic truth in the thespian art. The author emphasizes that the most important basic concepts of Stanislavskiy's theoretical legacy pertain not only to the achievements of the theater but to esthetic thinking as a whole, and that they can be applied to other types of artistic creativity as well.

With the help of records, A. Ya. Zis' proves that the development of Stanislavskiy's materialistic philosophical views toward the end of his life did not occur spontaneously, as some researchers have written, but that it was an organic part of the process of development and intensification of the outlook of the great reformer of the stage. He sought in philosophical doctrines a confirmation of his own theoretical and critical searches and support for his new ideas in the field of the theory and practice of art. Stanislavskiy paid very close attention to materialistic theory and the dialectical method. The author has found in Stanislavskiy's notes interesting remarks showing that Stanislavskiy's views were coming closer to the dialectical-materialistic theory of knowledge and to some dialectical concepts. It was no accident that Konstantin Sergeyevich asked Gor'kiy to help him round out his system in accordance with the "requirements of dialectical materialism." He was also deeply interested in materialistic psychology, the theories of Sechenov and Pavlov in particular. His interpretation of philosophical and esthetic problems enabled him to develop the theory of stage realism, which is still of enduring significance. With the help of these and many other examples, the author proves that close contact between philosophy and art is one of the most fruitful traditions in the development of the spiritual life of society. Moreover, we fail to find even the slightest oversimplification of the problem. On the contrary, the author speaks of the complex and sometimes conflicting nature of the interconnection between the artist's outlook and his creativity, because of which a conflict occasionally arises between his ideological positions and the direction taken by his art.

The author has chosen an original approach to the problem of the interaction between art and science under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Usually, attention is focussed on the aspect of this problem related to the greater volume and role of scientific knowledge and the influence of the achievements of science and technology on the broadening and enrichment of the expressive and graphic possibilities of the arts. The author brings up another no less important aspect, namely the rising influence of artistic thinking on scientific and technical creativity. This is manifested in particular in the development of design as a characteristic form of the rapprochement between art and technology. He considers design a specific type of esthetic activity rather than a specific type of art. According to him art and design are not identical in the least, any more than are the concepts of artistic and esthetic culture. Unquestionably, the concept of "esthetic culture" covers an vastly broader range of phenomena than the concept of "artistic culture." However, artistic culture, which includes all the varieties of art, is a generator of esthetic ideas and a source of the development of esthetic principles in all artistic endeavors involved, above all, in the solution of functional-practical tasks. The esthetic saturation of our material world becomes particularly important today. The party emphasizes how important it is that everything surrounding the Soviet person be beautiful and tasteful. Unfortunately, the book pays scant attention to the nonartistic areas of human activity, which also have esthetic properties. Without doubt the work would have been enriched by a study of the various aspects of esthetic activities which exceed the framework of purely artistic creativity.

The author defends the position that the cognitive and humanistic content of art is of decisive significance in determining its essence and social functions. It is from such a position that he develops the basic lines of "confrontation in esthetics," subjecting the reciprocally substantiating concepts of deideologization and

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degnosiologization of the arts, so popular in bourgeois art studies, to critical analysis. The swing of contemporary revisionism in the direction of esthetic problems is explained by the increased role of literature and art, which are directly involved in the study of the problem of man and personality, and as we pointed out, occupy a leading place in the ideological confrontation in the world arena. Esthetic revisionism approaches a number of currents in contemporary bourgeois esthetics in its rejection of the theory of reflection and its attempts to replace rational knowledge with myths and the mind with some kind of mystical illumination for the artist. This leads to the creation of an artificial, antiscientific and false problem: should art be considered a tool for the study of real phenomena and processes or a specific type of human activity in which the artist is the engineer and designer of myths? In our age, the truly creative functions of art are expressed not in the creation of myths but in the active reflection of reality, which includes its ideological evaluation and the definition of the trends of the future. Naturally, the author does not identify knowledge with creativity in the least and nor does he deny the role which myths have played in the history of culture. However, as he brings up the creative nature of art, the author proves that it not only does not oppose the reflective activity of the human mind but relies on it.

As he takes into consideration the tremendous cognitive and axiological possibilities of art, which are manifested most fully in the method of socialist realism, the author discusses the stylistic and genre wealth of this method in detail. Socialist realism is expressed in a variety of artistic styles which in turn are embodied in the individual manner and unique creative style of the artist. The author shows the esthetic wealth and integrity of socialist realism through the example of works which have become art classics, and recent creative accomplishments. He convincingly proves that the creativity of an artist, regardless of stylistic direction, is characterized by noble service to the ideals of active revolutionary humanism. This is quite essential. At the 26th congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that the best works of Soviet art possess the qualities of civic excitement, irreconcilability toward shortcomings, increasing attention to problems of morality, unremitting struggle for the triumph of justice and good, and active involvement in the solution of the problems facing our society.

The author sensitively perceives the new trends in the development of the arts, related to the further advance of the mass information media, which broaden access to the arts for the broadest possible masses. At the same time, he also pays attention to certain contradictions within this process which frequently lead to oversaturation with "excessive" information, thus hindering the perception of socially significant facts, news and events. This applies equally to esthetic information. All of this increases the responsibility of cultural workers, who must ensure the type of utilization of mass information media which would contribute to an upsurge in the spiritual life of society, the purposeful enhancement of human needs and interests and the elaboration of an active life stance. One of the merits of the book is that it systematically presents the various aspects of the information (communication) process. The author justifiably believes that there is no neutral information and that all information is of an ideological or propaganda nature. He considers the mass information media to be most important factors in propaganda and counterpropaganda.

Regrettably, the book does not offer a sufficiently broad critical analysis of contemporary bourgeois concepts of design, although the material it contains helps us to acquire some idea of the artistic structure theories popular in the West. He should have said more on the subject of folk art, which is a very important area of our whole artistic culture. It is precisely in folk art that the powerful need of the broad masses for the esthetic perception of reality and creation based on the laws of beauty are manifested with tremendous force.

On the whole, the book is distinguished by its high philosophical standard. It is aimed directly at a broad readership and constitutes an effective contribution to the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist esthetic concepts. It convincingly defends the eternal principles of party-mindedness and nationality in artistic creativity.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 81 pp 127-128

[Text] A. A. Kokoshin. "SShA: Za Fasadom Global'noy Politiki"
[Behind the Facade of Global Politics]. (Internal factors governing
the shaping of the foreign policy of American imperialism on the
threshold of the 1980s.) Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 367 pages.
Reviewed by Professor V. Zhurkin, doctor of historical sciences.

After a long interval, a fundamental comprehensive study of the motive forces behind U. S. foreign policy and the mechanism of its shaping has appeared in the field of Soviet sociopolitical literature. The need for such a work was great, for while the external factors which shape the international course of American imperialism have been studied in the works of many Soviet researchers, the study of the internal factors was obviously lagging and was in general fragmentary. To a certain extent this is apparently explained by the fact that the study of the interconnection between foreign and domestic policy involves particularly great research difficulties, especially in a country such as the United States. However, it is precisely the exposure of this interconnection that enables us to determine most fully and accurately the real mainsprings and laws governing foreign policy actions, which are frequently unexpected and unpredictable.

The monograph by A. A. Kokoshin is a successful attempt to bring out all the basic elements in the ripening of the current political course of the United States within the country on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology. Unlike previous works on this topic (which, incidentally, were published 10 or 15 years ago), it is not only a question here of the element by element study of such motive forces monopolies, trade unions, sociopolitical movements and so on. Together with these, an enumeration of the main components of the work alone reveals the extensive range of the author's considerations. This work is a study of the changes in the international positions of the United States over the past 10-15 years and their impact on domestic political and socioeconomic processes within the country; the role of internal socioeconomic problems in the shaping of foreign policy; the struggle on the problem of priorities and correlations among the foreign and domestic problems of the state; the crisis of power in the United States and its foreign political significance related to this struggle; and finally, the specific mechanism governing the shaping and execution of the foreign policy course of American imperialism. Therefore, the author has made a great advance in the study of the U. S. foreign policy mechanism as such. He has provided a study of a number of laws governing U. S. foreign policy, its fixed and momentary factors,

and finally, the permanent and temporary organizations which are shaping the complex and contradictory line of American imperialist behavior in international relations at the end of the 20th century.

Let us add to all this that the consideration of these components is linked together by the common idea of this clearly practical study. It is precisely in this connection that one of the particular merits of the monograph is the thorough study of the complex mechanism of the drafting of foreign policy concepts and their implementation, based on a study of a large number of the latest sources. A typical feature of this mechanism is the combination of direct methods of management of the country's foreign policy by monopoly capital with numerous intermediary and indirect forms of such management. As a rule, such direct and occasionally rude interference by the financial oligarchy in the process of the formulation of the foreign policy course (a kind of strict "social order") occurs covertly, which requires the sifting of a tremendous volume of factual data. This applies even more to the study of the numerous and frequently multi-tiered and indirect means used in exerting such influence. Its widespread and varied network offers solid guarantees that the will of the ruling class will be obeyed in the area of foreign policy decisions.

In other words, the clear revelation of the class content of foreign policy, which is the actual purpose of the scientific study of it, is successfully accomplished in this work.

This class predetermination of policy in itself not only does not exclude but presumes the adamant struggle among various groups within the ruling class. As the author justly emphasizes, both permanent and temporary groups not only fight for dominant positions in the country's economy, but also have different approaches to problems of domestic and foreign policy. This substantially increases the role of the state apparatus and its agencies in charge of foreign policy matters. The state plays the complex role of regulator, and must not only ensure the preservation of the ruling positions of the governing class but prevent the excessive strengthening of one or another monopoly group and its influence on the foreign policy course. In his interpretation of this range of problems, the author not only relies on the results of Soviet science and its traditions but unquestionably enriches it through his specific study of the internal contradictions within state monopoly capitalism -- contradictions between the state and the monopolies and among the monopoly groups themselves.

The detailed study of the shaping and activities of the contemporary foreign policy mechanism of the United States leads the author to the substantiated conclusion that this mechanism is experiencing its own crisis in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, and it enables him to cast clear light on the specific problems in its manifestations in the 1970s-1980s: the disparity between the possibilities of American imperialism and its imperial ambitions in the international arena, the aggravation of interclass and intraclass conflicts regarding the country's foreign policy course, the declining effectiveness of the state agencies, with the parallel inflation of the governmental machinery, etc.

Under the conditions of the existence of two worldwide social systems, American imperialism has been forced to adapt to contemporary realities, and the ruling class to the positions held by the bulk of the population on key problems such as war and peace, economic relations, and so on, although it is trying in every possible way to

increase its own political and ideological influence on the American masses and to manufacture the type of public opinion which serves its interests at any given time. This is a very contradictory process which occasionally leads to unexpected "discards," which the author has analyzed closely through the lens of the struggle on the so-called "national priorities," i.e., the sequence and correlation of internal and external tasks facing the state, the amount and structure of funds appropriated for their implementation, etc.

The new phenomena in the area of objective conditions which influence the foreign policy of American imperialism considered in the book are of great interest in themselves: the energy crisis, the contemporary characteristics of foreign policy lobbying, and the sharply increased influence of the Congress on foreign policy. New facets have become apparent in the activities of other major elements of American imperialism, the military-industrial complex above all -- the main force of militarism and reaction in foreign and domestic U. S. policy.

As a whole, the study by A. A. Kokoshin represents a specific step forward in Soviet American studies and the resolution of the problems such studies encounter from the scientific-cognitive and practical-political viewpoints.

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