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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 1981

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USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 1981

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

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## OCTOBER'S TRIUMPHANT BANNER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 81 pp 3-13

[Text] The Soviet people and all progressive mankind are solemnly celebrating the 64th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people are welcoming the holiday with great production accomplishments, under circumstances of political and labor upsurge triggered by the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The first victorious socialist revolution in world history made by the working class and the toiling masses of Russia under the leadership of the Leninist party is the greatest event of our time. The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, states that "the 20th century brought about more changes than any century before it. No single country has made a greater contribution to such changes than the USSR-- the homeland of the Great October Revolution and the first country of victorious socialism. This is the seventh decade during which the invincible Leninist banner is flying over it!"

The base of the new socioeconomic system was born and strengthened in the crucible of the Great October Revolution. "The destruction of capitalism and of its traces and the introduction of the foundations of a communist order," V. I. Lenin pointed out in 1920, "is the content of the new epoch in universal history which is now beginning" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 425). The socialist revolution in Russia materialized the ideas of scientific communism, directed the development of society in the interest of the working class and all working people and inordinately accelerated the course of history.

V. I. Lenin provided a truly universal comprehensive characterization of the initial essence of the October Revolution. "Bolshevism," said he, "became a world theory and tactic of the international proletariat! Bolshevism developed in the eyes of the entire world the streamlined socialist revolution..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 114). It is thus that Lenin defined the October Revolution as one whose basic laws are of universal significance.

V. I. Lenin considered the social revolution a "live phenomenon." He called for a precise definition of the nature and characteristics of revolutionary changes, based on the principles of party-mindedness and historicism, so that "one may not lose one's way in the historical zigzags and sharp turns and may preserve a general overview and be able to see the continuity of the entire development of capitalism and the path to socialism..." (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 54; Vol 36, p 47).

The creativity, innovativeness, daring and decisiveness of the revolutionary masses in Russia, which opposed the age-old system of exploitation and coercion under the banner of Marxist-Leninist ideas, answered the most pointed and urgent problems of our time and raised the theory and practice of the world liberation movement to a new level. The possibility of eliminating the power monopoly of the exploiters and replacing it with the power of the working people was proved clearly. The popular masses put an end to exploitation and tore themselves away from the entrapment of the economic element. Private ownership, which was the basis of the exploitation and entrapment and which divided the people, was replaced by public ownership and production began to be managed on a planned scientific basis. The October Revolution and socialism emancipated the working people spiritually and eliminated the monopoly of the exploiters on knowledge. In the course of the cultural revolution the broadest possible population strata were given access to education and culture. One of the most complex and sensitive social problems--the national problem--was resolved successfully. The radical changes in social life led to the appearance and the strengthening of a new historical community--the Soviet people. The process of blossoming and rapprochement among socialist nations is continuing. The working people of our multinational country are living and working as Soviet patriots and internationalists. They are proud to belong to the single great Soviet homeland. Under socialist conditions concepts such as freedom and human rights, democracy and social justice, which were no more than proclamations in the past, acquired a real meaning.

The Great October Revolution resolved the most complex problem of the socialist reorganization of the national economy. As was reemphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the solution of this problem is found in the field of economics. The fixed programmatic stipulation of "everything in the name of man and for the good of man" was the starting point of the party, the political approach to it.

The level of economic development which our people inherited from capitalist Russia was outstripped manyfold. The Soviet Union assumed a leading position in the world in the production of many important types of commodities, including petroleum, steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, wheat, cotton, and electric and diesel locomotive engines. Our country has the biggest machine tool fleet in the world and the biggest number of engineers.

Industrial production developed at a tremendous rate in the 1970s. The productive capital created during that period equalled the amount created during the 20 years which preceded it. Compared with the 1960s, electric power production doubled. During the past 10 years, labor productivity in the national economy almost doubled. Capital investments in the agrarian sector exceeded 300 billion rubles and outstripped the level of the preceding decade by a factor of 2.3. Compared with the previous two five-year plans, agricultural output in the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans increased by 272 billion rubles.

An extensive program for enhancing the people's well-being was carried out. Thirty-two billion rubles were allocated for wages, pensions, aid and other state projects. Minimum wages and rates of averagely paid workers and employees in all economic sectors were raised. Compared with 1970 the average monthly wage in 1980 was higher by almost 40 percent. Payments for kolkhoz labor increased ever more. The residential

area built during the 1970s exceeded the entire amount of urban housing of the beginning of the 1960s. Although the production of consumer goods has its problems and unfinished aspects, it nearly doubled compared with the previous decade.

"The results of the development of the national economy," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress, "convincingly proved the accuracy of the party's economic strategy. The country has made substantial progress in all directions in laying the material and technical foundations for communism. The productive forces of Soviet society rose to a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technical revolution, which is changing the appearance of many production facilities and entire sectors, is developing in depth and in width. Soviet science is holding leading positions in the most important areas of knowledge. The economic power of the country is a reliable guarantee of further progress in the building of communism."

The sociopolitical meaning of these results is that the entire system of social relations and our socialist way of life continued to improve on the basis of the stable upsurge of the economy. This was vividly reflected in the new USSR Constitution. All changes and transformations taking place in our country are aimed above all at providing every person with truly human living conditions.

New and even greater prospects are opening for the land of the soviets in the 1980s. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the national income will increase by 18-20 percent; industrial output will increase by 26-28 percent and agricultural output by 12-14 percent. The agroindustrial complex will be developed with a view to ensuring the reliable supply of the country with food and agricultural raw materials. The program for the further upsurge of the prosperity of the people will improve all aspects of life of the Soviet people, such as consumption, housing, culture, recreation and working and living conditions.

In defining the further levels to be reached in the development of the country, our party is clearly aware of the fact that the new problems will have to be resolved under difficult circumstances. A number of factors which will make economic progress more difficult will be acting in the 1980s: a drop in the growth of manpower resources, higher cost of development of the eastern and northern parts of the country and to environmental protection, reconstruction of old enterprises, development of transportation and communications, and others. An extensive work program must be implemented in agriculture, particularly with a view to limiting the adverse consequences of the weather.

The 26th congress, which took into consideration the existing specific circumstances, formulated as a structural component of the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the conversion of the economy to intensive development, the more rational utilization of the country's production potential, comprehensive conservation of all resources and improved work quality.

The tremendous economic growth of the country of the October Revolution is a result of liberated labor. After the 26th CPSU Congress the nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1981 plan and of the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole assumed a broad scope. The collectives of industrial enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities are implementing the tasks formulated at the congress through their selfless toil. They are toiling under the slogan



of "Let us do effective and quality work!" The work of the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has been marked with new production accomplishments. The Soviet people realize that the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and ensuring the further growth of the people's welfare depend above all on individual labor results.

The Soviet people are furthering the cause of the Great October Revolution, which has taken them to the vanguard of social progress, by successfully resolving the key problems of social development after being the first to build developed socialism and to open the way to a communist society.

After the victory of our revolution, changes of radical political and socioeconomic importance, which gave a different meaning to the sociohistorical process and marked the profoundly beneficial influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on all areas of social consciousness and life throughout the globe, took place in the world.

The scale, the comprehensive nature of these historical changes were manifested above all in the establishment of the world socialist comity which is developing in accordance with the objective laws of socialism and in the interest of the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the peoples. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are building jointly a new socialist world, a historically unparalleled type of fully just, equal and fraternal relations among states.

Party-governmental, foreign policy, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations among the members of the socialist comity are developing on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The influential power and noble role of the Warsaw Pact, its Political Consultative Committee above all, and the effective activities of CEMA have been manifested clearly in European and international affairs. The pace of economic growth of CEMA-member countries was twice that of the developed capitalist countries in the 1970s. The constant and close interaction among fraternal communist and workers parties is the core of the cooperation among socialist countries. Their leaders once again coordinated their assessments and the actions of their countries in accordance with the developing world situation during the Crimean meetings in the summer of 1981.

World socialism is advancing steadily in all fields and areas. The Soviet communists are proud of the role which Lenin's party and the homeland of the Great October Revolution play in this.

In recent years, the constructive tasks of the socialist countries have had to be resolved under more difficult circumstances marked by a worsening of the world's economic situation, the arms race imposed by imperialism and the constant hostile campaigns mounted by imperialist circles. In fraternal Poland, with the support of external forces, the enemies of socialism are threatening the foundations of the socialist state. However, "The history of world socialism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th congress, "is familiar with all trials. It has experienced difficult and critical times. However, the communists have always boldly faced and defeated enemy attacks. Such was the case in the past and such will be the case in the future. Let no one doubt our common resolve to support our interests and defend the socialist gains of the peoples!"

Time brings to light the nature of all social phenomena and illuminates the true role of one or another social practice. "The experience of the socioeconomic development of the People's Republic of China over the past 20 years," the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress emphasized, "is a hard lesson which proves the result of distorting the principles of socialism and its nature in domestic and international politics." As to Beijing's foreign policy, it remains directed at the aggravation of the international situation and draws closer to the policy of imperialism.

Based on the overall historical experience of the country of the October Revolution and global socialism, our party has drawn important conclusions of universal significance:

As before, the main problem of the revolution remains that of power. There can be either the power of the working class allied to the entire working people or the power of the bourgeoisie. There is no third way;

A transition to socialism is possible only if the working class and its allies, after assuming real political power, use it for the systematic elimination of the socioeconomic domination of capitalist and all other exploiters;

The victory of socialism is possible if the working class and its vanguard--the communists--are able to inspire and rally the toiling masses in the struggle for the building of a new society and the reorganization of the economy and all social relations on a socialist basis;

Socialism can be established only if the system of the working people is able to defend the revolution from all attacks mounted by the class enemy (such attacks are not only possible but inevitable both from inside and, most likely, from the outside).

The victory of the Great October Revolution awakened properly the awareness of oppressed peoples. The imperialist colonial system was eliminated and has become irrevocably a thing of the past. As a result, the majority of the population on earth, which was previously outside the realm of historical progress, began, as Lenin predicted, to take an active part in determining the fate of the entire world (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 328). Today more than 100 states have rejected the yoke of colonial oppression.

Many liberated countries are rejecting the capitalist way and turning to socialism. These young states have found loyal and reliable friends in the socialist countries, ready to give them all possible aid and support in their progressive development.

In their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, the developing countries are relying on the help of world socialism. In supporting the young states' efforts to strengthen their independence and enhance the level of their economic and socio-cultural development, the socialist comity proceeds from Lenin's conclusion to the effect that the communists "are creating entirely different international relations, which offer all oppressed nations the possibility of freeing themselves from imperialist oppression" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 107).

The CPSU will continue its systematic course of promoting cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement.

The Great October Revolution inaugurated a new stage in the international workers movement and predetermined its tremendous upsurge. Today there are active communist parties in 94 countries. In Western Europe alone, about 800,000 new members have joined their ranks over the past 10 years. The communists are in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, they determine the best directions of social progress, draw conclusions for their activities from this, and act as the most consistent and firm fighters for the interests of the working class and the peoples of their countries and for democracy, peace and socialism.

Today's sociopolitical life is developing under the rising influence of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The ideological potential of the Leninist party, creatively developed in the documents of its highest forum, which continued the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory carried out by the preceding party congresses, is feeling its inordinate strength.

Under the conditions of the aggravated ideological struggle in the world arena, we must always take into consideration that our class enemies are learning from their defeats and are acting with increasing refinement and insidiousness, using a great variety of means aimed at undermining and loosening the socialist world. They have been joined by a variety of pseudo-Marxist groups, Maoist in particular, and by "leftist" extremist groups.

In defining the directions to be followed in the development of the social sciences, the 26th CPSU Congress indicated the need to concentrate the efforts on the criticism of anticommunism and bourgeois and revisionist concepts of socialist development, and on the exposure of the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism.

The falsification of the history of the October Revolution is one of the steady lines of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. Our opponents admit that today "no single topic is discussed so persistently and impassionately as the topic of the revolution," and that the interpretation of the problems of revolution in the contemporary political struggle "is more important than any weapon" ("Historische Prozesse" [The Historical Process], Munich, 1978, p 283, and others). Obviously, this is a manifestation of the "protective" function of bourgeois historiography and its ideology, which is based on subjectivism and methodological pluralism, and is alien to the interests of social progress. It presents history as a "projection of the interests of the present into the past," while "false historical necessity" as "the predominance of one of the infinite number of factors, decisions and opportunities." As a result, scientific objectivity yields to voluntarism and subjectivism.

Let us point out that hostility to the October Revolution and to its ideas is increasing in the works of anticommunists and anti-Soviets in proportion to the successes of real socialism and the world liberation movement. Thus, Harvard University Professor R. Pipes (one of President Reagan's advisors) acknowledges that the October Revolution is "an event which determined the feature of the 20th century more than any other," and notes that the attitude toward it "is a kind of litmus paper in defining the political philosophy of an author" (THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW, 30 December 1979, pp 7,18). At the same time, the great social progress which has taken place in the 20th century under the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution frightens the American professor who frenziedly calls for an intensification of the total struggle against communism. Such views are considered



"inadmissible" even by his colleagues, for in his writings "unprovable assertions are presented as almost authentic."

Both such "studies" and imperialist propaganda which uses them grossly distort the meaning and significance of the October Revolution. What concerns the defenders of capitalism most of all is that the October Revolution was a manifestation of the general laws of social progress.

The bourgeois press is actively promoting views depicting the October Revolution as a "minority revolution" which developed according to the "prescriptions of a putsch, with the purposeful and controlled participation of the masses accounting for an insignificant minority," while its victory is proclaimed the result of a random development of circumstances. All of this is nothing but a rehash of long exposed S. R.-menshevik fabrications. The old and new variants of this version are aimed against the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution. Lenin's works and the numerous documents extensively carried by the press and the very history of the October Revolution, the preparations for it and its making purely refute such fabrications. The socialist revolution, Lenin taught, is based not only on the party but on the progressive class, on the revolutionary upsurge of the people. In describing the October Revolution, he emphasized in 1918 that "This struggle, which leads us to a new life, was initiated by 115 million people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 494). The Bolshevik Party combined within a single revolutionary stream the struggle of the working class for socialism, the nationwide movement for peace, the peasant struggle for land and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia and channeled these forces into the overthrow of capitalism.

Whereas quite recently the bourgeois authors unanimously claimed that the people's masses had not taken part in the revolution and had looked at the struggle for power in which the political parties were engaged "with indifference," recently published books are attempting to present the bolsheviks as separated from the masses and the masses separated from the party, and to pit one against the other. Marc Ferro, a professor at the Sorbonne, who rejects the concept of the hegemony of the proletariat, claims that the winners of the October Revolution merely "approved the actions of workers, soldiers and peasants who were making a social revolution" (M. Ferro, "La revolution russe de 1917" [The Russian Revolution of 1917], Paris, 1977, p 110). Such attempts at depicting the socialist revolution as a spontaneous process are presented by the extreme left press as a "new trend" in historiography.

In reviving the opportunistic theories of "spontaneity," the newly hatched propagandists are attempting to deprive the liberation movement of its tried leading force--the revolutionary party--which gives it a purposeful and scientifically substantiated nature and which reflects the objective content of the historical process.

Our press has already properly criticized the bourgeois concepts of so-called "modernization." The objective purpose of the October Revolution, the authors of such concepts claim, was no more than the solution of purely "Russian" problems and the creation of a minimum set of conditions which would enable backward Russia to catch up to a certain extent with the progressive West in the economic area and to set up similar structural components such as a skilled working class, administrative apparatus and stratum of scientific and technical workers. The supporters

of this "modernization" theory develop the "growth stages" of a certain "industrial" and "postindustrial society" and so on, ignoring the basic characteristics of the socioeconomic system and misinterpreting individual aspects of similarity in the economic development of countries with different social systems. The purpose of such concepts is to remove from scientific circulation the very idea of the common laws governing the revolutionary reorganization of society, to emasculate the social nature of the socialist revolution and to limit its significance within national, local boundaries.

Many such concepts are found in the bourgeois historiography of the October Revolution. Sometimes they are quite different from each other. Basically, however, they are equally false. The rapidity with which they replace each other is no proof whatever of scientific progress in bourgeois historical thinking which, to this day, is based on the thesis of the "accidental" nature of the October Revolution (see, for example, A. Wood, "The Russian Revolution," London, 1979, p vii; A. Taylor, "Revolutions and Revolutionaries," London, 1980, p 141). The wish to substitute accident for objective law convincingly proves the antihistorical and antiscientific nature of bourgeois views.

The Great October Revolution laid the beginning of the process of revolutionary renovation of the world, which is intensifying the crisis in the world capitalist system and is aggravating all of its contradictions.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the topical nature of the conclusion contained in the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and its international significance in the broad and narrow meanings of the terms. It showed its influence on all countries and, with the help of specific current examples, proved "the historical inevitability of the repetition on an international scale of what took place in our country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 3).

V. I. Lenin emphasized that "The transition from capitalism to socialism is conceivable in a variety of forms" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 78). The forms, ways and means of socialist revolution in any of the currently existing socialist countries have not been a mechanical repetition of someone else's experience. All socialist countries carried out their revolutions their own way, in ways dictated by the ratios of class forces within each of them, the national structure and the external circumstances.

Armed struggle developed in some countries and the revolution had to defend itself against foreign intervention. In others, peaceful forms of transition to the new social system were used. The universal-historical significance of the lessons of the Great October Revolution, however, were manifested in all of these complex processes.

One of the topical conclusions of this experience is the need to organize the reliable defense of revolutionary gains. By emphasizing that "a revolution is worth anything only if it is able to defend itself" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 122), Lenin not only formulated one of the basic, the inalienable features of the socialist revolution, but one of the basic laws of Marxism. This is confirmed by the tragic fate of the Chilean revolution and the complex development of the revolutionary events in Afghanistan, which is under steady imperialist attack, and by the entire course of the world's revolutionary process.

Our party and people laid the historical path from the October Revolution to developed socialism on virgin land under incredibly difficult conditions. The Soviet people gave their struggle for the building of a new society a heroic principle and inspiration. They selflessly surmounted incredible difficulties. In his time, at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, M. I. Kalinin expressed this with utmost simplicity by pointing out that if Volkhovstroy was to be built every single pair of sleeves must be rolled up. The Soviet people bravely undertook to limit their needs to the bare minimum not only in order to be able to build the first electric power plants but, above all, to ensure the defense and increase of the gains of the revolution, so that the land of the soviets may be able to withstand capitalist encirclement, repel the invasion of the fascist aggressors' bloc and to remain the bulwark of the revolutionary process created by the October Revolution. Individual destinies were resmelted in the labor crucible of the severe need and the general resolve of the Soviet people. History proved that no one could defeat us. It is particularly pertinent to state this now, when we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the great battle for Moscow.

Having defended their revolutionary gains, the Soviet people are acting as pioneers of social progress and are opening new horizons to mankind. They are continuing their historical accomplishments in the mature socialist society, which is a necessary, legitimate and historically long period in the course of the establishment of the communist system.

One of the main gains of the Great October Revolution, which is manifested with particular clarity at the developed socialist stage, is the inner unity gained by the Soviet people despite differences in languages and national traditions, and their indivisible unity with the Leninist party. The 26th congress noted this fact as the manifestation of trends which enable us "to assume that the establishment of a classless social structure will take place in its main and essential features within the historical context of mature socialism."

In expanding the concept of developed socialism, the congress answered the main question of the theory and methodology of contemporary history: that of the objectives and meaning of the historical process. Whereas the bourgeois theoreticians believe that "reading an objective in history itself or reading history alone could be dangerous" and that "there is no sense in history," in summing up the historical experience gained after the historical revolution, our party draws attention to the topical nature of this question the answer to which enables us to be aware of the general trend in the contemporary development of mankind leading to the triumph of communism.

The facts of recent years have confirmed that the "propaganda cover" used by our ideological adversaries is being actively involved in the struggle against the theory and practice of developed socialism. Today the bourgeois Sovietologists are resorting to the rather primitive means of starting with a pseudoscientific arbitrary definition of developed socialism, followed by a compressed or expanded (depending on the market) falsified description of its appearance. The thus caricatured history is proclaimed the "legitimate" consequence of the victory of the October Revolution.



The critics of mature socialism are unable to oppose to its real accomplishments anything substantial. Bourgeois society, torn by antagonistic contradictions, rests on the savage laws of capitalism. It has not aspired, and aspires today even less, to enable the millions of working people to exercise their rights to work, rest, education, culture, housing and so on. The limited social rights and democratic freedoms were gained by the working class and working people during a long and intensive struggle and were not granted by the ruling rich. The heavy burden of steadily increasing war preparations is systematically lowering the already limited social budgets of the imperialist countries.

In mounting their attacks against the high achievements of social progress, our ideological opponents are trying to turn people away from socialism and to justify in their eyes the criminal and inhuman policy and practice of ruling imperialist circles.

In expanding and deepening their study of the developed socialist society and of its social structure and political system, our social sciences are increasing the volume of positive knowledge which is the base for substantive criticism of imperialist propaganda and the assertions of its revisionistic stooges.

We must pay greater attention to this new sector of the ideological confrontation and provide a decisive and prompt rebuff to the slanderous fabrications regarding developed socialism--the offspring of the Great October Revolution.

The mature socialist society--a unique phenomenon in the history of human civilization--is inseparably linked to the development of its new type--of a communist civilization. The beginning of this civilization was laid by the October Revolution. It bears the mark of the profound social changes which ensured fast social progress on a socialist basis and the high level of material and spiritual culture of the new social organism which is producing the values needed for the shaping of the comprehensively developed harmonious person.

The establishment of a communist civilization itself and its historical future are related to the implementation of the lofty social ideal and the manifestation of the humanism of mature socialism. Concern for the fate of thousands of years old European civilization, as expressed from the rostrum of the 26th congress, was imbued with humanism and nobility. "A 'limited' nuclear war, as conceived by the Americans for Europe, for example," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "would mean at the very start the certain death of European civilization." The objective of Soviet foreign policy is not preparation for a war which would doom the nations to the senseless wasting of their material and spiritual resources but the consolidation of the peace.

The 1970s proved most convincingly that the policy of peaceful coexistence, conceived by Lenin himself, is exerting an increasingly determining impact on contemporary international relations. This policy has been pursued despite the uninterrupted imperialist diversionary actions and ideological insinuations.

The frenzied propaganda conducted by bourgeois political experts, historians and other authors of myths of the "Soviet threat" is the most widespread means used in

discrediting the Leninist peace program. The false accusations charging the Soviet Union with supporting "international terrorism," under the cover of which the imperialist circles have initiated a new round of the arms race, threatening the world with the neutron bomb, marks the peak in the escalation of anti-Sovietism.

Our party counters the militant adventurism of the aggressive imperialist circles with a program for the defense and consolidation of the peace, based on the interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of all peoples on earth, and with the noble idea of protecting both present and future generations.

The 26th CPSU Congress formulated an entire set of suggestions covering the basic problems of international life. They call for limiting the arms race, eliminating hotbeds of tension and strengthening trust among countries. The suggestions apply to politics and military affairs, nuclear and conventional armaments and the situation in Europe, the Near, Middle and Far East and other parts of the globe. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union has been and remains a policy of peace.

As was reemphasized at the 26th congress, the Soviet Union opposes the export of revolution. However, it equally disagrees with the export of counterrevolution and is giving all possible aid to countries subjected to imperialist attacks.

In adopting vanguard positions in the tense anti-imperialist struggle, our party, all of whose activities are imbued with historical optimism, considers the development of society as an interrelationship among the past, the present and the future. It provides a precise definition of the nature and the future of social progress.

The Soviet people address the future with confidence. Their optimism was gained in the course of the revolution. It is based on their firm belief in the irreversible nature of the gains and accomplishments of the October Revolution. This is a type of optimism which is manifested daily in the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people who were and remain in the front end of the struggle for the bright future of mankind.

Lenin described our party as the party of the future. Its history developed as that of a party with a daring historical initiative, drawing its strength from its unity with the people who, in turn, find their strength in their unity with the party and its leadership. The 26th party congress enriched the Leninist doctrine of the party and defined its growing role in the building of communism.

The objectives for the implementation of which our party is struggling are imbued with historical optimism and vitality. The party clearly realizes the necessity to proceed from the actual rather than the desired development of society (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 307).

The powerful spirit of the citizens of the land of the soviets, who are firmly convinced of the victory of communism in the future, is manifested in the developed socialist society. In expressing the thoughts of the Soviet people, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our people know that everything they have created through their own efforts and defended with their own blood. We are optimists because we believe in the power of labor, in our country and in our people. We are optimists because we believe in our party and we know that the direction it gives us is the only true direction!"

The growing attractiveness of communist ideas and the party's concern for the preservation of their purity and further development, manifested at the 26th CPSU Congress, are creating obvious confusion in imperialist circles, which are seriously concerned about the present and the future of capitalism.

Attacks on the theory and the principles of socialism have been mounted by bourgeois historiography for decades. In recent years its scientists have engaged in speculation on "the revolutionary ideals which are disappearing with the development of the revolution" (R. Blackey and C. Paynton, "Revolution and Revolutionary Ideals," Cambridge, 1976), the "utopian" nature of the revolutionary idea itself (M. Lasky, "Utopia and Revolution," Chicago-London, 1976), etc. As was to be expected, their statements have been taken up by the members of the American administration. They have even gone so far as to predict the "imminent decline" of socialism.

All of this is a repetition of something which is long past, a movement in a circle. "How many attempts have been made to make us abandon our objectives. How frequently have our opponents tried to assure us that we are in error, that our way is the wrong one....," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th congress. "Most such people have long been forgotten while socialism lives and develops. It is advancing steadily. We do not simply believe but are firmly convinced that our supreme objective will be achieved as well and a communist society will be built!"

The 26th CPSU Congress, which enriched Marxist-Leninist theory creatively and adopted a grandiose program for the long-term development of our country, raised even higher the invincible Leninist flag of the Great October Revolution, the flag of peace and labor, which overshadowed mankind's path to social progress. "Marxist theory, illuminated by the bright light of the new universally rich experience of the revolutionary workers," Lenin pointed out, "helped us to understand the entire legitimacy of events. It will help the proletariat the world over, which is fighting for the overthrow of capitalist-hired slavery, to realize more clearly the objectives of its struggle, follow the indicated paths even more firmly, and win and consolidate its victory better and more firmly" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 514). The CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers parties are following Lenin's behest in their great historical accomplishments.

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the eternally living revolutionary international doctrine!

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IN THE NAME OF THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND PROGRESS

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[Review of the book by L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course]. Speeches, Greetings and Articles." Vol 8. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 800 pp]

[Text] The tasks of social progress and everything that is necessary, such as the creative development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and the continuing summation of comprehensive social practice, are becoming ever broader and more complex as we advance toward communism. Loyal to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's behests, the CPSU is engaged in tireless and successful work in this direction. This was reflected in the proceedings and documents of its historical 26th congress with particular clarity.

The eighth volume of speeches, greetings and articles by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, covers the important and complex period from April 1979 to March 1981, a period which abounded in major new phenomena in the life of Soviet society and events in the world arena.

The collection includes the substantial results of the intensive ideological-theoretical, political and organizational work of the CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo. It reflects the tremendous personal contribution made by L. I. Brezhnev to the formulation and implementation of the contemporary strategy and tactics of the communist party, which is heading the struggle waged by the Soviet people for building a communist society. The materials included in the work provide an extensive program for practical action by communists and all working people at the present stage of the building of communism.

I

The economy was and remains the decisive front in the struggle for communism. "The management of the national economy," L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is the core of all party and state activities. It is precisely in the area of the economy that the foundations for the solution of social problems, strengthening the country's defense capability and pursuing an active foreign policy are laid. It is precisely here that the necessary prerequisites for the successful progress toward communism by Soviet society are created" (p 668).

The period covered by the collection has played a particular role in the implementation of CPSU economic policy. It was a period of summation of the experience gained by the party and the people in the struggle for upgrading effectiveness and quality in all sectors of our national economy, a period of making important decisions aimed at the further advancement of the economic mechanism and upgrading the level of economic planning and management. The conversion of the national economy to the track of intensive development, which has now become an urgent necessity and a prerequisite for the successful solution of socioeconomic problems, is the common denominator of all such measures. The party is focusing the efforts of all its organizations, state and economic organs, labor collectives, scientists, engineers and production innovators on the solution of this problem of tremendous historical importance. The nationwide search by and socialist competition among the working people are aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, strengthening labor and state discipline and assuring the firm growth of labor productivity.

The party tirelessly seeks the type of planning and economic management methods which will meet the requirements of the turn to production intensification which was initiated in the 1970s and must be completed in the 1980s. Thus, starting with the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, the targets requiring an overall approach and the use of the target programming method were clearly defined: transportation, the fuel-energy complex, metallurgy, machine building, capital construction, and supplying the population with comestible and industrial goods. Subsequent Central Committee plenums confirmed the accuracy of this approach. The October 1980 plenum pointed out yet again that "the target program method must be extensively used in planning. Each such program must represent a substantiated plan of steps based on precise computations and aimed at end results, at the full solution of one or another problem. It is important for such a program to define the stages and sequence of problems to be resolved" (p 474).

As we know, this approach to economic planning and management was reinforced and the line of resolving most important socioeconomic problems as part of the target programs was given the force of party directive at the 26th party congress. This developed the scientific economic strategy of the CPSU further. The methods for its implementation in a national economy with a very complex territorial-sectorial structure and a comprehensive and flexible system of ties linking its components, were defined more specifically.

In ascribing prime significance to the need for a decisive improvement in the scientific level of management and planning and in the development of a contemporary style of economic thinking, the party sets as a cornerstone the political aspects of improving economic management and its principles, based on the nature of the socialist society. Thus, on the eve of the party forum, the question of observing a proper ratio between the two aspects of democratic centralism was strongly raised. Improvements in this area are dictated by the nature of socialist production, which is based on the total domination of public ownership which makes systematic use of the advantages of socialized labor. Under socialist conditions, particularly at the higher levels of socialist maturity, the "normal functioning of the economy calls for the comprehensive development of local initiative, of the initiative of labor collectives and economic managers. Most operative problems must be resolved precisely where a rapid solution can be provided, without unnecessary red tape or coordinations" (p 475). As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the matter of

improving economic management will not drag along obsolete structures in the new five-year plan.

The tremendous scale and complexity of the problems to be resolved in the 1980s require maximum organization, efforts and ability to focus them on key problems. "What is necessary," the author points out, "is the mobilization of the creative potential of our entire society. Increasing understanding of arising problems must be displayed centrally and locally, at all levels and in all units of the national economy. Existing possibilities must be identified and utilized better. It is a question of the formulation of a workstyle which will combine assiduity and discipline with daring initiative and enterprise organically. Practical-mindedness and efficiency must be combined with aspiration to achieve great objectives. Critical attitudes toward shortcomings must be combined with the firm confidence in the historical advantages of our chosen path" (pp 692-693). A characteristic feature of L. I. Brezhnev's addresses on problems of the country's socioeconomic development is emphasis on political and organizational work among the masses as a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading public production effectiveness.

The 26th CPSU Congress faced labor collectives, social organizations of the working people, economic organs and scientific institutions with major tasks related to the further upsurge of the country's economy. The socialist economy, which serves the good of the people, must become truly economical so that bigger and better things may be accomplished for less. The statement in the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress is a direct appeal to all Soviet people: "Comrades, today we can resolve even the biggest and most complex problems. However, a matter which would seem quite simple and ordinary--an economical attitude toward the public good and the ability to utilize everything we have fully and expediently becomes the pivot of economic policy. This must become the focal point of the initiative of labor collectives and of mass party work" (p 681). It is precisely the initiative of the broadest masses that is considered by the party to be an irreplaceable reserve in the acceleration of our economic development.

The systematic implementation of the basic socialist principle "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," the improvement of the economic mechanism and the enhancement of its role in the further upsurge of production effectiveness and work quality are among the most effective means for upgrading the production activity of the working people. "Our system of material and moral incentives must ensure the equitable and objective evaluation of individual labor contributions always and comprehensively," the author states. "Conscientious workers must be comprehensively encouraged. No loopholes for a good life without work must be left open to idlers and wastemakers. He who wants to live better must work more and better" (p 702). The perfecting of socialist economic management principles helps to strengthen and to develop conscientious labor discipline, which is one of the main achievements of the new system.

Material incentives for work for the common good are inseparably related to moral incentives. This is manifested in the practice of the nationwide socialist competition with particular clarity.

The party sees in the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor not only a powerful lever for the multiplication of labor successes and



the accelerated solution of broad economic problems but also a most important means for the communist upbringing of the masses. The competition has a beneficial influence on the moral atmosphere in the collectives and on promoting in the Soviet people the feeling of being the masters of their country and on the development of socialist democracy and all sociopolitical life. The dissemination of progressive experience is not only a reliable means for urging on laggards and upgrading production indicators on a mass scale; the dissemination, application and development of a new attitude toward labor, the principles of socialist discipline and self-discipline, the sociomoral experience of those who lead and the spirit of social creativity is no less important. This was pointed out in V. I. Lenin's work "The Great Initiative": "Model production, model communist subbotniks, model concern and conscientiousness in the production and distribution of each pood of grain, model cafeterias and model cleanliness of a worker's house or district must be considered today as tenfold more important by our press and by all worker and peasant organizations. All of these are offshoots of communism and the care for them is our common and prime duty" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 25).

Problems of the further enhancement of the comprehensive social activeness of the masses and the growth of the people's initiative are discussed extensively in the collection. Not a single major success has been ignored by L. I. Brezhnev. This includes the ahead-of-schedule completion of planned assignments, the commissioning of major industrial complexes, electric power plants and roads, the growing of high yields, and the labor accomplishments of individual brigades and innovators. The warm words of numerous greetings included in the work are addressed to frontrankers in industry and agriculture, engineers, scientists, collectives of production associations and working people of oblasts and republics. Each such greeting is an expression of concrete support of labor initiative and makes progressive local experience locally accessible. The greetings also provide clear guidelines so that organizational and mass political work by party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations may become ever more creative, specific and purposeful.

As the materials in the work prove clearly and convincingly, yet again problems of socialist economic development have been organically combined with the solution of social problems, particularly those related to improving labor conditions and concern for the daily needs of the workers, the development of socialist democracy and mass initiative, the growth of mass conscientiousness and responsibility and the education of every Soviet person in the spirit of communist ideals. Under socialist conditions, production is a people's project and its supreme objective is the good of every Soviet person. This becomes particularly clear at the developed socialist stage. "The economic policy formulated by the party for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s reflects the basic, the vital interest of the Soviet people. Combined and blending with the creativity, initiative and energy of the masses, it ensures the steady progress of our society toward the increased well-being of the working people and the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism!" (p 693). This ensures the unity and integrity of all sides of social development, the solution of social problems, the progress of sociopolitical relations, the blossoming of the spiritual culture of the people and success in communist upbringing.

Under socialism, economic upsurge is not a self-seeking aim. It is the foundation for the advancement of social relations and the socialist way of life. It creates favorable material conditions for the blossoming of culture and for the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual. This is a particularly clear manifestation of the humanistic nature of the new system. Naturally, it does not mean that socialist production and work for the common good have some kind of "auxiliary" or purely official purpose. Socialist property is not only material values worth billions of rubles but also (perhaps even above all) a tremendous sociopolitical and moral value, for it constitutes the objective foundation of collectivistic relations and of the sociopolitical, international and ideological-moral unity of the Soviet people. In precisely the same manner labor which, even before socialism, embodied some of the most basic norms of human morality, acquires under socialism a particular importance. As collective, highly organized and highly productive labor it becomes one of the main sociopolitical, cultural-ideological and moral values of society, the main field for developing a new, a communist attitude toward labor, a field for shaping collectivism and comradeship, for promoting feelings of social duty, justice and high personal dignity.

In his speech during the anniversary ceremonies in Tbilisi, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the organization of a mass struggle against losses can have both economic and social, moral-educational effects: "We have the ability to stop all losses if all of our party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the entire people become involved. The active involvement of all working people in the struggle against losses is a good form of participation by the masses in the management of social affairs."

It is no accident that the party links the objective of shaping the new man and communist upbringing to the improvement of labor relations and the enhancement of the personality of the working person. Thus, the main directions in organizational, mass political and ideological work were formulated as follows at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum:

"All-round development of the socialist competition which must be oriented toward quality indicators and the struggle for the implementation of counterplans;

"Support and dissemination of progressive experience and progressive ways and means of work which help to enhance labor productivity;

"Systematic implementation of a regimen of economy and efficient utilization of material and financial resources;

"Struggle against labor discipline violations, slovenliness and slackness.

"Labor collectives must plan an increasing role in this struggle and their rights must be broadened" (p 211).

We find here a formulation of problems of the development of socialist democracy, concern for the improvement of social relations and intolerance of negative phenomena alien to the nature of the socialist society. Progress is being made in the

field of social relations and the ideological-political, international and social unity within Soviet society, justifiably described by L. I. Brezhnev as the unique possession of socialism, as our priceless and invincible strength, grows as we resolve the specific practical problems of the building of communism.

The further strengthening of the international unity within Soviet society and the Leninist friendship among peoples are discussed extensively in the book. A number of addresses, the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress in particular, provide a profound analysis of the successes achieved by union republics thanks to joint efforts and the helping of each other by all nations and nationalities rallied within a single Soviet multinational state, the 60th anniversary of whose foundation will be celebrated next year. The processes of rapprochement among them in all fields of social life are intensifying. "Today unity among Soviet nations is stronger than ever. Naturally, this does not mean that all problems pertaining to national relations have been resolved. The dynamics of the development of a large multinational state such as ours creates many problems which demand the party's close attention" (p 699). The study of these problems in the book is imbued with a clear internationalist trend and intolerance of any nationalistic manifestations. It is distinguished by its balanced and scientific nature and loyalty to the principles of Leninist national policy. "The party," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "has the sacred duty to educate the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and in the proud feeling of belonging to the united and great Soviet homeland" (p 700).

It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that in the 1970s our country took a major step toward building a classless society. The Soviet working class, whose role as the leading force of social progress is growing thanks to its increased numerical strength (today it accounts for the majority of the population) and qualitative development, expressed in the steady growth of education, culture, professional skills, organization, conscientiousness and further enhancement of sociopolitical activity, is the soul and the heart of this process. The revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class, its collectivistic mentality and socialist interests and communist ideals are becoming today the property of all Soviet socialist strata. The rapprochement between the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia with the working class led the party to a conclusion of major political, theoretical and practical importance to the effect that the essential establishment of a classless social structure will take place within the socialist phase, i.e., at the mature socialist stage.

The innovative nature of this conclusion is that it provides an opportunity for the more comprehensive study of nonclass social differences. Accordingly, social policy is being concentrated to an increasing extent on eliminating the differences which go beyond the framework of individual classes and on the solution of problems requiring the closest possible consideration of the characteristics and interests of individual groups within our society. This trend is of major practical importance today and will unquestionably assume priority in the future, for the elimination of class disparities does not mean in the least a social lack of structure, although it will introduce essential changes in the content and nature of social structures. L. I. Brezhnev indicated the existing need to equalize social disparities of a "territorial" nature, so to speak, manifested in the relative inequality among



cultural and living conditions of people in different parts of our country. In this connection, the current five-year plan calls for accelerated housing construction, development of the entire sociocultural complex, and improvements in the supply of goods in mass demand by the population in the areas which are undergoing a most intensive development but are experiencing manpower shortages. This is how the "social rear lines" of the leading sectors in economic progress are secured and said social differences eliminated.

The same objective is pursued by the steps taken to ensure the fuller implementation of the principle "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." Manpower shortages felt in some parts of the country and in a number of production sectors are obviously partially due also to the fact that production effectiveness and labor productivity have not been growing at an adequate pace everywhere; there are frequent violations of socialist labor discipline and some people are simply trying to avoid socially useful work. Such phenomena contradict the nature of the new society.

V. I. Lenin said as early as 1918 that "We have only one slogan: He who works has the right to enjoy the benefits of life. Loafers and parasites who suck the blood of the toiling people must be deprived of such goods. Our proclamation is the following: Everything for the workers and everything for the working people!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 84). Loyal to the behests of its founder and leader, the party has always struggled for the implementation of the principle that "Those who do not work do not eat." At its 26th congress, it once again drew the attention of the party members and of all Soviet people to these problems which are of exceptional importance from the economic, sociopolitical and ideological-educational viewpoints. The Central Committee accountability report most clearly indicated that "Avoidance of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This means that all organizational, financial and juridical means must be used in blocking tightly all opportunities for loafing, bribery, black marketeering, unearned income and all encroachments on socialist property" (p 702).

The obvious sociopolitical meaning and tremendous moral-educational significance of this vast range of problems require the active participation of the broadest possible toiling masses and all conscientious working people, the mobilization of public opinion and increased activities of mass propaganda and information media in this direction if they are to be successfully resolved as quickly as possible. Our people support the struggle waged by the communist party for strengthening socialist social discipline in labor and outside the production area and for the systematic and strict observance of the just principles of socialism. It is precisely in the course of the implementation of practical tasks of the building of communism and in the struggle for attaining its objectives--a struggle whose class-political meaning is obvious and clear--that the new man, his communist outlook, high political and moral standards and ability to observe and ensure the observance of other requirements of Soviet laws expressing the national interests are shaped.

The wide scope and precise direction of such a mass struggle ensure the further intensification and development of socialist democracy on the basis of the 1977 USSR Constitution, which laid a firm legal foundation for this. At the developed socialist stage, the role of the socialist state of the whole people and its organs,

and the role of the soviets of people's deputies as the firm political foundation of the USSR, becomes more rather than less important. Today, L. I. Brezhnev points out, "Our task is the all-round enhancement of the initiative and responsibility of each individual soviet of people's deputies. This is our party's long-term course. It enables us to increase our strength in economic construction, control over the work of the apparatus and the upbringing of millions of people tenfold" (p 15). Yes, this applies to upbringing as well, for socialist democracy means the purposeful organization of the enhancement of the social activity of the masses, the organization of their work and struggle and their historical creativity.

The nature of the Soviet state as a state of the whole people is manifested in its very content, in the various aspects of its activities in the area of control, where the work of state organs most closely blends with the activities of the masses and of the social organizations which represent their interests, in the development of criticism and self-criticism and in the increased role of public opinion. The party sets the workstyle among the masses. At the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, L. I. Brezhnev said: "The entire workstyle of party, soviet and economic organs and, naturally, of trade unions must be imbued by an attentive, a concerned attitude toward man. Such an attitude must become a permanent teacher in the work of every manager, big or small. There must be no place in our Soviet way of life for bureaucracy, callousness and arrogance" (p 471).

As the greatest achievement of Marxist-Leninist philosophy today, the concept of developed socialism formulated by the party is the theoretical base of CPSU strategy and tactics. This concept concretizes the contemporary tasks in the field of communist upbringing and the shaping of the new man. "Infinite loyalty to the ideals of communism, collectivism and comradely mutual aid, a new attitude toward labor, true democracy, socialist patriotism and internationalism, profound humanism, and respect for the rights and the dignity of every person are today the characteristic features of our morality, of the Soviet way of life" (p 31). The implementation of these features which are also educational targets require the unifying of the efforts of the public and the state organs, the use of the achievements of science and the rich sociohistorical experience of the party and the people, and the effective application of all ideological-educational tools.

Time is moving at a fast pace today, changing the people and the social environment in which they live, act and develop. The citizens' educational, cultural and information standards are rising steadily. "...the more educated the Soviet people become and the more the range of their knowledge expands, the more important the level and the quality of ideological work become" (p 307). We must see to it, L. I. Brezhnev has said, that its content becomes more topical and includes answers to so-called difficult questions and that its forms are consistent with the contemporary requirements and needs of the members of society. This will accelerate the building of communism and bring closer the victory of our scientific ideology over the bourgeois falsehood (see p 308).

Instructions on the work of the party training system and other methods for the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, the activities of mass propaganda and agitation media, and the noble function of literature and art, whose purpose is to enhance man, ennoble his feelings and strengthen his will and desire to fight for the

ideals of universal equality and social justice--the ideals of communism--found in the book are of essential significance. The greater requirements concerning the quality and effectiveness of the entire education process led the party to call for a reorganization of many sectors and areas of ideological work at its 26th congress.

The accurate and scientific Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPSU is consistent with the basic interests and requirements of the working people. The interpretation of the topical historical and political problems of the Leninist party contributes to the further strengthening of the unity between party and people and to the growth of the people's creative and constructive energy. The Soviet people, who support CPSU policy unreservedly, are looking to the future with confidence. However, their optimism is not the equivalent of the arrogance of the darlings of fate. "The Soviet people know the party slogan: Everything for the good of Soviet man, everything for the sake of man. That is why they warmly support the party's policy. However, we know something else as well: nothing comes free. Improvement in living conditions can be achieved only with the intensive efforts of the Soviet people themselves" (p 734).

Many works in the collection discuss problems of the party, of the legitimate enhancement of its role and responsibility in the building of communism, the increased combat capability of party organizations and party members, the purity of party ranks, and the mastering of the Leninist workstyle by party committees and primary organizations. These works are the core of the book. The very formulation of the problem of party construction, development of the initiative of local party organizations, thorough consideration of acquired experience, shaping and implementation of domestic and foreign CPSU policy and work among the masses is a model of creative application of the Leninist style with a view to enhancing unity between party and people even further and strengthening the party's prestige and influence.

L. I. Brezhnev points out with legitimate pride that "The entire history of our party is one of serving the interests of the working people. Fighting for the happiness of the working people is the purpose of all party member activities. Naturally, this includes the safeguard of their rights and freedoms as codified in our Constitution, for our entire experience, the developing international situation and recent facts in particular force us to keep our powder dry, to be persistent and consistent in the defense of peace and to remember our historical responsibility for the fate of the homeland and of all mankind" (p 309). Loyalty to creative Marxism-Leninism and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, a systematically scientific class approach to contemporary processes and phenomena and an aspiration to great objectives are what enable our party to be always on the level of contemporary requirements and to give prompt and accurate answers to the many abundant questions which our complex, stormy and conflicting age formulates.

### III

The time period covered by this work is characterized by a significant worsening and aggravation of international circumstances.

The most aggressive imperialist circles, which are drawing closer to other reactionary forces, are attempting to hinder the detente process, turn the world back



to the cold war period and, increasing the tension and accelerating the arms race, change the ratio of forces in their favor. "Mankind," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is faced with the following choice: Either nations and states will bring into action all forces for the preservation of the peace or they will be thrown into the precipice of an annihilating global nuclear war" (p 482).

The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress has provided a profound and comprehensive study of the changes which have taken place in the international situation during recent years. This was a period "noted above all by the intensive struggle between the two directions in world politics. On the one hand, a course toward restraining the arms race, strengthening peace and detente and protecting the sovereign rights and freedoms of nations. On the other, a course of undermining detente and accelerating the arms race and pursuing a policy of threats and intervention in foreign affairs and of suppression of the liberation struggle" (pp 633-634). Under such circumstances, the Soviet Union followed a systematic and firm course of preservation and intensification of detente and mutually advantageous equal cooperation with other countries.

Recent world events have most convincingly proven that socialism and peace are indivisible and that real socialism, represented by the comity of fraternal countries, is the main bulwark of the hopes of mankind for lasting peace and security. "Our struggle for consolidating the peace and intensifying detente," L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress, "is mainly a struggle for ensuring the Soviet people of the necessary external conditions for the solution of its constructive problems. With this we are also resolving a problem of truly universal nature, for there is no single more essential, more important problem today for any nation than the preservation of the peace and guaranteeing the most important right of every person, the right to life" (p 635).

Whereas no feature of socialism is conducive to engaging in foreign military expansion, the imperialist countries are seeking the solution of a number of their problems in the militarization of their economy and politics. They are using the arms race as a source of superprofits and international tension as a means for if not resolving at least reducing the steadily aggravating and intensifying internal contradictions within contemporary capitalism. A substantial production decline--the third in a row over the past decade--is being paralleled by unrestrained inflationary growth and unprecedented high and stable levels of unemployment. The monopoly bourgeoisie needs economic and political militarization also as an instrument for the suppression of the workers movement.

Imperialism is energizing its subversive activities and impudently violating all norms of international law. "Adventurism and readiness to gamble on the vital interests of mankind for the sake of its narrowly selfish objectives are the particularly noticeable features in the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles. In totally scorning the rights and expectations of the peoples, they are trying to depict the liberation struggle of the people's masses as a manifestation of "terrorism." They have set themselves the impossible objective of blocking progressive changes in the world and assuming the role of holders of the destinies of nations" (pp 654-655).

The 26th CPSU Congress, which provided a principled analysis of the international situation, which is aggravated by the fault of imperialism, American above all, most strongly emphasized that today "life demands the fruitful cooperation among all countries for the solution of the peaceful constructive problems facing each individual nation and all mankind" (p 661). The interest with which the peace program for the 1980s, formulated by the congress, was met was no accident. The following was most firmly proclaimed at the congress:

"Today there is no more important international task for our party and people and for all nations on earth than to defend the peace.

"By defending peace we are acting not only for the sake of the present generation and not only for our children and grandchildren; we are acting for the sake of the happiness of dozens of future generations....

"The guideline to the future is not one of preparations for war, which dooms nations to the senseless waste of material and spiritual resources, but the consolidation of peace" (p 667).

The CPSU and the Soviet state do not weaken even for a moment their efforts to implement this line as they persistently pursue the implementation of their peaceful and constructive foreign policy. We recall Lenin's instruction that "The biggest manifestation of democracy is the attitude toward the problem of war and peace" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 92). The possibility exists of rallying all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces on earth in a single front for the solution of this most important general democratic problem. Therefore, we must adamantly struggle for the realization of this possibility and for ensuring unity among all democratic forces and movements of our time. The USSR Supreme Soviet appeal "To the parliaments and peoples of the world" emphasizes that "peace is the common property of mankind. Today it is also the prime condition for its existence. It can be preserved and reliably secured only through joint efforts."

The comity of fraternal socialist states, the united strength of the defensive Warsaw Pact in particular, is the main bulwark in the struggle of the peoples for peace and the main force which counters aggressive imperialist plans. It is no accident that the enemies of peace and social progress are doing everything possible to undermine the unity of the fraternal countries and are mounting refined propaganda campaigns against the USSR and its allies. Of late, not only the specialized subversion services of the imperialists but government organs as well have concentrated their subversive efforts on Poland, where a difficult economic situation has developed, crisis phenomena have appeared in other areas of social life and the counterrevolution has come out of the woodwork and is actively attacking the foundations of the new system as a result of the serious errors committed by the former leaders. People's Poland is an important link in the system of ensuring a stable peace in Europe and in the comity of socialist countries. "...We shall not leave socialist and fraternal Poland in trouble or let it fend for itself!" (p 641) L. I. Brezhnev declared at the 26th congress.

The unity of action and the solidarity of the world communist and worker movements are of tremendous importance in the organization of a universal front of struggle against imperialist expansion, the arms race and the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

L. I. Brezhnev's works pay great attention to these problems. He notes that differences of opinion and differences in approaches to the solution of specific problems of the class struggle as well as discussions among parties cannot and must not be reasons for disturbing unity of action. "Life has convincingly proven that even when differences exist, political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy can and must be developed" (p 649).

Today, the all-round struggle for the unification of all anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic forces is the supreme duty of the communists. If this historical duty is to be fulfilled successfully, it is necessary above all to maintain international cohesion within the communist movement itself.

The work is the result of the collective thinking of the Leninist party and of its extremely rich historical experience. Throughout his entire life, Leonid Il'ich himself has personally participated in the accumulation and interpretation of this experience. He began his labor career 6 decades ago, as a simple worker. He is well acquainted with the life of the working people in town and country and of the Soviet soldiers, and that is why the needs and concerns and the interests and mood of the working people are so familiar to him. For half a century he has been in the ranks of the Leninist party, selflessly dedicating his forces to the struggle for the triumph of the ideas and the cause of communism, wherever he was sent by the party. The party assigned him to the most urgent and important sectors. For the past 17 years the party members in the Soviet Union have entrusted him with the right to head the CPSU, a high trust which Leonid Il'ich is justifying with honor.

The publication of "Leninskim Kursom," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's latest collection of works, is an event in party ideological and political life and in the entire Soviet society.

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## WIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRAM-TARGET PLANNING

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[Article by A. Voss, Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] Sociopolitical life in Latvia as in the entire country is currently developing under the growing influence of the ideas and decisions of the 26th party congress and the concepts and stipulations contained in the CC CPSU accountability report presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The fast growth rate of the socialist economy, the increased complexity of relations among its individual units, the extensive development of the resources in the eastern parts of the country, the broadening of foreign economic relations and the need for the elaboration and implementation of environmental protection measures require further improvement in economic management methods in the broadest meaning of the term and the development of new approaches to planning and the organization of plan fulfillments.

Today, the further development of the program-target planning method and the formulation of comprehensive socioeconomic, scientific and technical and territorial-production programs as a part of long-term national economic plans have become the most important directions leading to the improvement of this complex work.

The need for the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems on the basis of well-balanced long-term target programs has been particularly emphasized in the decisions of the 25th and 26th party congresses and CC CPSU plenums and in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, which have made a particularly substantial contribution to the theory and practice of socialist planning.

### I

The Latvian party organization tries to make the fullest possible use of the tremendous opportunities offered by the extensive use of the complex-target planning method, which makes it possible to eliminate the lack of coordination in the activities of various departments most effectively, to take territorial and sectorial interests more completely and better into account and to resolve current and long-term problems more rapidly.

The program-target planning method was applied in our republic for the first time in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. As is the case with any new undertaking, we faced a number of difficulties and problems. Even though a number of interesting works had been written by Soviet economists, nevertheless, unfortunately, we find in current economic publications few theoretical and, something of particular importance, practical works on the application of the program-target method in planning and management and formulation of comprehensive programs.

The development of methodical and organizational problems, the substantiation of the selection of problems and targets and the definition of the principles of management of and control over the implementation of programs, along with many other problems, demanded of us, of the republic's gosplan above all, a great deal of work and intensive searching.

As a result of our efforts, 40 comprehensive target programs for different levels and of varying significance were formulated. Methodical instructions and a system of control over implementation were drafted for each one of them; the main performers and basic coperformers were approved. Each program was given a six-digit code number. The first two figures indicated the overall number of the program; the next two, the number of the subprogram and the final two, the number of the programmed measure. A proper form was drafted for the processing of the programs. In addition to the list of measures, it included the calendar time period needed for their implementation and the required financial, material and labor resources. The expected results and economic effectiveness of individual measures and of the program as a whole were indicated.

From the very beginning, experience proved that the use of the program-target method in economic planning ensured a more effective development of key problems of the five-year plan. It tied objectives to necessary resources more closely. In turn, this had a positive effect on the implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Programs for improving the quality of labor resources, reducing electric power outlays, converting to universal secondary education, developing economically expedient direct long-term economic relations and many others were successfully implemented.

In the course of the implementation of their program measures between 1971 and 1975, the republic's ministries and departments saved, among others, 54,500 tons of cement, 12,600 tons of metal, 45,500 cubic meters of timber and 16,400 square meters of glass. They fulfilled their assignments on increasing capacities for the production of pressed wood tiles and the use of low-grade wood and waste from timber processing in the production of industrial chips and other items.

Furthermore, the implementation of the comprehensive programs had another substantial economic result. The formulation of the programs, which is an important economic study by itself, makes it possible to determine the true reasons for the cause and effect ties between objectives and programmed measures and all the resources needed for their implementation. Without such painstaking work many exceptionally important relations among components of the national economic plan may remain undiscovered over

long periods of time. Naturally, this lowers the level of planning and of all economic work in general.

Briefly stated, the comprehensive programs which were formulated in the republic between 1971 and 1975 convinced us that they could and should become one of the most important tools for improving planning and management.

We must admit that major omissions and shortcomings were allowed to occur in the elaboration and implementation of the initial comprehensive programs. Above all, the number of programs tended to become excessive. In some cases they overlapped, particularly in terms of resources. Their targets were quite broad and therefore unclear. The stipulated performers included virtually all republic enterprises and organizations. All of this hindered the organization of effective operative control over the implementation of the program and complicated program management.

Following a thorough study of all the aspects of the experience acquired and the comprehensive consideration of the strong and weak points of the work, the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decided to include in the 10th Five-Year Plan no more than 12 complex-target programs. Considering the scale of our republic, in our view this was the optimum variant.

This included programs on the mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor in industry, transportation and other republic economic sectors; development of intersectorial production facilities; environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources; formulation and application of an automated economic management system; elaboration and application of a comprehensive quality control system in the republic; elaboration of systems for heat and fuel supplies to cities and settlements; comprehensive utilization and reproduction of timber resources; comprehensive utilization of peat deposits; improving quality and expanding variety in shoe manufacturing; improving the effectiveness and quality of capital construction and others.

As a rule, the formulated programs are of average length (5 years) and are territorial in nature. In practical terms, comprehensive target planning covers all key problems of the republic's economy. It is intersectorial and ensures the coordinated work of different ministries and departments and the comprehensive economic and social development of enterprises and sociocultural institutions regardless of departmental affiliation.

All 12 comprehensive programs are based on precise computations and take available reserves and resources into consideration fully. Each program reflects the condition of the problem and the basic prerequisites for its resolution; main target (as a rule shown in the title) and its position within the overall system of economic objectives and tasks; the system of the targets and basic tasks of the program; target indicators showing the end results of its implementation; means for attaining the objectives and description of the system of program and subprogram measures; organizational-research structure; data on the resources needed for the implementation of the program and implementation deadlines; and assessment of effectiveness and consequences of its implementation.

The programs are formulated on the basis of a uniform method approved by the Latvian SSR Gosplan; they have an identical format and system for managing their implementation. Proper accountability, handled by the organs of the Central Statistical Administration, is included. Each program consists of one or two major blocks of basic and support activities, which include a certain number of subprograms. In turn, the latter contain specific measures, tasks and projects. Both program and subprogram have a main performer--a coordinator--and a cop performer.

In accordance with the methodical instructions, the programs consist of several sections and tables. The first, i.e., the main section includes all subprograms with their measures, tasks and projects. According to its specific nature, the program also includes several sections, a structural chart (for the visual display of the volume and basic content) and a chart showing the organizational structure of the program's management. Other sections indicate the end results (targets) of the implementation of the program, computations of the necessary financial and material resources and so on.

The structure of the Central Coordination Commission (TsKA) headed by a deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and work groups for coordinating subprogram projects and the procedure of accountability of the implementation of program measures, tasks and projects are defined as well. The TsKA and the work groups meet usually four to six times per year to consider the course of implementation of the individual subprograms and the arising problems and to hear reports submitted by the managers on the implementation of the measures and the results obtained. In addition to the TsKA and the work groups, all head organizations in charge of subprograms and program measures have specific function coordinators who supervise the implementation of the individual parts of the program, resolve problem situations and inform the program heads of the condition of the work.

## II

Let us emphasize that in no case does program-target planning replace territorial and sectorial planning. It is their natural complement, a means for the resolution of sectorial, of basically new problems above all. Furthermore, this program can be successfully implemented only if they become structural parts of national economic plans. In turn, the target nature of the plans and effectiveness of plan solutions largely depend on the extent to which they have been developed from the program's viewpoint.

It is self-evident that the formulation of comprehensive target programs is no simple matter. All economic objectives and means needed for their implementation and the viability of programs and their successful implementation are determined to a decisive extent by their formulation, the stipulated level of effectiveness of utilization of material, manpower and financial resources of ministries and departments, and the extent to which the interests of the latter are closely coordinated.

This means that the solutions included in the program must be oriented toward the full identification of available economic reserves and toward upgrading the work effectiveness of all sectors, associations and enterprises related to the program, on the basis of the extensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the growth of labor productivity. The programs encourage ministries and departments to include in their plans above all the more efficient utilization of



capacities of operating enterprises, the steady technical retooling of production facilities and the dynamic growth of their quantitative and qualitative indicators.

We know what a tremendous reserve for production intensification exists in the efficient utilization of labor resources on the basis of the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and substantial reduction in the share of manual labor. This problem is particularly topical in Latvia for the reason that we have one of the highest levels of employment of the active population in the country. Consequently, we cannot rely on involving new manpower resources in production; increases in output must be achieved only through higher labor productivity and the better utilization of existing production potential.

In the past as well, a great deal of attention was paid to the mechanization of individual production processes, production automation and elimination of manual and heavy physical labor at industrial enterprises, transport organizations and other subunits in the republic's national economy. However, this work had to be broadened and, above all, given a planned direction.

The question of the formulation and systematic implementation of the comprehensive target program for the mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor in all public economic sectors reached a qualitatively new stage in the solution of the problem. The program covers 14 republic ministries and departments and 65 enterprises under union jurisdiction and belonging to 22 different ministries. Its final objective is to increase the volume of output with the same or even a lesser number of workers and to upgrade the level of labor mechanization.

The implementation of the program accelerated the practical utilization of scientific and progressive practical achievements. Production reconstruction and technical retooling and the improvement of technological processes were pursued actively. In 5 years, the republic mechanized and automated comprehensively more than 500 shops and sectors, commissioned more than 1,000 conveyor and assembly lines and installed more than 14,000 units of highly productive equipment.

As a result of all this, in the 10th Five-Year Plan, the number of manual labor workers in industry declined by 16,000 and the level of mechanized labor was increased considerably compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. According to expert evaluations, the average annual economic savings has increased to about 50 million rubles. Let us add to this that more than half the overall increase in labor productivity in Latvia was achieved by mechanizing manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor. Substantial social benefits were gained. Thus, as a result of the implementation of program measures at enterprises such as the VEF Association, the diesel manufacturing, lacquer and dye and some other plants, not a single woman is doing heavy physical work.

The experience gained in the comprehensive mechanization of manual labor in Latvia was supported and approved by a CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree on the further strengthening of labor discipline and lowering of cadre turnover.

A number of other problems demanding a radical solution arose in the course of the formulation of the republic's 10th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. This applied above all to the mechanization and rationalization of repair operations

in auxiliary production. Today up to 70 percent of all repair work is done manually, for which reason sometimes repair costs exceed the price of a new machine produced in series. Furthermore, considerable losses in basic production develop as a result of the idling of equipment undergoing repairs. Therefore, the industrialization of repair operations assumes major national economic significance and requires most serious and close attention.

It was this that led to the formulation of the target program entitled "Development of Intersectorial Production Facilities in the Latvian SSR." In the course of its implementation, we built the first section of an interdepartmental machine tool repair plant in Daugavpils, financed out of capital investments made by different ministries; we are completing the building of a big intersectorial powder metallurgy shop in Riga and have undertaken the building of a foundry-machine plant in Yekabpies.

### III

Upgrading the quality and technical standards of output is a major reserve in increasing public production effectiveness. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th congress, "The level of requirements concerning the quality of output... must be the highest possible. We neither can nor should agree to anything other than matching the best worldwide and domestic standards. We must train ourselves to demand this. We must achieve this by rejecting anything that is obsolete and depreciated by life itself firmly."

The comprehensive target program titled "Formulation and Application of a Republic Quality Control System in the Latvian SSR" was formulated with a view to resolving this most important problem. It calls for the implementation of a wide range of economic and organizational measures aimed at decisively upgrading the quality of all types of goods produced in Latvia. All of our industrial ministries and about 30 republic departments, organizations and scientific research institutions participated in the formulation of this program.

Comprehensive quality control systems are being currently applied at more than 100 Latvian enterprises. This has had a favorable influence on increasing the share of superior-quality goods in the overall volume of output. Over the past 5 years it more than tripled, reaching 21.3 percent. The republic is in one of the leading positions in the country in this area. Naturally, we are pleased that the work which the republic party organization has done in this direction was given a positive rating in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the 26th CPSU Congress.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the biggest success in upgrading production quality was achieved by the Rigasel'mash Plant, where the share of superior-quality goods reached almost 84 percent, the Riga Industrial Lighting Plant with 77.9 percent, the Radiotekhnika Association with 67.4 percent, the Riga Electric Machinery Building Plant with 70.9 percent, the Riga Somdaris Leather Haberdashery Goods with 53.6 percent and the enterprises in Riga's Leningrad Rayon, 40 percent of whose entire output has been awarded the Emblem of Quality.

Major results were achieved also with the fulfillment of the comprehensive program entitled "Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources in the Latvian SSR in 1976-1980." This program is a system of interrelated and coordinated economic, industrial and organizational-economic and scientific research and

social measures aimed at improving environmental parameters. It includes a number of basic measures in each environmental protection area and defines the sequence of necessary projects related to specific targets, implementation deadlines and expected results.

Since the full responsibility for environmental protection and for a sensible attitude toward natural resources must be assumed by those who are engaged in their exploitation, responsible officials from all ministries and departments in the Latvian SSR, enterprises under union jurisdiction in the republic and of executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies were involved in the elaboration of the program.

For example, virtually all Latvian SSR ministries and 40 union associations and enterprises were issued program assignments on the protection and rational utilization of water resources. They include the Biokhimreaktiv Scientific Production Association, the fiberglass plant in Valmiyeri, the chemical fibers plant in Daugavpils, the plastics plant in Olayne, the Latvbytkhim Production Association, the Riga railroad car, diesel and lacquer and dye manufacturing plants, the Yelgavselmash Plant and others. Measures for the preservation of the air basin are being implemented by 22 ministries and departments in the republic and 36 associations and enterprises under union jurisdiction.

The Latvian SSR Gosplan environmental protection department is the main program coordinator. Respective ministries and departments are coordinators of the subprograms (six) and support (five) activities. For example, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is responsible for the "Protection and Rational Utilization of Water Resources" program; the Ministry of Agriculture is in charge of the "Protection and Rational Utilization of the Land" program; the Hydrometeorological and Environmental Control Administration is in charge of the "Development of the Measurement and Control System" support subprogram.

The adoption of the program-target method in environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources considerably energized efforts to improve environmental quality. Reports indicate that compared with 1975 the volume of treated water increased by 15 percent and that water and air pollution in the republic has been eliminated.

Programs for the elaboration and application of automated economic control systems in the Latvian SSR, the comprehensive use and reproduction of timber resources, the improvement of the material and technical base of construction organizations and others play an important role in the comprehensive target programs.

All of these are medium-term programs. The implementation of the comprehensive measures adopted at the March 1979 12th Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Plenum on the accelerated increase in meat production and above all the development of hog breeding as the fastest area in the production of livestock for meat is an example of the implementation of the short-term target program. In order to ensure the more successful implementation of the program, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers set up a special staff which took over all resources obtained as a result of the search for internal reserves by republic ministries and departments. Exhaustive information was obtained on the situation in all sectors of the implementation of the program, with



the help of computers and modern economic-mathematical control methods, which can effectively influence the course of construction of animal husbandry premises.

As a result of extensive and intensive work, we built additionally 337 simplified-type sties for almost 200,000 hogs; the hog herd was increased by more than 300,000 head. Compared with 1979, in 1980 meat production in live weight in the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses increased by 17 percent as follows: beef, 15 percent and pork, 23 percent.

Medium and short-term comprehensive target programming began to be extensively applied in some economic sectors and scientific areas. Many of them are part of the republic's comprehensive target programs. For example, some of the scientific research projects involve the development of systems and methods for the protection of metal from corrosion, the development of new types of livestock feed and improvements in the methods used for their preservation and storage, development of mechanized assembly line technologies for growing and harvesting basic farm crops and storage of farm produce. They will become part of the country's national economic programs.

Acquired experience most clearly proves that the formulation and implementation of comprehensive target programs actively contributes to the improvement of the economic mechanism, all-round economic intensification and achievement of higher end results with lower outlays and resources. Comprehensive persistent efforts to apply the complex-target planning method, combined with other organizational-party and political-educational measures in the 10th Five-Year Plan, enabled the working people in Soviet Latvia to show substantial progress in resolving key problems of economic development and improving production effectiveness and work quality.

Let it suffice to say that the republic fulfilled its five-year industrial output plan 25 days ahead of schedule. A variety of items, a substantial percentage of which are consumer goods, worth half a billion rubles were marketed above the plan. Almost all industrial enterprises, production associations, departments, ministries, cities and rayons fulfilled their five-year plans.

A rather high level of national income growth was achieved. As we know, this is a synthesizing indicator of economic development. It rose by 21 percent during the 5-year period. Latvia holds one of the leading positions in the country in per capita growth of the national income.

Within the same period the overall volume of industrial output increased by 20 percent. This means that compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan industrial output was increased by 7.4 billion rubles in the 10th. As stipulated in the state plan, sectors at the leading edge of scientific and technical progress--machine building and the chemical industry--were developed at a faster rate.

Agriculture took a confident step forward, although each of the last 3 years of the five-year plan could have set it back several years because of exceptionally poor weather conditions. However, this did not take place. Thanks to the selfless efforts of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers, the persistent and purposeful work of the republic party organization and the operative steps taken by the CC CPSU Politburo and the Soviet government, compared with the previous 5 years the average annual volume of



purchases of cattle and poultry in the republic increased by 13 percent; 7 percent more milk and 34 percent more eggs were sold.

Such is the main political and economic result of our work in the 10th Five-Year Plan and the summary result of our efforts to improve planning and the entire economic mechanism and to formulate and implement comprehensive target programs.

Naturally, shortcomings could not be avoided in this major and complex project. A number of problems could not be resolved entirely. Some program assignments remained unfulfilled. In our view, this was due mainly to the following: First, some measures were without clearly stipulated deadlines and specific performers; second, responsibility for their implementation was not assigned to specific individuals in ministries, departments and enterprises; third, program and subprogram coordinators, whose task was precisely to ensure the efficient analysis and elimination of arising intersectorial discoordination and other difficulties did not work sufficiently effectively either because they were absent from their jobs or had other obligations; fourth, adequate resources for the implementation of the programmed measures were not always allocated. In reviewing the draft comprehensive target programs for the 11th Five-Year Plan, the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau called upon the party organizations and economic managers to fulfill programmed measures in their entirety strictly and systematically.

However, the main stumbling block is the fact that, however thoroughly substantiated, the republic's comprehensive target programs have still not been considered by the USSR Gosplan. This considerably hinders the management of their practical implementation and the elimination of departmental barriers. In our view, the time has long come to think of the most suitable means for combining the forces and facilities of different ministries and departments for the successful implementation of the programs and to deal with the organizational side of the project. For the difficulties which still exist in coordinating the measures included in the long-term programs with national economic plans and the plans of ministries and departments and the difficulty of ensuring the strict and efficient implementation of programs for already formulated and coordinated decisions by all participants are an open secret.

We believe that it is time for the USSR Gosplan to include target programs in national economic plans as their organic component. It is necessary also to formulate an effective program management system which would specifically assign individual responsibility for each work sector and grant the performer all necessary rights. As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev justifiably emphasized at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, without this a program will not be a program but a combination of pious wishes.

#### IV

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, we shall actively pursue the implementation of the comprehensive target planning method and advance through the systematic solution of problems. As was the case with the last five-year plan, the five-year plan for the republic's economic and social development includes 12 target programs. Most of them have retained their original targets. This is natural, for the economic problems included in the programs are of a long-term nature.

The comprehensive target program "Development of Determining Directions in the Agricultural Complex" assumes particular importance this five-year plan, for it becomes an inseparable part of the all-union food program. The republic party organization pays prime attention to its formulation and implementation. The aim of the food program is to ensure a considerable increase in agricultural output and to link agriculture more closely with sectors engaged in the storage, processing and marketing of produce. In other words, its purpose is to resolve the problem of the uninterrupted supply of the population with produce within the shortest possible time.

The comprehensive development of agricultural production and related industrial sectors, of the entire agroindustrial complex, is the principal means for reaching this target. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th party congress, the most important task is to increase the production of farm goods the shortage of which creates particularly tangible interruptions in supplies.

It is a question above all of the utilization of all available reserves and opportunities for increasing the production of meat, milk and other animal husbandry products. We try to take such basic stipulations fully into consideration in the current formulation of the republic's food program, whose main subprogram, naturally, is feed production, for the present five-year plan must essentially become a feed production one. This is followed by the "Infrastructure," "Agricultural Services" and "Processing and Marketing" subprograms, which specifically define where, when and how will the planned results be achieved and by whom.

Therefore, the program calls for the formulation of a broad complex of interrelated measures aimed at ensuring animal husbandry with rich feeds, the use of optimal amounts of fertilizer, the creation of a seed fund, the dissemination among all republic farms of progressive technologies for feed crop procurements and storage, the creation of proper material facilities to this effect, the development of a mixed feed industry, the production of the necessary components for balanced feeds, the additional finding of food byproducts and the organization of their effective utilization in animal husbandry.

The program calls also for the accelerated economic upsurge of lagging farms in which, by virtue of a variety of circumstances, production conditions are below the republic's average. With a view to equalizing these conditions a special program was passed by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers for strengthening the economy of these farms. This is a structural component of the republic's food program. This decree calls for measures for the construction of housing and cultural projects in lagging farms, the creation of normal working and living conditions in them, cadre consolidation, construction of industrial projects, land draining and procurement of chemical fertilizers, and the expansion of the machine-tractor fleet with highly productive equipment, which will lower manpower requirements in these farms.

With a view to improving services to farm enterprises, the repair base will be developed within the system of the Latvian SSR Sel'khoztekhnika State Committee and in the farms themselves; centralized procurements of the material and technical facilities they need for the transportation of their goods will be organized.

The successful implementation of the food and many other programs will depend to a tremendous extent on the stable work of construction organizations. For this reason, upgrading the effectiveness and quality of capital construction in the republic is the target of a special comprehensive program.

Bearing in mind the particular importance of the development of agricultural industrial construction in the countryside, a recent Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee plenum considered all most important problems related to further improvements; specific steps were formulated for increasing its influence on upgrading work effectiveness in all sectors of our agroindustrial complex.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev justifiably pointed out at the anniversary ceremonies in Georgia, the food program is not the result of scholastic computations. It must be based on the experience and possibilities of the farms. For this reason, we ask all republic kolkhozes, sovkhoses and rayons specifically to determine what their maximum contribution to the further upsurge of agricultural production can be and to see to it that each ruble of capital investments and additional ton of fertilizers bring full returns in terms of increased crop and livestock produce.

In this connection, we have considered agricultural assignments included in the five-year plan as minimal, although they are quite high. For example, we must reach an average annual grain production of no less than 2-2.1 million tons. Compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan, this means an increase of 47-55 percent; the potato crop must reach 1.7-1.8 million tons, or 22-29 percent above the 10th Five-Year Plan volume of output; the production of vegetables must reach 215,000 tons or a 14 percent average annual crop increase. All of this, along with the solution of other problems, will enable us considerably to improve the feed base and to increase animal husbandry output at a faster rate. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the average annual meat production in live weight in the republic will be increased by 13 percent, reaching 455,000 tons by 1985.

Naturally, the implementation of all this is no simple matter. However, we can and must not only reach but outstrip such indicators. Turning animal husbandry into a truly shock front in the countryside is our prime duty, a matter of our honor and conscience, and our answer to the CC CPSU call addressed from the rostrum of the 26th congress to all party organizations and to all working people in the countryside.

Further improvement of the economic mechanism and its increased influence on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, improved planning and the extensive use of its comprehensive target element are favorably affecting all areas in the implementation of the plan for economic and social development for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The republic's working people fulfilled their first three-quarterly plan for industrial output, increased the production of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality and improved the other technical and economic work indicators.

Socialist competition under the slogan of "For Excellent Work Quality at Each Work Place!" with which the leading Riga enterprises began the 11th Five-Year Plan has had a considerable influence on the successful implementation of assignments and socialist obligations and on the measures stipulated in comprehensive target programs. With the support of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, today it has been extended to virtually all labor collectives in the republic and all units and sectors of our production and management system.



We know that anything that is truly new and progressive in life inevitably comes out ahead. However, this never takes place by itself, automatically. The existence of "psychological barriers," the unwillingness of some workers to part with obsolete concepts and the manifestation of narrow departmental interests and parochialism obstruct the assertion of the new. Today as well, to quote Lenin, "The entire matter is not to be satisfied with the skill we have developed on the basis of previous experience but mandatorily to go further, mandatorily to achieve more, mandatorily to convert from simpler to more difficult tasks" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 196).

Such precisely is the task we assign to city and rayon party committees and party organizations and to leaders of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In accordance with the instructions of the republic party committee, in one way or another problems of the further advancement of the comprehensive target planning method and of the entire economic mechanism have been repeatedly discussed at city and rayon committee bureau sessions, meetings of the republic and city party-economic aktivs, practical science conferences and meetings at various levels, and at ministry and department party meetings.

The party committees in Riga, Daugavpils and Liyepaya and the party organizations of the republic's gosplan and ministries and departments are engaged in a thorough and profound study of the course of implementation of comprehensive target programs, of problems of improved management and planning and of increasing the role of cost effectiveness.

The study of the new economic management methods plays an important role in the political and economic training system. The main objective of all such efforts is to upgrade exigency toward cadres and their personal responsibility for assignments sharply, to enhance performing discipline, strengthen execution control, learn how to manage more effectively, subordinate all enterprise, association, ministry and department activities to national interests and ensure the all-round adoption of a truly creative work style. This means a style which organically combines obedience and discipline with daring initiative and enterprise, and practical-mindedness and efficiency with striving toward major objectives.

Naturally, this is not easy to learn. However, the party members and all working people in the republic are firmly confident of their strength. They are fully resolved to make persistent and purposeful use of all reserves and possibilities in order to enhance production effectiveness and labor quality at each workplace substantially and not only to fulfill but to overfulfill the 11th Five-Year Plan and to implement the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress successfully.

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## AGROINDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION IN THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

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[Article by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Nature and Meaning of Agroindustrial Integration

For quite some time agriculture and industry have maintained a state of close "family alliance" which, according to Marx, combined these types of production in their youthful-undeveloped forms. The development of production forces and the social division of labor led farming and industry to develop as independent sectors. However, as a result of this division, which was completed under capitalism, increasingly violent contradictions began to develop between them: agriculture is lagging behind industry, the village is lagging behind the city and farm work is lagging behind industrial work. Such contradictions assume an antagonistic nature and cannot be surmounted within the framework of the capitalist system.

These processes were discovered by K. Marx and F. Engels. In their "Communist Party Manifesto" they wrote that one of the most important tasks of the victorious proletariat will be to combine agriculture with industry with a view to ensuring the fastest possible development of production forces. V. I. Lenin also repeatedly emphasized the need to accomplish this. He believed that the task of socialism is to bring closer to each other and combine industry with farming and to raise industry to a level which will make it able to industrialize farming. Agroindustrial integration is one of the most essential forms of such unification.

Agroindustrial integration is a particular process of merger, of synthesis between agricultural production and industrial sectors which supply it with industrial productive capital and process agricultural raw materials into finished end products.

Under socialist conditions, agroindustrial integration develops as a planned and organized process. In this case there neither are nor could there be any antagonistic contradictions between agriculture and industry, for they pursue identical objectives and tasks. The socialist social system offers the most favorable conditions possible for agroindustrial integration.

From the viewpoint of its content, this process represents a unification among three groups of economic sectors: those which produce industrial productive capital for agriculture (agricultural machine building, chemical industry, production of chemical fertilizers, preparations and toxic chemicals, the feed industry and others); those

which process agricultural materials into finished products; and agricultural production itself.

On the basis of the sequence of economic ties among these three groups of sectors, the process of agroindustrial enterprises could be conventionally expressed as follows:

Production of industrial capital goods for agriculture	Production of farm goods	Processing of agricultural raw materials into finished products
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We must point out that the problems of integrating agriculture with the leftmost item of this chain have not as yet been given a satisfactory development by our science or resolved in practical terms. This is an unjustified lagging if we bear in mind the fact that the role of industrial productive capital in agricultural production is increasing steadily. More than 55 percent of all material outlays in our country's agrarian production are of industrial origin and we note a trend of their steady growth which will reach 70-80 percent in the future. Furthermore, socialist ownership creates an objective base for the balanced coordination of agricultural production tasks with planning the production of the productive capital needed by agriculture. This enhances the importance of the increasingly deeper economic relations between agriculture and industry.

The specific forms through which agricultural production integration with industry will be expressed must provide a scope for the full application of the following principle: ensuring balanced ties between agricultural production programs and the necessary resources of industrial origin on the basis of reciprocal material interests and responsibilities. This means that the production plans of respective industrial sectors must be organically related to agricultural plans in order to guarantee agriculture industrial productive capital in the necessary volume and high quality indicators and within optimum periods. Industry must assume a full material responsibility should it fail to fulfill its contractual obligations toward agriculture.

Problems of agroindustrial integration with the right side of the chain--the food industry--have been developed relatively better scientifically and practically. In this case integration is manifested in the creation of new economic systems on the basis of the merger, the synthesizing of economic units engaged in the production of raw materials and economic units which process them into finished end products. Therefore, in this case integration becomes complete: old economic units "wither away," as they lose their economic and juridical autonomy, while new economic units appear.

The main basis for making agroindustrial integration an inseparable part of the economic policy of socialist countries at the present stage is the existence of tremendous opportunities which are created for improving effectiveness in the production of food for the population.

To begin with, agroindustrial integration ensures a direct balanced tie between the agricultural production program and the necessary resources of industrial origin and the processing of agricultural commodities into finished foodstuffs. The balanced ties achieved through the integration of the sectors we mentioned within a single production organism create relatively more favorable opportunities for optimizing basic proportions and regulating relations and dependencies among them. Therefore, the

entire production activity of the integrated systems may be developed on the basis of the full use of the comprehensive program-target approach.

Secondly, agroindustrial integration creates conditions for reducing the number of steps in organizing and managing the production of foodstuffs. Above all, the integrated systems eliminate the need for specialized organizations in charge of purchasing agricultural raw materials, which occupy a particular intermediary position between production and production and processing of agricultural commodities. Conditions are created for improving management structures and the need for a separate food industry management system is eliminated.

Third, agroindustrial integration creates conditions for the most effective utilization of material-technical, financial and manpower resources in the production of foodstuffs. This conclusion has been confirmed by the practical experience of our country. Managers of integrated enterprises have become more interested in ensuring the most effective utilization of raw material and manpower resources and in the uninterrupted work of processing enterprises. Conditions are being created also for the identification of internal reserves and opportunities for the fuller production resources of progressing enterprises and manpower resources. A higher level of employment of farm workers is achieved.

On this basis, agroindustrial integration is making positive changes in socioclass relations as well. The processes of rapprochement between agricultural and industrial work, of the gradual elimination of disparities between cooperative farmers and the working class and others are eliminated. In most general terms, we can say that agroindustrial integration contributes to the enhancement of the alliance between workers and peasants to a higher stage under the conditions of building a developed socialist society.

#### Forms of Agroindustrial Integration and Lines of Development

Our country's agriculture covered a difficult but fruitful distance in its socialist development. The Leninist agrarian policy of the BCP, formulated at its fifth congress (1948), and the historical April 1950 BCP Central Committee Plenum achieved full victory. Bulgarian agriculture is one of the greatest gains of socialism in our country.

The party's general April line, formulated and implemented under the direct leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, had a particularly beneficial influence on the development of agriculture and the victory of the cooperative system in the countryside. The decisions of the Central Committee's April Plenum and the specific political, economic and social significance in terms of the historical moment at which they were adopted and their influence on subsequent party forums predetermined an entire age of creative implementation of the agrarian policy formulated at the fifth party congress, marked by the search for and bold application of new forms and directions.

Three stages may be clearly singled out in the socialist development of our agriculture. The first ended in 1957-1958 with the completion of collectivization, as a result of which 3,290 cooperative labor farms (TKZS) replaced 1.1 million small farms.



The second stage was the consolidation of the TKZS and the organization of 970 big cooperative farms averaging 4,000 hectares of arable land each. Starting with the 1970s, agriculture entered its third stage of development, which was characterized by the creation of agroindustrial complexes--APK. About 280 big APK were created in Bulgaria, averaging 14,000 hectares each. In terms of form and content, they are socialist agricultural organizations of a qualitatively new type, distinguished by greatly developed horizontal and vertical integration between agricultural production and the processing industry.

The BCP formulated the strategy and tactics of its agrarian policy most thoroughly. The conversion of agriculture from one stage to another was based on the quantitative and qualitative development of production forces and production relations. The creation of a big material and technical base and of a substantial scientific and technical potential for servicing the sector and the fast application of scientific and technical achievements accelerated the processes of agricultural production concentration, specialization and intensification. These prerequisites and a number of other important organizational, economic and political measures strengthened the agricultural economy. At the same time, this became a necessary prerequisite for the further theoretical development and practical implementation of the idea of combining industry with agriculture.

At the April 1970 BCP Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Todor Zhivkov substantiated the need to develop agroindustrial integration which would enable us "to ensure a single management of the entire reproduction process in our agriculture, starting with productive capital needed in crop growing and animal husbandry, followed by the agricultural production process itself and ending with the processing and marketing of agricultural commodities." It was pointed out that in the future the big industrial and agricultural enterprises will become organically linked. The November 1973 BCP Central Committee Plenum called for creation of a national agroindustrial complex based on the "land-end product" principle.

The course of agroindustrial integration was developed by the 11th party congress further. The congress emphasized the need to continue the process of vertical integration between agriculture and the food industry and the integration process between agricultural science and production. The problem of the gradual organic merger of agriculture with industry was raised.

The respective party decisions were implemented on an organized and systematic basis. A number of experiments preceded the practical implementation of agroindustrial integration. Practical experience gave priority to some problems of theoretical and practical nature.

This applied above all to the forms of agroindustrial integration. Such forms come in a variety of aspects under the conditions of high agricultural production concentration and increasingly strong economic relations between agriculture and industrial sectors. Furthermore, integration cannot take place on a single management level only. In one degree or another, this process is developing in our country on virtually all management levels of agricultural production.

The National Agroindustrial Union--the NAPS--is the highest form of vertical integration system in Bulgaria. This large economic system is based on the following principles:



First, voluntary participation in the system; each economic organization and APK autonomously decides whether to join the NAPS or not;

Second, the elective nature of administrative organs within the NAPS system "from the bottom to the top": The NAPS Central Council is elected at its national congress; the leading organs of the okrug departments of the agroindustrial union are elected at okrug conferences; the APK management is elected at the general meeting of the labor collective; APK brigade leaders are elected at general brigade meetings;

Third, the use of the social-governmental principle in NAPS management.

The NAPS was created in 1979. In addition to agriculture, it covers the following sectors and activities on the national level: agricultural machine building and repairs of farm equipment; hydraulic reclamation construction and irrigation; food industries; agrochemical services; purchasing and trading in agricultural commodities; and agricultural science and cadre training.

Therefore, the NAPS is a vertically integrated system on the national level, in charge of producing the end food products to meet the needs of the country. The NAPS accounts for 27 percent of the gross social product, 29 percent of the national income, 45 percent of the consumption commodity stocks and 32 percent of exports. So far it is the only organizational national system of its kind in the world. It offers major opportunities for the development of all other forms of agroindustrial integration in our country. That is why Comrade Todor Zhivkov has described the NAPS as a national economic complex of a new type, which "shows the way to future improvements in managing the economy of our socialist society."

The vertically integrated systems of individual agricultural sectors are the second basic form. So far, this form has been developed mainly in animal husbandry, where scientific-production associations (NPO) for poultry, hog, dairy cattle and sheep breeding have been set up. A single scientific-production association--"Quality Seeds and Seeding Material"--has been organized on the national level in the area of crop growing.

These associations combine the production and processing of specific products and the work of scientific institutions serving such subsectors. For example, in 1981 the poultry-breeding scientific-production association must account for 77 percent of the poultry meats, 53 percent of the eggs and 80 percent of the chicks produced in the country and the processing of the entire poultry meat produced in the subsector. The association is in charge of all scientific research, planning and engineering-application activities in poultry breeding. Agroindustrial integration is manifested in its most complete and "purest" aspect precisely in this association.

The hog breeding NPO accounts for about 30 percent of the pork in slaughtered weight and 90 percent of the breeding stock in the sector. Its production activities are carried out through 20 industrial hog breeding complexes and bases. The association provides scientific services and engages in application activities and selection work covering the entire subsector.

A characteristic feature of these associations is that they have been created in the animal husbandry subsectors using concentrated fodder. As to the dairy cattle and

sheep breeding NPO, their own output is limited; this is due to the requirement of making more extensive use of grassy, fresh and rough fodder. Here priority is given to applied science activities.

The "Quality Seeds and Seeding Material" NPO supplies the seeds and planting material needed by the country and for export, a considerable percentage of which is grown on its own facilities. It has about 100,000 hectares of arable land which accounts for a considerable share of its output. The remainder is obtained on the basis of contracts with the NPO of agroindustrial complexes. The association is engaged in the procurement of and trade in all seeding and planting materials in the country and, through its institutes, provides scientific services in selection and seed production.

The unquestionable advantages of this system were confirmed as a result of several years of practical experience. Above all, they ensure the specialized sectorial management of the production process at all levels, from top to bottom. The management of the integrated systems becomes similar to that of industrial production. Positive changes have taken place in the scientific units as well, whose work has assumed a more specific nature and whose ties with production have strengthened considerably. Economic prerequisites have developed for the acceleration of the "research-application" process.

The third basic form of agroindustrial integration is the vertically integrated system on the level of the agricultural organization. In this area experiments are being conducted in several specific directions as is the case, for example, with the scientific-production fruit and vegetable complex in Plovdiv, which combines fruit and vegetable production, processing enterprises and three national scientific institutes for vegetable crops, fruits and the canning industry. They service not only the complex but the respective subsectors throughout the country. Three scientific-production viticultural-winemaking complexes have been developed, which combine grape production and processing with the work of the respective scientific units.

The same applies to the experiment of transferring state processing enterprises to agroindustrial complexes. A unified agroindustrial complex has been set up on the territory of Silistra Okrug, which includes all okrug processing industry enterprises. Its task is to ensure the production of finished goods in crop growing and animal husbandry, such as canned fruits and vegetables, milk, dairy products, meats and meat products. A similar experiment is under way at the Petrich APK which manages a cannery, a primary tobacco processing enterprise, a dairy plant and greenhouses. The experiment is being extended to other APK. More than 50 APK have their own processing industrial enterprises which handle one third of the entire vegetable production. The state processing enterprises transferred to the agroindustrial complex are given the status of specialized APK production enterprises operating on a cost-effectiveness basis. In this manner, the process of agroindustrial integration is being developed ever more extensively.

Under our circumstances, this form of agroindustrial integration has a number of positive aspects.

Above all, it increases the interest of APK managements in mandatorily supplying the unified processing enterprises with the necessary raw materials by finding internal reserves, increasing and intensifying raw material production, developing new areas and so on. It is no accident, for example, that the working season of integrated

processing enterprises is longer than that of other similar enterprises (up to 10-11 months per year).

Furthermore, this form of integration offers conditions for the flexible utilization of material and manpower resources. The APK management can handle them most flexibly depending on the production requirements in agriculture and of the processing enterprises: manpower resources are transferred from one type of production to another; raw materials are efficiently handled in accordance with the requirements of the market and the processing enterprises. Conditions are being created in the APK for relating even more closely production with science and converting the latter into a direct production force.

A characteristic feature of vertically integrated NPK and APK is their possibility of trading directly on the domestic and international markets. This allows the producers to acquire a better knowledge of market requirements and to react to them more rapidly.

Other general or specific advantages of the individual forms and aspects of agroindustrial enterprise in our country may be pointed out as well. From the practical viewpoint, however, it is important to note also some shortcomings which have become apparent in the course of the application of some of the methods.

In a number of cases, the characteristic features of the production process and of the processing of some types of agricultural raw materials and products were not taken into consideration in the development of a second form (vertically integrated systems by sector). Thus, for example, when the "Bulgarian Sugar" industrial-agrarian association (PAO) was set up for the production and processing of sugar beets, the sugar beet combines were given extensive areas of arable land and agroindustrial complexes were created as PAO subdivisions. Experience proved that this system failed to yield proper results, for the biological and agrotechnical characteristics of the subsector were insufficiently taken into consideration. The concentration of sugar beet production around sugar refineries created major difficulties in the organization of proper crop rotation, which is absolutely necessary in the case of this crop. As a result, sugar beet yields dropped and production costs increased. At the same time, the complexes were unable to abandon the production of other crops and products such as grain and industrial crops, grapes, perennials, vegetables, milk and meat because of the need to make full use of the land and satisfy local population requirements for such products. A unified economic mechanism, which would give the same status to raw material producers and processors was not created. All this adversely affected production and economic results and, naturally, led to the abandonment of the system.

As we pointed out, scientific research institutes participate in some of the forms of agroindustrial integration. This has made it possible to link science with production even more closely. At the same time, this also revealed some adverse trends related to the scientific servicing of individual sectors. We already pointed out that scientific research institutes of national importance such as, for example, the Institute of Vegetable Crops and Institute of Fruit Growing of the Scientific-Production Complex imeni G. Dimitrov in Plovdiv, the Scientific Research Institute for Corn at the NPK imeni Lenin in Knezha and others are part of the vertically integrated systems on the level of agricultural organizations. As a result, these scientific units must considerably limit their activities within the integrated units. However, their purpose is to provide scientific services to the entire subsector and to use their production facilities for experimentation and application of models. Experience has indicated



that these shortcomings are caused not by the form of integration itself but by the fact that institutes find it difficult to reorganize their work and to adapt to the new stricter requirements and tasks.

Despite the shortcomings which have been detected in the development of agroindustrial integration, its advantages have been unquestionable. Results achieved in recent years proved the existence of major opportunities for improving the existing and creating new organizational-production integration forms.

Two basic directions in future development may be singled out in the process of agroindustrial integration in our country.

The first direction is related to the creation of agroindustrial systems on the basis of association of narrowly specialized agricultural enterprises engaged in the production of raw materials, with their own industrial processing enterprises. In crop growing this form of integration will be developed for goods whose production could be separated from territorial crop rotation systems on a long-term basis, such as viticulture, fruit and vegetable growing, greenhouse production and others. In animal husbandry, this form will be successfully developed in sectors which use mainly concentrated fodder, such as poultry and hog breeding. In the future, these vertically integrated systems may develop into sectorial systems on the national level.

Unified agroindustrial systems based on the merger between industrial processing enterprises and APK are developing. In crop growing this form will be developed for products whose production organically requires large areas under crop rotation systems and in the concentration of which the APK has reached sizes consistent with the production capacity of processing enterprises. This applies to grain, sugar beets, tobacco, sunflower and others. In animal husbandry this form will be developed in subsectors requiring substantial amounts of grass, fresh and rough feeds, such as dairy animal husbandry and sheep breeding. In the future, these vertically integrated systems will be developed as territorial agroindustrial economic organizations.

#### Economic Relations and Ownership Problems

Party and state activities related to the implementation of agroindustrial integration are presently directed toward the full utilization of the advantages offered by the integrated systems. Particularly important in this connection is the role of the use of the new economic approach and economic mechanism in production management, servicing sectors and various activities, particularly in the scientific and engineering-applied areas. This will create conditions for the removal of defects and for upgrading the responsibility of economic management organs and of integrated systems.

In this connection, an important theoretical-methodological question is that of economic relations.

One of the first results of agroindustrial integration is that indirect relations among components of integrated systems turn into direct relations. For example, in the case of nonintegrated enterprises, economic relations between raw material producers and industrial processing enterprises are indirectly achieved through the purchasing activities of our state economic trusts and the Central Cooperative Union.

The difficulties which arise in relations between producers and purchasing organizations in the areas of the appraisal, transportation and delivery of agricultural raw materials subject to industrial processing are well known. Intermediary organizations also engage in the purchasing and marketing of finished comestible goods.

With the establishment of agroindustrial economic systems, the need for such indirect relations is eliminated, for their organization becomes an internal matter of the integrated systems. In other words, from external--pre-integration--such relations become internal--postintegration--which gives them stability. Consequently, agroindustrial integration creates conditions for the elimination of purchasing systems in the processing of agricultural raw materials.

Furthermore, new economic relations develop with integrated systems. Relations with other integrated and nonintegrated systems assume particular importance for the following reasons:

Direct relations are established between two or more integrated systems in terms of "balancing" the processed raw material. In this case the intermediary activity of purchasing organizations becomes unnecessary;

Some of the finished products are sold in the enterprises' stores, once again without the intermediary action of wholesale and retail trade organizations;

The same applies to exports of finished products, which could be made by the integrated systems without the intermediary work of export organizations, on the basis of a status granted by the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

All of these relations can be handled by the integrated systems under the methodological guidance of the NAPS. These requirements are the basis of the new economic management mechanism of economic organizations within the NAPS system.

Finally, another area of theoretical-methodological problems related to the ownership problem is of interest. The problem of ownership--the main content of production relations--has always played a proper role in BCP economic policy. The precisely substantiated principles and directions of ownership development under the conditions of building a mature socialist society were formulated in the party program adopted at its 10th congress. Let us emphasize that these principles and directions are being implemented in the course of the development of the cooperative and state forms of socialist ownership.

Above all, the principle of planned increase of the level of production socialization, as indicated in the BCP program, is being increasingly applied in our agricultural practices. A considerable difference existed in the level of socialization of the two leading forms of ownership. The increased socialization of cooperative ownership greatly contributed to the unification of cooperative labor farms in 1958. This process was continued at an even faster rate and in new forms after the organization of agroindustrial complexes (1970-1971). The unified economic mechanism of agricultural production management (1973) which brought farm cooperatives as close as possible to state farms gave a strong impetus to socialization. The development of the National Agroindustrial Union played and continues to play a certain role in the same direction.

As a result of these measures, subsequent to the organization of APK and particularly in recent years, the level of production socialization in agricultural cooperatives is the same or almost the same as the level of production socialization in state farms.

At the same time, another principle stipulated in the program--the steady rapprochement, interpenetration and reciprocal enrichment between the two forms of ownership--is being applied ever more consistently. In this respect the creation of APK played a decisive role. Initially, nearly half of them were of the so-called "mixed type," i.e., they consisted of agricultural cooperatives and state farms. Doubts that the two forms of ownership would be able to "get on" were soon dispelled. They not only "got on," but became enriched and interpenetrated each other. This process was considerably accelerated in the course of the gradual rapprochement and subsequent equalization of the economic management mechanism of agroindustrial complexes.

The process of interpenetration and reciprocal enrichment of the two forms of ownership was given a new impetus with the creation of specialized production enterprises and of enterprises providing production services to APK, in the course of which the positive features of agricultural cooperatives and state farms were taken into consideration.

This process is and will continue to be clearly manifested in the development of agroindustrial integration. This is a case of the closest possible organic interpenetration and reciprocal enrichment of the two forms of ownership, as a result of which the newly created agroindustrial units are a special form of integration of positive aspects and elimination of negative ones.

Naturally, the problem of implementation of ownership, of its economic implementation rather, is exceptionally important or is even the main problem of ownership, which accounts for the differences between the two socialist forms. Such differences are manifested above all in income earning. Let us point out that in the transitional period substantial differences existed in the use of income between the cooperative and state forms of ownership: there were different distribution systems and relations with the budget, wage funds were set up on a different basis, production was sold to the state at different prices and so on. Differences in the implementation of the ownership system were also reflected in income disparities and in the different levels of development of social insurance such as pensions, paid leave, wage supplements for children, paid maternity leave, etc. These differences declined with the building of a mature socialist society until they finally disappeared. The development of this process was so fast that today there are no economic differences in ownership which follow the principles applicable to all specialized enterprises and integrated units in our agriculture.

The intensive application of said principles in the development of the two forms of ownership was accompanied by the accelerated creation of specialized enterprises in APK on the basis of planned production concentration. At the start of 1976, APK with specialized and integrated production enterprises accounted for more than 80 percent of all such complexes in the country.

All of this brought about a natural transition to new forms of management and production organization. The need for the further retention of farm cooperatives and state



farms was eliminated. They were replaced by new specialized and integrated production units with the status of state enterprises, regardless of the basis of their ownership, whether cooperative, mixed or state. The personnel of these specialized and integrated enterprises have acquired the status (rights and obligations) of our industrial working class. A form of ownership which was neither the old cooperative nor the old governmental system was developed. "In this case, it is obvious that something new is being created, something the further development of which will mean essentially a gradual establishment of a single property of the whole people," was the way Comrade Todor Zhivkov described the process.

The 12th BCP Congress faced agriculture with new and even more important tasks on the further implementation of the party's overall task--the satisfaction of the growing needs of the working people and our increased participation in the international division of labor. The gross volume of agricultural output must increase by 20-22 percent and the volume of output of the food industry by no less than 25 percent in the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985). Grain production and, on this basis, a sharp increase in animal husbandry output will be our strategic direction in the years to come.

Comprehensive production intensification through the accelerated mass application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the improvement of the socialist organization of labor, in its currently most progressive form--the brigade method--will be the main lever in the implementation of this task.

The intensifying agroindustrial integration will play a major role in the implementation of these new plans by improving supplies of productive capital to agriculture and creating conditions for the effective utilization of agricultural raw materials.

Our country has acquired rich experience in the practical implementation of agroindustrial integration. Along with the expansion and intensification of integration processes between agriculture and industry, the task now is to improve and develop its individual forms guided by the main criterion of economic effectiveness from the viewpoint of the sector and the international economy.

In this respect the experience of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries is of tremendous interest to us. The further accelerated development and systematic solution of agroindustrial integration problems will unquestionably contribute to the broadening and strengthening of cooperation among them.

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[Article by Ferenc Havasi, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]

[Text] A party which organizes the masses for the building of socialism asserts its right to exercise political guidance in the formulation and successful implementation of an accurate economic policy based on Marxism-Leninism. Hungary's historical development and the role played by agriculture in the country's life demand particularly insistently of our party, which fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat and now guides the building of a developed socialist society, that it pay particular attention to the agrarian sector of the economy. The experience in building a new society in Hungary proves that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has always focused its attention on problems of agrarian policy and has been successful in its implementation.

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Hungary is one of the European countries poor in raw materials and energy. It has good farming conditions. Hungarian cattle, salami, wines and red pepper have been famous throughout the world for centuries. Our natural and weather conditions make multisectorial farming possible. With the exception of citrus fruits and some other southern crops, virtually all types of farm produce can be grown in our country.

Arable land is the most valuable of our natural resources. Its size can no longer be increased. However, as a result of sensible management, land resources can be renovated steadily. The development of industry, urban and rural construction, infrastructural capital investments and afforestation inevitably reduce the size of the farming land in a number of cases. Let us admit that we have not always paid the necessary attention to the preservation of the land. The results are visible today: arable land has diminished beyond what is admissible under our circumstances over the past 20 years. We are hoping to slow down this process as a result of the many steps taken of late. Measures are also being taken to ensure the expedient utilization of the land, to upgrade the effectiveness of the soil and to preserve its natural fertility.

However, the sensible utilization of the land is no more than a potential for effective development. The use of technical and biological means is equally important. At the beginning of the 1960's, we started a process, which is still underway, of channeling modern production facilities into agriculture. Improved

technology, increased use of industrial materials and new production methods gradually transformed the nature of agricultural labor. Agriculture increasingly became a comprehensively mechanized sector utilizing progressive methods. These changes are a great accomplishment of the past 20 years and their influence is felt far beyond agrarian production.

During the past 20 years the value of productive capital in agriculture increased by a 2.7 factor. Whereas initially capital investments went mainly into construction, starting in the mid-1970's an increasing number of new machines and equipment found their way to the countryside. In 1980 the overall power of tractors (in terms of motor-kilowatts) was 60 percent higher than the 1965 level, while truck engine power nearly quintupled. Last year there were 158 motor-kilowatts per 100 hectares of farmland. As a result, we resolved the problem of the comprehensive mechanization in the production of grain crops, corn and sugar beets.

The use of chemicals played a significant role in increasing output. The volume of active agents in mineral fertilizers per hectare of farmland reached 211 kg in 1980, higher than the 1965 level by a factor of 4. The use of plant protection and weed destruction means was increased several fold as well.

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of the increased use of biological means in the development of our agriculture. During the past 20 years there has been essentially a change in epochs in terms of crop strains and cattle breeds used. New and highly productive strains and breeds, suitable to our natural and weather conditions, replaced the old; they were developed as a result of international cooperation and partially through domestic selection efforts.

Our continuing concern in plant selection is to develop and apply high-yield economical strains. Along with the development of new breeds, the main requirement in animal husbandry is the steady improvement of existing breeds and the development of their best features. Hungarian researchers are not trying to enrich the choice of all strains and breeds on the same basis. For example, maximum efforts are being made in areas we consider most important such as, for example, the production of grain crops and some fruits; in other areas, fruit growing mainly, the task consists of the proper adaptation of suitable foreign strains.

The features of the Hungarian peasant have changed radically under the people's system, and particularly over the past 20 years. Following the socialist reorganization of the countryside, the number of agricultural workers declined rapidly. Later on this process slowed down but did not stop. Today, the regrouping of manpower in other economic sectors has come to an end. Initially, it was mainly men and young people who abandoned agriculture. As a result of this, in the mid-1960's, the average age of the members of production cooperatives was 54. Since then, under the influence of the change of generations, a gradual rejuvenation began to take place, as a result of which today the average age of active cooperative farmers is 41. It is gratifying that farm work is becoming increasingly attractive and that an increasing number of young people are looking for and finding their place precisely in agriculture.

Substantial changes have taken place in the manpower structure. The number of specialists--skilled workers, engineers, veterinarians and economists--increased at a faster pace. Today the share of skilled workers is 28 percent in production



cooperatives and about 40 percent in state farms. Today the average state farm has 40 and the cooperative farm 10 specialists with university training. Twenty years ago, 40 percent of state farm directors and 4 percent of chairmen of cooperative farms had higher education; the respective figures today are 90 and 50.

The epoch-making changes which have taken place in agriculture changed the way of thinking and outlook of our peasantry radically. It accepted collective farming permanently and considers its accomplishments and concerns as its own. The development of a socialist way of life is a determining factor in all our achievements. It is a force upon which we shall rely confidently in the future as well.

After a recent visit to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, recalled the pledge given by the party 20 years ago: "Those who join agricultural cooperatives will be able to reach the level of the average peasant within a short time." "This was a daring promise in its time," Comrade Janos Kadar pointed out. "Today, however, we consider it natural, for this level has been surpassed for some time."

Whereas between 1961 and 1965 agricultural production grew on an annual average of 1.2 percent, it reached 2.8 percent between 1966 and 1970 and 3.3 percent in the 1970-1980 period. These indicators create a feeling of satisfaction. However, they also encourage us to new efforts and results, for we know that the accelerated development of Hungarian agriculture is not spectacular. Nevertheless, we can point out with legitimate pride and proper restraint that our big socialist enterprises rate quite favorably on an international basis as well. This was expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, as well, when he acknowledged the achievements of Hungarian agriculture from the rostrum of the historic 26th CPSU Congress.

The structure of agricultural production has changed as well over the past 20 years. Its most important feature is the increased share of animal husbandry compared to crop growing.

Different results have been achieved in the various crop areas. The most convincing is the development of grain production: it increased from 0.7 to 1.3 tons per capita. Only Denmark has such high output in Europe. Average wheat yields increased from 17 quintals per hectare in 1961 to 47 quintals in 1980. Average corn yields increased from 25 to 54 quintals within the same period of time.

The share of industrial crops was increased. In 1980 our sugar beet production rose by approximately 30 percent, while the output of volatile oil crops doubled. Areas planted under potatoes were reduced by one-third without any substantial change in output.

The development of modern, large-scale fruit and grape plantations was made possible as a result of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Since 1960 areas planted in vegetable crops and fruit gardens have doubled in size.

Development of animal husbandry is typical of any country with intensive agriculture. Over the past 20 years Hungarian animal husbandry output increased by a factor of 1.8 and its structure experienced substantial changes. Hog and poultry breeding and,

of late, sheep breeding and small animal breeding have been developing on a priority basis. Beef production rose by a 1.5 factor; pork production doubled and the production of poultry meat increased by a 2.5 factor; in 1980, meat production per capita reached 140 kg. All this enables us not only to ensure uninterrupted population supplies but to export considerable amounts as well. This increased volume of meat production became possible thanks to the dynamic increase in grain crop yields.

Livestock premises, equipment and technology were updated. The use of mixed feeds consistent with the biological requirements of the animals was increased (as much as 60 percent of the total amount). The use of modern feed is becoming increasingly widespread even on private farms.

Therefore, today productivity and the overall level of development of Hungarian agriculture has become incomparably better compared to the period before socialist reorganization. This is confirmed by the fact that output per hectare of farmland is almost double that of 20 years ago. Compared with one generation ago, labor productivity per worker has quadrupled. Our country has only 0.1 percent of the world's farmland but accounts for 0.7-0.8 percent of the world's agricultural output. The Hungarian agrarian sector accounts for 17 percent of the gross national product, more than 40 percent of the population's consumption fund and one quarter of the country's exports.

Although we can see and feel these results, we are far from satisfied with them. Over the past few years the newly produced value and the contribution of the agrarian sectors to the national income have remained almost stable. Quantitative growth has not been paralleled by increased effectiveness, quality and competitiveness in all areas. As is the case in other countries with an intensive agriculture, we face the problem of increased production costs and material intensiveness. We are making great efforts to resolve it. We are encouraging the farms to practice sensible economy by raising the prices of materials and output. As a result of this, in 1980, for example, agriculture used 6 percent less energy compared with 1978, although growing and harvesting conditions were considerably more difficult.

The development of agriculture created a base for relatively faster growth rates in processing its output. During the past 20 years the food industry increased its output more than that of agriculture by a factor in excess of 2.5; variety expanded to the same extent. This made uninterrupted and even population supplies possible. Today the population consumes 60 percent more products. Nutrition has become healthier and more efficient. Compared with 1960, per capita meat production increased from 49 to 73 kg per year; the consumption of milk and dairy products increased from 114 to 163 kg, and that of vegetables and fruits from 139 to 162 kg. The drastic consumption disparities of the past have been eliminated.

In the 1970's we used an increasing percentage of capital investments in the development of the food industry. We concentrated them mainly on the construction of enterprises for meat and milk processing and grain storage and conservation. New specialized sectors were developed such as the production of fast frozen goods. This year we are undertaking the production of liquid sugar made of corn. The accelerated technical development of the food industry is one of the means for the satisfaction of increasing food quality requirements.

Another and even more extensively used means for upgrading quality is improving the internal content of farm produce. Essentially, quality begins with sowing or cattle

breeding and ends with packaging and delivery. The enterprises have a material interest in improving quality, for the level of purchase prices is being increasingly related to production quality and content. For example, the system of basing the quality of output on its internal content has been familiar for some time in the case of milk. Today it is being applied to hog breeding and sugar beet and wheat growing.

The rapid expansion of processing enterprises created by big state and cooperative farms and consumer cooperatives is a new feature in agriculture. Currently they account for one-eighth of the entire food industry output.

2

The systematic and creative application of the Leninist principles of agrarian policy and the utilization of the experience of other socialist countries can be seen in the achievements of Hungarian agriculture. It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of the fact that, like the other fraternal countries, our country can draw on the wealth of common experience. All of this gives us confidence in the successful solution of forthcoming problems and the building of a developed socialist society.

During a quarter of a century, several principles of our agrarian policy, which guide us to this day, have withstood the test of time.

The systematic observance of the principles of voluntary participation and of decisive opposition to its violation have played an important role in the cooperativization of the peasantry. This principle has been retained in our practice on a somewhat broadened basis. For example, the implementation of production assignments, the unification of farms or their participation in interfarm enterprises and associations remain based on the decision made by the collectives on a voluntary basis.

The conversion from private to collective farming was accomplished gradually. The creation of simpler cooperative farms, farmstead economic management or share in the cultivation of the land were also allocated the necessary time during which to accustom the people to the new systems. The principle of gradual and systematic approach is observed in our current practice as well. For example, the land used by the cooperative farm, but legally belonging to its individual members, is converted into collective property over long periods of time. Today more than one-half of the land and the full amount of working and productive capital are owned by the cooperative. Integrated food production and the organization of closer ties among agriculture, processing industry and trade are also taking place gradually, through several stages.

The systematic application of the principles of farm autonomy and material incentive is a major motive force of development. The production process is an important activity and it is the collective which is responsible for its results and for the consequences of one or another decision.

From the very beginning, state farms and production cooperatives have been juridically autonomous. Initially, however, cases of unjustified intervention in their activities occurred. There were no material prerequisites for autonomy. The change took place gradually during the mid-1960's. Agricultural equipment became farm property. Loans were written off. Wholesale production prices were raised. Amortization withholding of productive capital was introduced and the issuing of state plan physical indicators to the farms was abolished.



In the course of these comprehensive measures and even before the general reform in economic management, we had essentially applied the new elements of agricultural management. Today, the implementation of the national economic plan is promoted by the state essentially with the help of indirect economic levers. This has made agricultural enterprises more interested in the results of their work. Personal income and wages have been made independent of results.

The favorable influence of these measures was soon felt. Planning improved, the growth of output was accelerated and personal income increased. The fact that at the start of the 1970's the income of workers and peasants was equalized and has continued to grow proportionally is an accomplishment of historical importance.

State subsidies play an important role in agricultural development. Initially, this material incentive was used to supplement income. Subsequently, it began to stimulate above all the development of production and the coordination of capital investments by individual enterprises with national economic objectives. That is why we are continuing the state subsidies of agricultural output. However, our purpose is to reduce it as the role of prices increases.

Support of production cooperatives working under adverse circumstances is a special form of state subsidy. Such farms account for about 26 to 28 percent of the total. Their activities are important and society is interested in them and in ensuring employment for their population. Earnings compensate for the outlays of such cooperative farms only partially, for which reason the state participates in meeting their higher costs.

Therefore, we are applying a variety of material incentives in order to reach our social objectives. The functioning of these methods and their coordination are topics of continuing concern, for our entire experience proves that whenever production problems develop in a sector, as a rule it is experiencing difficulties in the area of material incentives as well.

Reliable production and marketing is an important aspect of our work, for even on a high level of production development dependence on nature remains considerable. For this reason we try to see to it that all other factors independent of nature increase their reliability. One of the most important tasks in this connection is to ensure the best possible support of the production process with material facilities. The availability of materials and means of industrial origin has been improved substantially and the marketing of such goods has been updated. Today consumers can purchase machines, chemical fertilizers and plant protection means in accordance with their needs. However, there is still a scarcity of modern harvesters, minor mechanization facilities for private plots and spare parts. Many of the problems involve quality. In animal husbandry, free fodder sales became a factor of decisive importance.

Reliable marketing conditions exert a great influence on producers' decisions: they are more willing to produce goods which have a reliable market even though at a lesser profit. The contractual system is the basis of a reliable market. We shall be able to achieve even greater results by strengthening procurement and long-term contractual discipline and expanding multilateral cooperation.

The big socialist enterprises, which account for two-thirds of the agricultural output, are the main base for the implementation of our agrarian policy.

In the 1970's, both state enterprises and production cooperatives undertook the considerable concentration and centralization of output. The number of state farms was reduced from 230 in 1961 to 131 in 1980 and their average land holdings increased from 3,000 to 7,500 hectares. In 1961 there were 4,500 cooperative farms averaging 900 hectares each; in 1980, there were 1,338, averaging 3,800 hectares per farm. This period may be characterized as a transition in Hungarian agriculture to intensive farming. The full development of this process is a long-term task which we are assisting through planning and control.

The ability to determine flexibly the area of their activities is a characteristic feature of our big agricultural enterprises. Side by side with their basic production, they organize the production of materials, engage in construction, industrial and trade activities, and provide services. More than one-fifth of the entire active agricultural population is employed in such auxiliary activities.

A variety of reasons led to the expansion of such activities, which started in the mid-1960's. They include the desire to make better use of capacities, ensure the employment of temporarily available manpower or workers released as a result of production modernizing, and the satisfaction of the various requirements of industry and the population. Fuller and more evenly distributed employment has led to higher personal incomes and to the availability of greater funds for accumulation.

Auxiliary activities in farms operating under adverse circumstances are particularly important. Those among them which skillfully combine basic with auxiliary production have become not only profitable but have reached the level of farms operating under better conditions.

The development of production forces offers wide opportunities for increased interaction among farms. The strengthening of their relations leads to higher levels of labor socialization and to the elimination of disparities among enterprises. A number of methods of interfarm cooperation are used in Hungary.

The first among them are the industrial systems which cover a considerable amount of crop growing and animal husbandry. They are distinguished by the size and effectiveness of their work. In our terminology, an industrial system means a production method based on the use of modern technical, biological and scientific accomplishments. The coordination of all production elements and factors and their unification within a single complex are its most important feature.

The principal link in the industrial system is the enterprise which has the necessary material and spiritual foundations, the so-called "owner" of the system. It ensures that other enterprises, which have joined the association voluntarily, receive modern technology, professional advice and various services and guarantees a certain growth of output. The agricultural poultry breeding combine in Babolne was the first to apply this system.

Industrial systems greatly accelerated the development of our agriculture. They offer practical proof of the fact that the unification of production and science turns the latter into a material force. Naturally, this method must be improved and the leading centers of the system must always be concerned with the updating and coordination of technical, biological, chemical and individual production factors in accordance with current requirements.

The associations have made a contribution to increasing the forms of interfarm cooperation. The creation of associations was undertaken in the second half of the 1960's. Today their number is in excess of 500. Associations were set up in order to resolve problems which exceeded the possibilities and framework of a single enterprise. Some of them are autonomous and some economic associations are not considered juridical persons. The most widespread are associations for construction, processing, marketing, services and other activities. New associations will be set up for processing agricultural commodities and providing services.

The agroindustrial association is the latest variety of economic interaction. The (Veresh Chillag) cooperative farm in Nadudvar pioneered this type of association in our country. Today there are four agroindustrial association which combine the efforts of cooperative and state farms and food industry enterprises. Their purpose is to coordinate all activities in a larger area such as, for example, enterprises within a single production rayon, and to ensure their comprehensive development. They pursue this objective through the efficient utilization of the land, coordination of development targets, location of capital investments and coordination in the utilization of skilled cadres. The autonomous participants contribute some of their assets to a joint fund. Prior to the creation of agroindustrial associations, we made a close study of similar experience in fraternal countries such as the USSR, Bulgaria and the GDR, which we adapted to our country's characteristics.

Along with the comprehensive development of large-scale production, we have been making systematic use of the possibilities of private and auxiliary farms. The nature of the private farm has changed considerably since the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Its output has increased. It has become more modern and better organized. Today one-third of our agricultural output comes from auxiliary and private plots. Their share is particularly high in sectors which require primarily manual labor. About 40 percent of the animal husbandry output, about two-thirds of the eggs, almost all of the honey and about one-half of all vegetables, fruits and grapes come from these farms which market approximately one-half of their output.

One-half of our country's population--about 1.5 million families--is engaged in small-scale agricultural production. They use available working time which cannot be applied elsewhere and minor production capacities. They make use of local opportunities for the production of goods of great importance to the country. Our experience has proved that by paying the necessary attention and displaying the necessary caution, and providing material incentive, such useful activities can also be organized and subordinated to public objectives.

The private plot production cannot develop by itself. It can use and expand its possibilities only if it is closely linked with collective production and is integrated with it. We encourage state farms, production cooperatives and the consumer cooperative to pursue this line as well. It is precisely in this manner that the effective utilization of small-scale production in the solution of our social and economic problems becomes possible. In some sectors the state assists in the updating and expansion of small-scale production through subsidies. However, we do not encourage but forbid the use of hired labor.

Therefore, our small-scale production is under the influence of state planning and the interests of socialism. Our party will rely on the opportunities offered by private plot production over a long period of time.



Recent practical experience has provided particularly convincing proof that the role of the people themselves is becoming ever more important in the development of agriculture. Their theoretical and practical training, enthusiasm and creativity are as important as material production factors. We do not conceive of any further development without loyal, knowledgeable, initiative-minded and industrious working people. As in the other public production areas, cliches and blind duplication of experience are inadmissible in agriculture. That is why we expect from each enterprise that it engage in creative work based on local conditions, steady improvement and initiative in creative work. This is firmly guaranteed by the tremendous moral potential acquired in agriculture, the love of the people for their profession and their enthusiasm and feeling of responsibility.

Practical experience also indicates that socialist democracy is the most important motive force of the changes taking place in our agriculture. Its development will remain one of the most important conditions for the solution of new problems. The past period has been marked by positive results in the democratic self-management of cooperative farms. Their institutional system has been adapted to the changed dimensions of the farms. The general meetings remain the basic management authority. At the same time, the new form--meetings of elected individuals by local collectives--proved to be a flexible and operative addition to them, as a result of which the activities of the self-management organs became more effective. The right of decision-making is being systematically transferred to assemblies and managers, who are better informed in the various matters and who actively participate in the solution of problems.

The rural political and social organs have contributed a great deal to the strengthening of the production cooperatives and of their socialist features and the development of socialist democracy. The party organizations in the big agricultural enterprises have accomplished a particularly great deal. The All-Hungarian Council and the oblast unions--representative cooperative organs which have been in existence for almost 15 years--deserve a great deal of credit for the development of the cooperative movement. Their comprehensive activities, particularly in economic and social areas, and their efforts aimed at the development of intracooperative democracy have been acknowledged by the peasantry. The change in generations, which is still taking place in agriculture, faces the Hungarian Komsomol with ever new assignments. Its political-educational and cultural work among the young is strengthening. It plays a major role in assuring that young people value and respect agricultural work.

### 3

The economic tasks of the forthcoming period are based on the five-year plans for the development of the national economy formulated in accordance with the decisions of the 12th MSZMP Congress.

In the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the utilization of quality factors of economic growth, better balancing of the national economy, a proper foreign economic balance in particular, will be the main directions followed by our economic policy and the main task in economic work. We must also consolidate the results achieved in the area of living standards, improve the population's living conditions and ensure steady economic progress.

The most important tasks in agriculture and the food industry were formulated in the 15 March 1978 MSZMP Central Committee decree. They were based on the

programmatic declaration of the 11th MSZMP Congress, taking into consideration the changes which have taken place in the internal and external conditions of our economic development. Food production faces a double task: to ensure population supplies on an even basis and more qualitatively, and to increase exports dynamically on the basis of effectiveness requirements.

The plan does not call for any substantial increase in domestic food consumption. However, it formulates the important task of improving its quality and expanding its variety further. Stable population supplies resting on a solid basis is a political problem. Sufficiency or possible shortages and the quality and variety of goods tangibly affect the mood of the people, of the entire society. For this reason we cannot abandon the production of any commodity in demand in the country. This fact alone calls for the preservation of variety in the production structure. Production of individual commodities must be increased substantially. We face the important task of increasing the range of inexpensive goods and supplying housewives with processed food products, thus facilitating their work.

Our concern is focused on grain and meat production.

The implementation of the grain program is the most important task in crop growing. Areas under grain crops will be expanded and their yields will be increased. Over the 5-year period, average wheat yields must reach 45-48 quintals and corn production must be raised to 55-57 quintals per hectare. This high target is the key problem of our entire agriculture.

The intensive development of animal husbandry will be achieved mainly through the better utilization of premises, finding biological reserves and spreading energy conservation methods. A major step forward must be made in feed production and utilization. This is the main problem in the development of animal husbandry. Our plan calls for reducing areas under feed crops by more than 20 percent. This can be achieved only if we make far better use of meadows and pastures and byproducts on a truly modern basis. We are familiar with many methods for effective feed production based on the biological needs of the livestock. They have been successfully tested at big enterprises and we are now trying to apply them as quickly and extensively as possible; for example, we are planning to increase the energy-saving moist storage of grain by several hundred percent.

The more extensive and systematic dissemination of an economic approach which takes into consideration not only what is produced and how but also at what cost is a prerequisite for keeping our agricultural production competitive. Practical experience has shown that good rationalization suggestions and an intelligent organization of the production process may result in great savings. In applying the achievements of science we must accelerate the discovery of biological reserves. We expect of our selection workers the development of strains consistent with present and future requirements. In animal husbandry, for example, major possibilities remain along the entire biological reproduction line.

Upgrading production effectiveness and technical progress must become the main objective of the new capital investments. On the basis of this objective requirement in capital construction, we shall give preference to the reconstruction of existing production facilities.

We can fulfill the tasks facing crop growing and, therefore, the entire food production system, only by achieving a total change in the comprehensive preservation and rational utilization of the arable land. A number of steps are being taken to this effect, which include the dissemination of modern soil cultivation methods, comprehensive regional reclamation and better use of irrigation.

The rational utilization of the power industry is the cornerstone in upgrading the effectiveness of both agriculture and the entire national economic complex. The villages currently use about 10 percent of the energy consumed in the country's national economy. Some of the most important tasks in the energy industry are the dissemination of new economical production methods, and the substitution of agricultural byproducts and wastes for other energy sources. Like the protection of the land, we consider these tasks on a comprehensive basis and are seeing to it that enterprise managers consider the conservation of energy an organic part of all economic activities.

The further dynamic development of the most successful enterprises, the accelerated progress of average farms and the need to pay greater attention to enterprises operating under adverse natural conditions are an essential postulate of our economic policy.

We consider the problems of our agricultural development also in the light of foreign economic relations and the international division of labor. Imports account for slightly over one-half of Hungary's national income, for which reason the possibility of expanding exports increasingly determines the growth rates and structure of domestic production. All of this applies to food production as well.

One-half of our food exports goes to the socialist countries, most of it to the USSR. The agreements concluded with the socialist countries provide us with reliable markets. The development of such relations is particularly important in terms of our political and economic targets. Only thus can we fulfill the decision of the 12th MSZMP Congress, according to which "the expansion and intensification of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA-member countries is a basic prerequisite in the economic development of our country."

We also want to preserve the markets for our agricultural output in the developed capitalist countries on a nonpolitical basis. We are also trying to broaden relations with the developing countries. By applying our comprehensive production system and technologies they could accelerate their development and reduce their one-sided dependence on the capitalist market.

Hungarian specialists are closely following the development of world agriculture and using its achievements. Looking back at decades of socialist development, we can say that cooperation with the Soviet Union has been of great help to our food production. In the 1960's, radical changes in wheat production were achieved thanks to the use of the "Bezostaya" strain. This was one of the main causes for the tripling of yields. Another epoch-making event was the use of the Krasnodar sunflower strain in the 1970's.

The production of all the necessary materials, machines and facilities needed in the production process is both senseless and impossible for a small country. That is why, from the very beginning, our socialist agriculture has relied on international



cooperation. We continue to make use of its advantages by importing a great deal of Soviet tractors and combines and harvesters from the GDR. Hungarian agricultural machine building produces for export as well and the percentage of machinery produced on a cooperative basis with other socialist countries is increasing. Extensive international cooperation has been developed also in the production of chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals.

The further development of international cooperation is extremely important in food production. We are convinced that its role will continue to grow. Most of our foreign economic relations are within the framework of CEMA and we are trying to intensify socialist economic integration and the further expansion of multilateral cooperation.

After the liberation of the country, Hungarian agriculture experienced radical changes and made glorious progress within an extremely short time.

A socialist ownership system was organized, consisting of state and cooperative farms; good work is being done on private and auxiliary plots. The coexistence of these different forms of ownership required a proper coordination of their different interests. In the majority of cases, we were able to achieve their integration through steps which may have been considered daring at the time.

Our party's policy was based on the existence of reciprocal influence between these two areas. In the case of the interconnection between agrarian and economic policy as a whole this is obvious; it is equally justified in terms of the interaction between agrarian and other spheres of MSZMP policy. In our agrarian policy we have always taken into consideration the situation which developed in the country after its liberation and the defeat of the 1956 counterrevolution. A number of steps which boosted development and eventually proved to be fully justified were taken on the basis of a frank analysis of the real situation.

The working people in our agrarian area are working in a favorable domestic political environment. They feel the recognition of society. This proves that our party is following the proper path and is aware of our problems and tasks. That is why, at the 12th MSZMP Congress Comrade Janos Kadar said: "We are continuing to pursue our proven agrarian and cooperative policy. On the basis of the state farms and agricultural production cooperatives, and using the possibility of the private and auxiliary plots, we are developing all food production sectors on a coordinated basis."

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## ECONOMIC STRATEGY AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Helmut Koziolok, SED Central Committee member and director of the SED Central Committee Central Institute of Socialist Economic Management]

[Text] Our party is pursuing a steadfast course in the implementation of its main task, which is the further enhancement of the material and cultural living standards of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist output, its increased effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and higher labor productivity. Persistent skilled and creative toil and new initiatives on the part of the working people are needed in order to consolidate our achievements and show further progress in this direction. This requires the even faster development of science and technology and the extensive utilization of their achievements in all sectors of the country's national economy, which means its reorganization on a new basis. The solution of these problems is entirely consistent with SED economic strategy, as substantiated by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress. This strategy is addressed to the future and is based on the strict requirements of today.

Our confidence in the successful implementation of the economic strategy outlined at the 10th congress is strengthened by our unbreakable fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. The GDR welcomed with a feeling of tremendous satisfaction the results of the friendly meetings in Crimea, held between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, in the course of which a substantial expansion of production cooperation between our countries, above all in sectors which determine scientific and technical progress, was decided upon.

The SED, which shares the viewpoint of the fraternal parties in socialist countries, proceeds from the fact that economics holds a central position in the policy of ruling Marxist-Leninist vanguards. Comrade Erich Honecker said at the congress that "it is precisely in this area that the problem of achieving future successes in building developed socialism is being resolved. At the same time, the blossoming of all the other areas of social life is increasingly influencing the growth rates of output. The requirements facing our economy are becoming noticeably stricter. However, we are able to cope with them, for our strength and ability to be in step with the successful development of today's production forces have increased as well."

The highest forum of the party members in the GDR paid most serious attention to increasing the economic power of our country. This represents a systematic

continuation of the course which enabled us to make a definite contribution to the fact noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that the rate of economic growth of CEMA-member countries over the past decade was double that of the developed capitalist countries, and that the CEMA-member countries remained the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world. The 10th SED Congress set new limits to be reached and formulated national economic guidelines and targets. The party's economic strategy, which traces the outlines of production forces needed in continuing the building of a developed socialist society and indicates the directions leading to the improvement of production relations, in order to make better use of the advantages of the new system, is aimed at reaching them. The further development of these advantages, such as the guidance of social development by an experienced Marxist-Leninist party, socialist production relations free from exploitation, planned and proportional development of the economy, efficient utilization of capital and labor potential, socialist state management based on democratic centralism, and inseparable ties with the members of the socialist comity, the USSR in particular, is a mandatory prerequisite for the successful development of the socialist comity and of its dynamism, effectiveness and vital strength.

Our party was able to prove the creative nature of its approach to the solution of social problems with the fact that it had never considered such advantages as something static, given once and for all. It has always been guided by the fact that the utilization of all the tremendous opportunities offered by the socialist system requires a policy consistent with existing conditions and the search for new means for the utilization of the advantages of socialism.

Let us consider in this connection the use and improvement of production relations in the interests of the implementation of our main task, i.e., of how better to organize the direct ties between labor and the satisfaction of requirements. Let us consider the ways and means through which, under the circumstances of scientific and technical progress and extensive socialist rationalization, we can meet the growing requirements facing the cooperation and combination among various types of activities with a view to achieving high social labor effectiveness. We should also consider the combines as an organizational form which, thanks to their direct ties with science, education, and production, can considerably accelerate the development of production forces. Another very interesting topic is the fact that the planned development of the national economy is manifested today, in addition to everything else, in the considerably improved utilization of existing resources and social labor potential which, in turn, is largely related to socialist rationalization. Most serious attention should also be paid to interaction with the members of the socialist comity, mainly the Soviet Union; in this area, science, technology, specialization and cooperation face stricter requirements.

The advantages of socialism must be used dynamically and strictly within the framework of a policy for the meeting of social targets. This faces the socialist state system with new tasks. Therefore, today it is a question mainly of improving all management activities by strengthening and developing democratic centralism.

The SED economic strategy formulated at its 10th congress is a scientific concept of the development of the GDR national economy in the 1980's. It provides a stable foundation for our further socialist construction and for strengthening the principles and enhancing the political reputation and attractiveness of real socialism and for securing peace. The most important, the dominating feature of this concept is that



of increasing economic effectiveness through contemporary science and technology and by this token the formulation of a constructive answer to changed requirements and conditions under which our party continues to implement its main task with the help of a coordinated economic and social policy.

In order for the main targets of the economic strategy for the 1980's to be achieved, the GDR scientific research and experimental design potential is focusing its efforts on the following main directions stipulated in the directives of the 10th SED Congress for the forthcoming 5-year period:

Rational planning and utilization of energy generated with brown coal, extensive utilization of secondary raw material resources and expansion of the nuclear power industry;

Most effective utilization and maximum processing of raw materials and extensive use of secondary raw materials and byproducts;

Accelerated development and utilization of microelectronics as a basic technology for the entire national economy;

Development and effective utilization of chemical and metallurgical materials with extensive processing and utilization of technologies and designs which save on materials;

Increased productivity and improved quality of machines, mechanisms and equipment important to the national economy, extensive use of industrial robots and of highly productive automation means and instruments;

Creation of high-quality inexpensive consumer goods of modern design in demand by the population;

Preserving, improving and restoring the health of the people through the energizing of medical research for the prevention of diseases, the clarification of their causes and the organization of the production of highly effective medicinal drugs and equipment;

Improving the quality of labor and reducing housing and industrial construction outlays through the application of effective solutions, above all by updating existing housing facilities, reconstructing industrial projects and using new types of goods in the finishing and improvement of housing facilities;

Supplying the population with foodstuffs and industry with raw materials from domestic agricultural and food industry production by increasing crop growing and animal husbandry output on the basis of progressive achievement in biology, including genetic engineering.

These trends in the development of our national economy take into consideration the structural changes which will take place in the 1980's in the international division of labor. These directions offer extensive scope for creative work: all valuable ideas and suggestions in science, equipment, technology and production organization will be encouraged with a view to obtaining the best possible results and highest possible effectiveness. Our scientific accomplishments must be such as to confirm the advantages of the socialist social system.

The starting point in economic strategy is the requirement of new progress in combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. This precisely is the key to intensive expanded reproduction today and in the future. This can be accomplished only if the entire spiritual potential of the society is focused on the acceleration of the scientific and technical revolution and its high effectiveness. This will be manifested in the concentration of efforts on the production of new items and the organization of new production processes. Today, when science and technology are having an increasing influence on human life and working and living conditions, and when each serious step forward in the development of production forces is based on scientific and technical achievements, social usefulness and economic results must be the center of the problems resolved. That is why it is so important to concentrate basic scientific research on the most efficient utilization of our domestic raw material base and on most modern equipment and technology. This will also result in considerable improvement in labor productivity. Large-scale output with the lowest possible labor outlays must be achieved with the help of scientific and technical progress and socialist rationalization, so that manpower may be released for other socially needed work.

Higher labor productivity presumes mainly the full utilization of the substantial educational potential of our society--the use of the highly developed overall worker, of man as the main production force. Therefore, the interconnection between scientific and technical progress and higher labor productivity must be expressed most significantly through considerably more thorough raw material and fuel processing. In this case, the function of skilled labor is to produce from them only high-quality goods based on social requirements and the latest achievements in science, technology and production organization. Therefore, the best possible utilization of skilled labor remains at the core of the problem.

The SED drew proper conclusions from the study of changed reproduction conditions and the experience of the other socialist countries, particularly in the areas of energy and raw material resources. These conclusions were reflected in respective decisions. In the course of their implementation, our party is adding to the experience acquired by the other socialist countries. We shall continue in this direction steadfastly.

Compared with 1970, in 1980 primary energy outlays per mark of produced national income were approximately 25 percent lower. Whereas in 1970 electric power consumption per 100 marks of gross industrial output averaged 312 kilowatt hours, in 1980 it had dropped to 240 kilowatt hours. Last year, for the first time we achieved a growth in output without increasing energy outlays. In the first quarter of 1981, the consumption of prime energy declined by 2 percent. This is the equivalent of savings of approximately 2 million tons of conventional fuel. At the same time, good results were obtained in the implementation of the party's decision on the efficient consumption of and struggle against waste in energy utilization. The use of power for lighting was reduced by an average of 30 percent and for heating by 6-8 percent.

The working people at the (Leynawerke), our largest chemical enterprise, can be particularly proud of their achievements. Thanks to almost 2,000 specific steps to conserve energy and ensure its rational utilization, last year they overfulfilled their intensive production plan while lowering power outlays by 3.1 percent. This means that the enterprise worked with saved energy for 15 days.

Our plans call for the even greater development of our domestic energy and raw material base. About 60 percent of industrial capital investments are allocated for such purposes. Thus, over the next 10 years soft coal extraction will be increased from 257 million to 300 million tons. It is important to bear in mind that by 1990 approximately 60 percent of all strip mines, which account for 145 million tons of coal, will be exhausted and closed down. Increasing the extraction of soft coal is a decisive base for increasing the capacity of our thermoelectric power plants. At the same time, in cooperation with the USSR, we are considerably expanding the capacity of our nuclear power industry.

Some 80 percent of the output of GDR chemical industry, which produces about 50,000 separate items, is based on the use of petroleum, natural gas and coal. As we know, the extensive use of soft coal, of which, as we know, the GDR has substantial deposits, will develop as one of the important lines of our structural policy over the next decades. In this connection, the party's decision on the further development of the extensive chemical processing of coal and the more extensive use of petroleum as a secondary raw material for the chemical industry is of strategic importance.

We must steadily strive toward the maximum utilization of petroleum and natural gas in the chemical industry, and wherever they are used as energy carriers we must replace them with soft coal as much as possible. Furthermore, during the 1980's we must use about 80 percent of the additional quantities of extracted coal also in the chemical industry.

One of the most important tasks of science in the GDR will be the development of a variety of new technologies and processes matching best world achievements, by cooperating with the members of the socialist comity and, particularly, on the basis of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, so that by 1990 we may replace the 11 million tons of petroleum required by the chemical industry with soft coal. Our task is to develop within a relatively short time a coal-based industry considerably more effective compared with the level reached in recent decades. This involves the liquefaction and gasification of coal and many other processes.

The development of tribophos T, which will replace in the future the phosphate fertilizers currently used, is a clear example of the development of new processes which enable us to save on energy and materials and to undertake their more extensive chemical processing. The preparation was developed on the basis of a new principle of dissolving phosphate raw material which, unlike the old methods, makes it possible to save a substantial amount of solvent--sulfuric acid--and which requires lesser amounts of power. The new method also makes it possible to make better use of phosphates in agriculture. Furthermore, the granulation of tribophos T reduces transportation losses and makes the more general use of this fertilizer possible.

What is important is that scientific achievements and their extensive economic utilization influence the level and quality of consumer goods. The party pays most serious attention to organizing the production of such goods on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements, so that science and technology may be able to respond to the needs of the broad population masses more energetically.

For example, the fast spinning machine which was developed in our contry in 1979 is contributing decisively to the intensified production of chemical fibers.



The machine enabled us to increase labor productivity by almost 230 percent. By 1985, this will ensure an increase in production capacities of approximately 10,000 tons of artificial staple per year and, consequently, the production of several million square meters of rugs per year. In turn, however, this will require a drastic increase in the productivity of the rug-making industry. In this connection, the textile combines and textile machine building enterprises developed a new technology (Liroflor) for rug manufacturing, which quintuples labor productivity in the production of selected comparable items.

This example clearly proves the need for a comprehensive involvement of all scientific and technical and experimental-design units engaged in the development of a new machine or technology. The entire renovation process, particularly in the area of consumer goods, must make use of the comprehensive approach. Thus, approximately 80-85 percent of our national income consists of the production of various items for private and public requirements and for accumulations in nonproduction areas. Our party directs the society not only toward lowering production outlays but making economical use of materials and energy, for anything which has been saved in the course of the production process may be wasted in the utilization of the goods. That is why we are focusing our efforts on reducing the consumption of electric power in the use of refrigerators, washing machines, television sets and other household items. For example, the use of microelectronics and of new insulation materials in the GT 20.3 freezer reduces specific energy per 100 liters from 1.8 to 0.9 kilowatt hours per day. The ratio between the weight and return of the refrigerated area has been improved by 10 percent compared with the older model.

Here is another example. The use of microelectronic controls in washing machines will improve the ratio between their weight and output by 25 percent. Power and water consumption will be reduced, respectively, by 15 and 10 percent. This means savings of more than 7.5 million kilowatt hours of electric power and 235,000 cubic meters of running water per year.

Our entire economic strategy is aimed at decisively upgrading labor effectiveness. This is expressed mainly in a considerable lowering of production outlays, increased national income and qualitative improvement of its structure in terms of consumer value. The main basis of the process is for production to go faster than material and labor outlays. Only such a type of growth meets the criterion of expanded reproduction. Increased effectiveness as a consequence of scientific and technical progress and as a manifestation of the growth of labor productivity is a decisive source of further economic progress and by this token of the successful implementation of a policy aimed at reaching our main target.

Labor effectiveness largely depends on socialist rationalization. This opens a broad range of opportunities which must be utilized fully. In this connection, the use of microelectronics, automatic controls and industrial robots is of prime significance.

The party is planning for the use of 40,000 to 45,000 industrial robots by 1985. This will make it possible to release no less than 120,000 workers for other types of production activity and to substantially eliminate monotonous and heavy physical labor harmful to human health. The use of manipulators and robots will enable us to convert to the gradual automation of production processes and to improve the quality of output. Our initial experience in the use of industrial robots proves the possibility of increasing labor productivity by a factor of 2-4 and of reducing by 50 to 70 percent the cost of eliminating rejects, finishing and providing guaranteed repairs. One robot will release an average of 2.5 workers and reduce the time for the recovery of outlays to 3 years or less.

Experience in the use of robots also indicates that the best results can be achieved only if they are used in improved technological systems. This requires a base of scientific data in the areas of technology and production organization, acquired in the course of close interaction between basic and applied research.

The economic strategy formulated by the 10th SED Congress calls for an investment policy totally oriented toward production intensification. This will require a decisive change in the structure of capital investments in favor of equipment. Production intensification must be achieved through the renovation, modernization and reconstruction of installed productive capital based on new technology. Shortening the time for the use of capital investments and their fast economic returns is a testing stone for the successful solution of these problems.

Therefore, the further building of a developed socialist society calls for the systematic development of expanded intensive reproduction at each combine and enterprise and on the scale of the entire national economy. This is the only way for achieving the desired results and the necessary economic upsurge. Improvements in management and planning, reaching for high indicators, and each step taken in production, science and technology as well as all measure adopted in the economic area must become part of this mainstream of our economic growth.

The mobilization not only of scientific and technical but of the broader spiritual potential of society and of the creative possibilities of the working people in the GDR is of decisive importance in the implementation of our party's plans for increasing the country's economic power. A variety of methods are used in applying the advantages of the new society and developing the labor activeness of the masses and the socialist competition. Currently, cooperation between workers-innovators and scientists and members of the intelligentsia plays a special role among them.

The initiative of the working people in Schwedt, who are trying to save on manpower under the slogan of "Produce More With Less Workers," is a clear example of the rich opportunities provided by socialist rationalization backed by serious ideological and educational work. Between 1978 and April 1981, the head enterprise of the petrochemical combine in Schwedt released more than 1,850 workers (21 percent of the entire collective). Asked how they were able to achieve such results, the comrades in Schwedt say that it was only thanks to the mobilization and purposeful utilization of all scientific and technical possibilities and the creation of an atmosphere of high labor activeness among the working people. The Schwedt initiative, therefore, deals with the main problem of effectiveness: increasing labor productivity, which leads to a reduction in the "working time which is socially necessary in the production of a given commodity, so that greater consumer value can be produced with less labor" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 325).

Today the responsibility of the scientists becomes higher than ever before. They are called upon to make a new contribution to the development of our science and the strengthening of its humanistic nature through their creative efforts and scientific achievements. In this connection, it is urgently necessary to concentrate the country's scientific potential along the leading directions in the development of the national economy even further, both today and in the future.

We need above all scientific developments leading to radical improvements in the technological standard of output and which will enable us to make efficient use of the power and raw material base, as well as improvements in socialist rationalization and automation which will considerably improve labor effectiveness. This presumes the prompt development of new promising scientific areas through our own efforts and through international scientific cooperation.

Even greater attention should be paid to reducing the time needed for the practical utilization of most important new developments, their fast dissemination and the decisive renovation of produced commodities. The study of worldwide experience indicates that in important sectors such as electronics, chemistry, the optical and photo-chemical industries, machine building and printing, i.e., in the "growth industries" of our century, the trend has been to shorten the time lapse between the formulation of an essentially new idea and its practical implementation. This cycle is being shortened in other sectors as well. We must also take into consideration another international trend which goes hand in hand with this one: the increased speed at which new ideas and technical solutions are disseminated.

All of this has substantially reduced the lifespan of many new items on the market--by approximately one-half during the past decade. For example, the average lifespan of one generation of small and very small calculators has been reduced to 3-5 years. Whereas in the past the basic design of office machinery remained the same for 10 to 15 years and the export of such items was very profitable, the use of microelectronics has reduced this span by a considerable amount. Today work is being done on replacing instruments the production of which is barely underway. The shortening of production and market cycles makes it necessary to shorten completion periods in the series production of goods (the maximum quantity of goods must be produced in the very first or second year), as well as the time needed for the development and application of inventions of improved quality.

Today the entire area of basic research has been expanded significantly and tangibly. This is the source for revolutionary changes in the development of production forces. The history of production forces in general, and in the GDR in particular, is familiar with a number of cases in which basic research and its applied development have not only led to the creation of new items and technologies but have substantially changed the structure of existing industrial sectors and even created new ones. Here is a topical example: the development of microelectronics in the GDR would have been impossible without the increased volume and high pace of basic research in the field of especially pure metals and solid state physics.

Anticipation, interest and resolve are elements of success in a new direction. The only scientific collectives and their managements which can justify their responsibility to society are those which rate their work according to the only acceptable yardstick: the highest level reached in the respective scientific sector. Scientists must be always aware of the achievements of world science, help their young and capable colleagues and make intensive use of material and technical research facilities. Individual initiative and activeness, based on high socialist awareness, creative cooperation between working class and scientific and technical intelligentsia, skillful organization of the work and, as a necessary prerequisite, management of such processes by our Marxist-Leninist party, considerably determine the results of the favorable objective prerequisites which socialism created for scientific and technical progress.

The possibilities of using the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the area of economic growth are expanding steadily. They will continue to expand, for the scientific and technical revolutions has been given a new, powerful impetus in recent years. The full utilization of these opportunities calls for fruitful ideas to be developed in the decisive directions of economic progress and to cover more rapidly the distance from basic science to technical solutions and the faster



practical utilization of new goods or new processes. The increased concentration in the utilization of forces and facilities will result in more significant successes: Let there be less problems to resolve but within a shorter time and let the production of new goods yield greater economic results.

As we consider the ways of ensuring the broader utilization of the spiritual and creative potential in the further expansion of our economic power, we cannot ignore a most important area such as education. The merger of public with private interests is manifested precisely in the desire for education and for its practical use. Education determines the effectiveness of human activities. The potential of knowledge and the educational foundation created by society are tremendously valuable. The most important task facing managers at all levels, from central authorities to the individual enterprise, is to seek and find ways and means for the maximum utilization of this foundation and to prevent its waste.

Practical experience indicates that the created cultural and technical potential can yield major results if its use is consistent with developed skills, ranging from the trained worker to the higher school graduate. Ensuring the total coordination between the existing level of training and the required skills is no simple matter. The more intensively the acquired knowledge and skills are used, the more labor activeness increases, labor becomes more pleasing and the desire for creative work rises, and all of this influences the social climate in the labor collective even more positively.

As an international social system, socialism offers contemporary production forces a field of activity consistent with or exceeding the national framework. The utilization of this opportunity is an objective requirement. The highest results can be obtained only through international coordination and cooperation among the resources of individual socialist countries, their spiritual potential and all their efforts in different areas. It is also obvious that mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution necessarily presumes the international socialist division of labor in scientific research, design and production.

In the case of our republic, cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA-member countries remains the determining element of economic strategy, of scientific and technical policy in particular. This is confirmed by the coordinated increase in the reciprocal procurements of goods between 1981 and 1985 and the exchange of items produced on a cooperative and specialized basis, which must increase at an even faster pace. The program for specialization and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, which extends to 1990, is aimed at reaching a new level of unification in the economic efforts of our countries. Its purpose is to assume or strengthen leading positions in science and technology and to create favorable conditions for effective production concentration. The development of areas of the division of labor important in the area of increasing our trade will be continued and specialization and cooperation will be expanded to other promising areas.

Science and technology are another arena of the class struggle against imperialism, not only in their real manifestations and processes but in their spiritual consequences. Bourgeois ideology has made a very pessimistic assessment of scientific and technical progress and has expressed the idea of the existence of a "demonic" technology in connection with the development of data processing equipment, micro-electronics in particular. This is based on the fact that in capitalist countries,

regardless of the optimistic forecasts which bourgeois ideologues formulated at the beginning of the 1970's, the scientific and technical revolution is not reviving economic growth, guaranteeing full employment or leading to the social stabilization of the capitalist system. As the Munich newspaper SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG pointed out, "the debate on zero growth has shifted from the stage of flirtation to that of forced reality."

Bourgeois ideology lists a number of reasons to justify crisis phenomena in the economy, such as alleged natural limits of growth, unwise human behavior, egotism, shortsightedness and, finally, the allegedly objective adverse effect of scientific and technical progress. The one and only reason, however, is not named: the inability of capitalism to cross social barriers and the antihumane nature of the exploiting system, and its inability to translate economic into social progress.

The successful solution of the problems which arise in the socialist society in connection with the scientific and technical revolution, the tangible positive results of the interconnection among technical, economic and social progress and opportunities for making such relations even closer proved that the main prerequisite and objective of scientific and technical development is the good of the people and a safe and peaceful life worthy of man. The social foundations of our system and the relationship between power and ownership make a development of science and technology hostile to man impossible. The deep humanism of the socialist society is manifested, for example, in the fact that in our republic all possible efforts are being made to strengthen its position among the leading industrially developed countries in the world. A most sustained struggle is being waged for leading positions and high economic effectiveness, always aimed at making the work of the people more meaningful, interesting and creative and improving their living conditions even further, making them entirely worthy of man. In this area, although absorbed by our own complex undertakings, we do not reject our responsibility in resolving the global problems of mankind.

Despite all the difficult problems which arise in our country in connection with the development of science and technology and which demand their fastest possible solution, the working people in the GDR do not fear scientific and technical progress. They do not consider it a threat to the foundations of their existence. Today basic changes in work methods and way of life are related to scientific and technical progress. The further development of science and technology will lead to the appearance of many new problems and scientists will have to work on many of their still unpredictable consequences. This, however, does not reduce in the least our confidence that through conscious management we shall be able to make proper use of the scientific and technical revolution so that it may help us to shape the humanistic nature of our socialist society even more successfully.

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## YOUTH OF AN ANCIENT LAND

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[Article by B. Arkhipov, Ulan-Bator-Darkhan-Erdenet-Moscow]

[Text] On Mount Zaysan-Tolgoy, which rises above Ulan-Bator, the soldier carved in stone, holding a red flag, seems ready to rush forward. It is as though the mountain winds have bent its blade into a ring, which has been a Mongolian symbol of friendship for centuries. The mosaic background on the inner side of the ring depicts revolutionary battles, the battles at Khalkhin-Gol and the defeat of the Kwantung army and images of peaceful construction, recalling the joint struggle waged by the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, the shared sacrifices in this struggle and the shared joy of victories and accomplishments.

The eternal flame burning in the center of the monument is the eternally living memory of the people, which has carefully recorded the names of places where the heroes shed their blood and their names, carved on the outer side of the friendship ring.

The words carved in the stone read like an oath of present and future generations: "Your life goes on with us. Your glory is eternal like life."

One meets a particularly large number of children and young people on Mount Zaysan-Tolgoy. They are the largest category of visitors to the monument. This is no accident. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Revolutionary Youth League are raising the young people in the spirit of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and the people, in the spirit of life-bringing Mongolian-Soviet friendship, and as active builders of the new life. They, the young, are continuing the struggle of the revolution and of the heroes of the first five-year plans as they continue the building of socialism on Mongolian soil.

This year is marked by important events in the life of socialist Mongolia. It is the 60th anniversary of the battle vanguard of the Mongolian working people--the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party--and the year of its 18th congress. The people of the fraternal country celebrated extensively and solemnly the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Naturally, these anniversaries provided the occasion for summing up accomplishments and honoring those who brought closer the victory of the revolution in adamant struggle, who gave their lives in defending its gains and who built socialist Mongolia through selfless toil.



Using the dry language of figures or the picturesque expressions of graphic art, tables, diagrams and posters on the streets of Mongolian cities, the successes of the people in building the new life are described. Occasionally, this story assumes a symbolic tone. One of the posters depicts a young horseman on his mount jumping across a barrier inscribed "capitalism." Another poster with the seal of the Mongolian People's Republic shows a young horseman leaping in the direction of the new life which rises like the sun on the horizon.

This symbolism, which recreates the image of postrevolutionary Mongolia accurately and widely, has real foundations. The country made a gigantic leap from feudal backwardness and colonial dependence to freedom and progress, bypassing an entire historical epoch--the capitalist stage of development. Today, headed by the MPRP, the Mongolian people are completing the laying of the material and technical foundations for socialism. In this respect, the 18th MPRP Congress set major tasks. "The implementation of these tasks," said Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, MPRP Central Committee general secretary, "will bring about in the final account the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. This will provide the necessary conditions for the gradual conversion of the country to the historical period of building a developed socialist society."

Visitors to the Mongolian capital are under the constant impression that young people constitute the bulk of its population. During a conversation at the MPRP Central Committee, Comrade Gelegiyn Ad'yaa, Central Committee secretary, pointed out that this was not the case in Ulan-Bator only.

"More than 30 percent of the country's population are children under 15. It is sometimes said jokingly in our country in reference to the frequent maternity leave of working women that children are hindering the faster building of socialism. Seriously speaking, the children, the youth, are the future of our country, its hope and its strength.

"Today it is even difficult to imagine," Comrade Ad'yaa went on to say, "that on the eve of the revolution adults and old people accounted for most of the Mongolian population. There were very few children and young people. Why? Mainly because of the high infant mortality rate. Secondly, generally speaking, the birthrate was low, for there were few new families. The country had more than 700 monasteries and about one-half of the adult male population were priests--lamas. As we know, the lamas were celibate. Whereas in China and other countries where Buddhism is practiced the law stated that only one man per family could become a lama, the Chinese, who were implanting Buddhism in Mongolia, imposed no restrictions in this matter. The country's population not only did not increase, it was declining. Actually, this was a policy of bloodless genocide."

In socialist Mongolia, children and young people have become the truly "privileged class" of society. Concern for the children and for improving their education further is a most important matter for the party and the people's government. This is no mere slogan, no mere declaration but a comprehensively and profoundly planned, consistent and steadily implemented social policy.

Under the people's system, medical care of women and children has been improving steadily. The health of mothers and children is the most important concern of the socialist state. Today, excellent children's hospitals with polyclinics provide

medical and prophylactic treatment for children, while women's consultation centers, maternity homes and boarding houses are at the disposal of pregnant women and women in childbirth. Territorial-sectorial services to mothers and children are the basic principle in the organization of health care in the Mongolian People's Republic.

State aid to pregnant women has been increased considerably. Women are entitled to 101 days of paid pregnancy and maternity leave. More leave is granted for the birth of two or more children. After that, women are entitled to further leave for up to 6 months at one-quarter of their salary. Large families receive special aid for caring for children under 8: mothers of 4 to 10 children receive from 400 to 3,150 tugriks annually, while mothers of 10 or more children receive 400 tugriks per child under 16. Mothers of 5 or more children are entitled to annual free vacations in sanatoriums and rest homes.

Women who have given birth and raised 4 or more children to the age of 6 have the right to retire with full pension at the age of 50 and after 15 years of work.

The party's and government's concern for women and children has yielded excellent results. Today the birth rate in the country is 38 per 1,000, and the natural population growth rate is 29 per 1,000. The Mongolian People's Republic is one of the few countries in the world with a high birth rate and natural population increase whose population has almost tripled during the 60 years of the people's regime.

Protection of motherhood and youth, state aid to large families, preschool and extra-curricular children's institutions, schools and boarding schools, Pioneer homes and Pioneer camps, the active efforts of the Revolutionary Youth League and the bold promotion of young cadres to leadership positions are part of a single social policy whose purpose is to increase the country's population and ensure the active participation of young people in building the new life.

Virtually all new construction projects in industry and agriculture in the Mongolian People's Republic are the work of the Revolutionary Youth League. A number of enterprises, state farms and even entire cities inhabited by essentially young people have come into being. The 18th MPRP Congress noted with profound satisfaction that the urban and rural youth are making a worthy contribution to the building of socialism and are a great social constructive force.

More than 25,000 young men and women went into production work after graduating from secondary school, answering the call of the party and the Revolutionary Youth League between 1976 and 1980 alone. The availability of young graduates of higher or secondary specialized schools has improved the production process considerably. Over the past 15 years the number of such cadres doubled compared with the entire preceding period of the people's regime.

The road to Darkhan meanders along a picturesque valley bordered by sharp edges which look like waves frozen into stone. Mongolia is a mountainous country with an average altitude of 1,5 km above sea level. However, north of Ulan-Bator the gentle mountain slopes and broad valleys look more like a hilly steppe rather than mountains. The rains have fallen after a long drought, the steppe has come to life with its rich cover of grass and flowers. To the left and the right of us we see mechanized hay mowing detachments with their mowers, bailers and stackers. Meadows alternate with

pastures. We see sheep grazing and the tents of animal husbandrymen. As far as the eye can see there are only meadows, covered by the rich grassy carpet of the hot and sweet-smelling steppe....

Before we knew it, we had covered the more than 200 km to the two interlocked metal rings on which the word Darkhan was written in big letters. From the hill we could see the broad valley of the Kharaa River, around which spreads the modern city surrounded by mountains on three sides. With its high buildings and factory smokestacks it looked like a typical industrial city against a background of gently sloping mountains, a green valley and the glistening river.

In the premises of the city party committee we met with Comrade Purevzhaly Bold, first city party committee secretary. This short, active and energetic man, looking younger than his 40 years, has already had extensive and varied practical experience. After graduating from an institute, he worked as an engineer and forest farm director. This was followed by a stint of several years at the Ministry of Forestry and Woodworking Industry, after which he was appointed by the MPRP Central Committee to the position of city party committee secretary in Toson-Tsengel and party committee secretary of the timber processing combine in the city, one of the biggest enterprises of its kind in the country. It was there that P. Bold developed as a party worker and political organizer of a big collective. After attending the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, he worked for the MPRP Central Committee and is now first secretary of the Darkhan city party committee, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and deputy to the Great People's Hural.

P. Bold is a typical representative of the galaxy of cadres who have been assigned by the MPRP Central Committee to leading party work in recent years. As a rule, they consist of graduate specialists who have proved their qualities in production work and have shown an ability to organize the coordinated work of labor collectives and who are well familiar with life and economics and with problems of the development of the economy and culture. Today the secretaries of aymak, city and rayon party committees and most secretaries of primary party organizations and heads of basic industrial subunits, state farms and agricultural associations and other economic sectors are graduate specialists with party-political training.

The word darkhan means a forge. Darkhan is also known as the city of friendship. It is no accident that its seal consists of two interlocked rings. Both the city and its enterprises were built with the help of workers and specialists from members of the socialist comity. It is the offspring of international friendship. The city was started 20 years ago and a great deal has been accomplished since.

A number of industrial enterprises have been built in Darkhan. They are examples of the implementation of the program for socialist economic integration and close cooperation among CEMA-member countries. Thus, the Sharyngol open coal mine, the Thermoelectric Power Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, the house building combine, a plant for keramzite, a confectionary factory and a food combine built with USSR forces and funds, are operating at full capacity. Bulgarian friends provided technical assistance in the building of the Georgi Dimitrov Sheepskin Coat Factory. A lime and silicate brick plants were built with Polish help; Hungary helped in the construction of a meat combine, and so on.



Darkhan is the industrial foundry of the country. It accounts for more than 10 percent of the gross industrial output, 42 percent of the coal, 30 percent of the bricks, 47 percent of the lime, and 100 percent of the cement produced in the Mongolian Peoples Republic. However, the city is also a forge of friendship among the peoples, among the people of the new world. It was this particular role that Comrade Yu. Tsendenbal emphasized during his visit to the young city.

"Darkhan," he said, "is a forge for strong international friendship among fraternal peoples building socialism and communism." A visit to the city's factories and plants makes this quite clear.

The house building combine is highly mechanized and maintains high production standards. Joint Mongolian-Soviet brigades operate automated machinery for the manufacturing and welding of armatures and conveyer belts in the production of panels and other prestressed structures. Here active and productive exchange of experience takes place and the secrets of the craft are mastered.

At its highest level the combine is headed by a kind of international management brigade consisting of N. G. Akopov, the Soviet technical manager, and his Mongolian fellow worker Amarsanaa. All production problems are resolved jointly.

The same situation prevails at the keramzite plant. Chulunbat, its chief engineer, proudly says that the Soviet equipment operated by Mongolian and Soviet specialists is working impeccably. The plant's entire output has a superior category rating. It goes to all Mongolian DSK and construction projects and half of the output is exported to the Soviet Union mainly for the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline, the construction project of the century.

The labor collectives of the DSK and the keramzite plant, which are neighboring enterprises related technologically as well, are successfully applying the methods of brigade labor organization, collective responsibility for the quality of output and collective assessment of individual labor contributions. The wage coefficients (ranging from 1 to 0.7) are established jointly by the foremen, brigade leaders and brigade public councils. They take into consideration the attitude toward the work, behavior at work and participation in public affairs and in the entire life of the labor collective. In other words, the brigades resolve problems of labor organization and the upbringing of the builder of socialism, the collectivist-internationalist.

The Bulgarian specialists who work at the Sheepskin Coats Factory imeni Georgi Dimitrov rate the work of the production collective highly. They proudly display an exhibit of Mongolian-Bulgarian friendship lovingly set up by the Mongolian comrades. Most of the materials are dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the founding of the BCP to Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov and the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the 18th MPRP Congress.

Nayramdal-friendship! It imbues everything accomplished in Darkhan, which is a model of the country's industrialization and a forge of international relations among the peoples of socialist countries. Joint labor accomplishments are the most effective means of international upbringing.

The Erdenetiynovoo treasury is the theme of many Mongolian legends! "Ovoo" means mountain and "erdenet" means treasure. The people's memory has preserved not only

legends. It is said that in the past copper nuggets, turquoise and primitive metal smelting tools could be found on the mountain. However, it was only under the people's regime that scientific geological surveys were made.

Mongolian and Soviet geologists surveyed and mapped the very rich copper and molybdenum Erdenet deposit in the area between the Selenga and Orkhon rivers, the biggest rivers in Mongolia.

On the basis of the geologists' suggestions, in 1973 the Mongolian and Soviet governments signed an agreement on the construction of the Erdenet joint Mongolian-Soviet ore mining and concentration combine. The comprehensive building of the city and the enterprise was undertaken by the end of 1974.

Zham"yangiyn Banzrageh, the current first secretary of the Erdenet city party committee, MPRP Central Committee member and deputy to the Great People's Hural, was among the first workers to come here. At that time there were only eight party members. Today there are about 1,000 communists working in 37 primary party organizations.

This was the biggest ever Mongolian construction project. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who visited Darkhan in 1966, said later that "all of us remember the 1960's, when Darkhan was being created. It was a very big project for its time. Now, in the construction of the gigantic copper and molybdenum enterprise in Erdenet, as many funds are used in a single year as were used in Darkhan in 5. This fact alone reflects the increased constructive possibilities of People's Mongolia, the new scope of our joint operations and, essentially, the qualitatively new level of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation."

The pace at which Erdenet was built was indeed unusually high. Let us also bear in mind the particular complexity of the project, increased by the fact that the construction was comprehensive: seven vitally important and interrelated projects were simultaneously under construction: the ore mining and concentration combine, the city (four microrayons), a 158-km-long railroad track, a 164-km highway, a 64-km canal from the Selenga River to Erdenet, a high-tension power cable linking Gusinoozersk (Buryatskaya ASSR) with Erdenet and a construction industry base.

The scale of this project can be judged also by the fact that about 40 scientific research organizations took part in its design and that materials and equipment were supplied by 462 enterprises.

The very big Erdenet ore mining-concentration combine, with an annual processing capacity for 16 million tons of ore, was completed within a very short time. Its first section, with a 4-million-ton capacity, was completed as early as 1978, 1 year ahead of schedule and only 3 years from the beginning of the project. The other sections, each of them with a 4-million-ton capacity, were completed as follows: the second in 1980, the third on the occasion of the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress and the fourth on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolutions.

"The completion of the powerful enterprise built ahead of schedule by Soviet and Mongolian construction workers," said Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal at the 18th MPRP Congress, "is a model of fruitful cooperation between our countries. It is of great importance in accelerating Mongolian industrial development. Suffice it to say that in 1980 the installed capacities of the Erdenet ore mining and concentration combine had an output equalling one-fifth of our exports in terms of value."

This year, the output (in terms of value) of the ore mining-concentration combine will almost equal the entire output of the country's industry in 1971.

The dedicated efforts of the builders of Erdenet were given a high rating. More than 1,200 Soviet and Mongolian leading workers were awarded USSR and Mongolian orders and medals.

The new socialist city, which already has a population of about 40,000, consists of modern but not thoughtlessly stereotyped buildings. Its architecture is original, showing a careful consideration for national traditions and for the natural environment.

The city's microrayons have their distinctive features, with convenient transportation, commercial and service centers, cultural institutions and schools.

The city has an excellent hotel, a communications building with a telephone switchboard for 2,000 sets, a 220-bed hospital, a technical school, seven general educational schools, 12 kindergartens, a city palace of culture and seven clubs.

In order to provide work to the members of the families of the miners and construction workers, a carpet combine with a capacity for 1.3 million square meters per year, a food combine, a children's clothing factory and other enterprises were built in Erdenet.

The commissioning of the timber processing combine with a plant for large-panel wood frame homes with a capacity of 100,000 square meters of housing area per year was of particular importance in resolving the housing problem. The lumber for the combine comes from a big forest farm which delivers 280,000 cubic meters of lumber annually.

A construction and installation office was set up in the city to help with individual house building and house repairs. It has already done 10 million tugriks' worth of work.

The trade-procurement trust supplies the city with goods and purchases farm surpluses from the rural population. It has an annual turnover of 50 million tugriks. The city automotive base, with a capacity for hauling 20 million tons/km of freight, in addition to the vehicles of the ore mining and concentration combine and the construction trust, is meeting the trucking requirements of the expanding city.

All of this was accomplished in no more than 7 years! The opportunities offered by socialism and the inviolable Mongolian-Soviet friendship are truly incalculable! The most important among all the positive results of the Erdenet construction project is the professional and spiritual growth of the people.

In 1932, N. K. Krupskaya, the great Lenin's wife and fellow worker, wrote to A. M. Gor'kiy that "to build socialism does not mean merely to erect gigantic plants and great factories. This is a necessary but insufficient feature in building socialism. The people must grow in their minds and hearts as well. It is on the basis of this individual growth that, in the final account, a new type of powerful socialist collective will be developed in our conditions...."



It is precisely this type of socialist collective that has developed in Erdenet during its construction. New detachments of the Mongolian working class and a technically knowledgeable people's intelligentsia have developed following the birth of the city in its industrial areas and industrial enterprises; national leading cadres capable of managing big labor collectives are being trained.

"During the construction," said engineer Zham'yangiyn Byambaa, party committee secretary, we raised the question of training cadres in skills entirely new in the Mongolian Peoples Republic. The task was accomplished with a system of vocational technical training, individual training at related enterprises in the Soviet Union and through international tutorship. By the time the ore mining and concentration combine was commissioned, more than 1,300 Mongolian workers and engineering and technical personnel had been trained in the Soviet Union alone.

Young people from all parts of the country came to Erdenet, which was proclaimed a shock Revolutionary Youth League construction project. The training combine for 440 students was very popular. International tutorship was developed extensively. It was initiated by truckdriver V. Goroshko, plasterer M. Shadrin, flotation workers V. Mamotamimov and Z. Ponomarev, grinding mill operator Ya. Ashimov, engineer Yu. Umanskiy and many others.

Yesterday's Mongolian students have now become instructors and are training in their skills the young men and women assigned to the enterprise by the Revolutionary Youth League. They include P. Baldandorzh, driver of a 40-ton BelAZ truck, excavator worker L. Demberel, flotation workers Ya. Nyanragaa and Kh. Ragchaa, grinding mill operator.

It was precisely in Erdenet, the youngest city in Mongolia (more than 80 percent of its population is under 35), that the Nayramdal-Friendship international brigades, shifts and crews, in which Soviet and Mongolian class brothers are doing shock work, were born. Today the city has more than 160 primary international labor collectives and about 80 friendship crews.

Thanks to the extensive Nayramdal-Friendship international brigades, shifts and crews movement and the tutorship, during the construction and operation of the ore mining and concentration combine in Erdenet, about 10,000 people, formerly cattle breeders and students, mastered 32 construction and 10 mining skills; more than 3,000 workers upgraded their professional rating and more than 1,000 workers mastered related skills.

All of this made it possible to develop an entirely new type of international labor collective. Each one of its members is brought up in a spirit of love for his profession, enterprise and city, warm patriotism and effective socialist internationalism and organic need to help promptly and selflessly those who need such help the most. The accelerated mastery of the equipment and progressive experience of Soviet and Mongolian workers is being organized. For example, courses headed by machine operator A. Borodulin, grinding worker D. Zham'yan and many others are effectively working at the combine. More than 20 progressive experience courses are operating at the enterprise. Displays of socialist competition results in the enterprise's shops show the results of the labor competition between the brigades of N. Topayev and G. Bayasgalan, A. Anufriyev and T. Gandbold and B. Shcherbakov and D. Munkhdash. The international socialist competition unites the collective and contributes to its ideological-political and professional growth.

Nevertheless, cadre training is the main unresolved problem at the combine. The training of engineering and technical personnel and of workers, and the improvement of their skills have fallen behind the fast growth of production capacities. Such difficulties are being dealt with through joint efforts. The entire country is training cadres for Erdenet. Many young specialists and workers have been assigned to similar enterprises in the Soviet Union and to other members of the socialist comity for professional training and for improving their skills.

The successes of the ore mining and concentration combine are mainly the result of youth, friendship, true collectivism and socialist mutual aid. The united and monolithic international youth collective, guided by the party organizations, has placed at the service of the people the Erdenetiynoovo treasury, which had remained dormant for centuries.

The main task of the Ulantolgoy State Farm is to supply Erdenet with milk and vegetables. It is one of the many state farms which were created on the virgin lands during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The farm is headed by Comrade Orsoo, whose name means "The Russian." Many such family names appeared after the revolution in honor of Mongolian-Soviet friendship. According to the state farm workers, the director's name is justified. He is very knowledgeable, a good organizer, industrious and persistent like his Russian agricultural specialist colleagues employed at the Ulantolgoy State Agricultural Enterprise.

The state farm has an excellent firm material base: industrial and residential premises, a permanent irrigation system covering a large area under fodder crops and vegetables and almost 3 hectares in greenhouses. All this enables it to meet all of its plan indicators.

It is true that some errors were made in designing the irrigation system. According to a plan, the individual sectors are automatically irrigated once every 4 days. This is fully adequate for feed crops. However, vegetables need daily irrigation, particularly at the initial growth stage. This has lowered the output of vegetables grown in the open. Starting next year, vegetable crops will be concentrated in a separate area and the automatic irrigation control equipment will be set up to provide daily irrigation. A water shortage made this impossible in the past. Today the problem of the use of treated waters from the Erdenet ore mining and concentration combine has been resolved. The analysis of the water was positive and the real possibility developed of considerably increasing vegetable production in the open by expanding areas under vegetables and ensuring more regular watering. A water collection basin and a pumping station have already been built and irrigation equipment is being laid out.

The state farm workers are mainly young people, graduates of general educational secondary schools and rural vocational technical schools. There are many new households. However, the state farm also includes many middle-aged workers. As a rule, they have five to seven children who are attending free state boarding schools and work in animal husbandry in the summer, with their parents. That is how the new generation of agricultural workers is being trained. They develop love for the land and for working with it from childhood.

...In front of a tent we were welcomed by a beautiful woman, suntanned, strong, smiling. Milkmaid Dorzhiynkh is in her 40's and the mother of six children. Her oldest is in the army and her youngest, a girl, will be enrolled in school next year. The children help the father and mother in the pasture, in caring for the cattle and at home.

A visit to a Mongolian tent is an interesting experience. The center of the tent is held by an iron stove. It is not in vain that this symbol of the family, and source of warmth and food, has been given the central place. There were six metal beds paralleling the walls. Separating them and directly facing the entrance, a place of honor had been assigned to something like a chest of drawers on which stood a mirror and a radio. The area of the housewife was on both sides of the entrance. utensils, produce containers, saucepans, copper pots and fuel baskets.

Dorzhiynkh offered her guests mainly dairy products. We began with urum (plums in warm milk), freshly made pancakes (boortsog), followed by aaruul--cheese curds, sweet, tasty and nutritive (essentially the fine curd slices, naturally dried, stay edible for years on end). This was followed by rich Mongolian tea, again with milk. Finally, we drank nermelarkhi--a strong milk drink made of whey. This was an example of wasteless home milk processing.

Along with permanent homes built for animal husbandrymen in the main farmsteads of agricultural associations and state farms, tents will be used by the Mongolian peasants for a long time to come. They are irreplaceable in animal grazing. The pasture livestock breeding system predominates in Mongolia. It is based on the availability of excellent natural pastures of which there are more than 130 million hectares in the country.

Under the livestock grazing system, the animals graze on a year-round basis. Although it has many advantages (lesser outlays), it has its negative side: the condition of animal husbandry is greatly dependent on weather conditions. That is why the republic is now paying great attention to farming and feed production.

For centuries on end, religious dogma claimed that only animals can eat that which grows on the soil. Man was even forbidden to pull a blade of grass, not to mention cultivating the land. This was considered the worst sin.

Extensive educational and organizational efforts had to be made to surmount such backwardness, introduce new and progressive aspects in the organization of agricultural production and reorganize crop growing! Mongolia is now entirely self-sufficient in terms of grain production. The country is producing substantial amounts of rough and concentrated fodder which protects animal husbandry against all eventualities or whims of nature.

Strengthening the material base of animal husbandry is one of the most essential tasks. Feed production, pasture watering, building of animal husbandry premises, development of veterinary services, and so on, are being rapidly expanded. In the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans alone overall feed production more than doubled. Natural meadows yield more than 1 million tons of hay. Specialized feed farms have been organized and more than 200 comprehensive-mechanized hay mowing brigades have been set up. Their purpose is to build up emergency state feed stocks. Areas under



feed crops are being expanded as well and capacities of mixed feed plants and feed shops are being increased. The building of animal husbandry premises (khashans) and pasture flooding are major developments in the organization of the material base of animal husbandry. A variety of wells are the main source of water supplies. More than 63 percent of the pastures are flooded from such wells.

All of this made it possible to increase animal husbandry output during the previous five-year plan. Despite adverse weather conditions such as drought, snowstorms and heavy snow precipitation, cattle herds increased considerably, by 560,000 head, 8.3 million young cattle per year were raised, or 200,000 more than during the previous 5-year period. The average annual output of meat increased by 12 percent and of milk by 5.4 percent.

Considerable funds have been allocated for strengthening the material base of animal husbandry in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Production will be increased by a 1.7 factor. To this effect, new feed farms will be created and areas under feed crops will be increased and their yields on state farms will be raised through irrigation and improved feed production for seasonal and perennial grasses. New production facilities will be built and the existing facilities of mixed feed plants and feed shops will be used more effectively; yields of natural hay meadows will be increased. Another 10 to 12 million hectares in pastureland will be flooded and a considerable number of animal husbandry premises will be built. This will make it possible to increase the number of cattle by 4-5 percent and to upgrade productivity considerably.

In the new five-year plan, another 250,000 to 300,000 hectares of virgin lands will be developed; the average annual output will be increased by 82 percent for grain, 78 percent for potatoes and 81 percent for vegetables.

Taking into consideration the serious nature and the scale of problems to be resolved, the 18th MPRP Congress decreed the elaboration of a long-term comprehensive target program for developing and increasing agricultural effectiveness on the basis of the steady consolidation of its material and technical base and improved working and socioliving conditions of the rural population.

Vital agricultural problems will be discussed at one of the forthcoming party Central Committee plenums. Procurement prices of some types of animal husbandry output will be raised with a view to ensuring the further strengthening of agriculture and the enhancement of the living standards of the rural working people, steps will be taken to improve the system of economic incentive in the production and procurement of agricultural commodities.

Everything is decided by the cadres. This thought was expressed in the course of the meetings and talks held in Ulan-Bator and other areas, the MPRP Central Committee, the Birkhan and Erdenet city party committees, the party committees at enterprises and state farms, and in the peasant tents..

The most important task of the party organizations is to improve the ways and means of work with cadres. Party leaders in the center and the local areas are concerned with the training of a reliable cadre reserve for all working sectors. The study of available personnel is based not only on documents and surveys but mainly on the basis of the implementation of one or another assignment and the organization of one specific organization or another.

The 18th MPRP Congress recommended to the party organizations that they follow in their work with cadres V. I. Lenin's instruction that "...the selection of the best workers in economic construction, of administrators and organizers on a specialized, general, local and national scale must be organized on an extensive, planned, systematic and open basis" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 280).

Managers are trained in gauging their activities on the basis of practical results. A considerable part of their training is among the labor collectives and the masses in which they determine the actual state of affairs and organize joint work for the implementation of party decisions.

The party organizations try to create in each collective an atmosphere favorable to the development of principled criticism and to organize the type of procedure according to which effective practical measures are taken on each critical signal and the entire collective is informed of the efforts made to eliminate noted shortcomings. This approach is combined with struggle against the suppression of criticism or neglect of critical remarks.

The party members and, mainly, the party leadership are setting the example of a self-critical approach to the work. The 18th MPRP Congress demanded of them that they master even more profoundly the method of self-analysis and self-control. Why is this necessary? Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal answered this question in the accountability report to the congress as follows: "First of all, because of a feeling of respect for the authority of leading cadres, omissions in their work are not always openly criticized from below. Secondly, because of their great responsibility, they also have extensive rights and power. Sometimes, even the slightest weakening of the feeling of self-control and self-criticism involves the danger of misuse of their power. This is manifested when personal or friendship, departmental or parochial interests are placed above the interests of the party and the state. Every leading worker must master the method of self-analysis and self-control and apply it above all in assessing his own activities, political, business and moral qualities and level of outlook and knowledge."

The MPRP ascribes great importance to the proper combination of the work of experienced members of the senior generation with that of the young workers.

Cadres personally involved in resolving the general democratic problems of the revolution and the defense of its gains and laying the foundations of socialism in Mongolia are characterized by their revolutionary training and tempering, total loyalty to the party, the people and socialism and rich practical experience.

The splendid qualities of the veterans become part of the flesh and blood of the young. Recalling talks with middle-aged party and economic workers and young people made wise by practical experience or starting in their careers whom we met in Mongolia, we recall their analysis of the circumstances and of the successes achieved in the first half of the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the exposure of shortcomings and omission and of unused reserves. This makes us proud of a party which has been able to raise such people. They show revolutionary scope and efficiency and loyalty to the cause of the party and of the people and to the memory of the fallen revolutionary fighters....

...The soldier carrying the red flag on Mount Zaysan-Tolgoy is marching forth toward future generations. He looks at the huge modern enterprises and the high residential building of Ulan-Bator spreading along the Tola River, and at the beautiful capital of a beautiful land. What a great deal has been accomplished and how much more remains to be done! Yes, the fallen heroes can rest peacefully: those who have replaced them are confidently continuing their work. The revolutionary, combat and labor glory of the old are being raised higher and higher by the young builders of the new life, the heroes of today, the heroes of the Seventh Five-Year Plan!

..."Your life is continuing with us. Your glory is eternal like life." It is true that glory, like life, is eternal when it is multiplied by accomplishment of the generations of fighters for the people's happiness. This is why our common revolutionary cause is immortal.

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## CERTAIN FACTS OF CPCZ SOCIAL POLICY

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[Article by Irzi Stano, member of the editorial board of RUDE PRAVO, organ of the CPCZ Central Committee]

[Text] The main objectives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's social policy are the good of the people, the strengthening of their social confidence and the creation of real guarantees to this effect. One can understand and realize the importance of this policy in the life of the people better only by looking at a specific area, and on the basis of specific examples. Therefore, let us take a look at an area of Czechoslovakia known as Zd'arsky Rayon, located between the historical territories of Czechia and Moravia, in the heart of the picturesque Czech-Moravian Plateau.

We chose this area deliberately, for during the bourgeois republic it was among the most backward and poorest rayons in the country, from which crowds of refugees migrated to the capitalist West, looking for jobs. In World War II The Heights provided safe shelter to partisan detachments. This was the area of operations of the Jan Hus Brigade commanded by Soviet Army Major Aleksandr Fomin, the Brigade imeni J. Kozin and the Kirov, Promin and Vpered detachments and others.

It was not easy for The Heights, once threatened by terrible poverty despite the beauty of its rivers, streams, lakes and captivating forests, to enter the present. Many storms had blown over this area. The latest military tempest had left behind it many painful scars, and the road to the future had taken the lives of the best of its people.

However, this was the only road leading to May 1945 and after it to February 1948. The building in Zd'ar became the basis for the radical reorganization of the area in the foothills of the Zakova Mountains, in the valley between the Svatka and Sazava Rivers, a reorganization which affected the lives of the people. The little town, which shortly before that was almost unknown, was destined to become a powerful machine-building center. When the great plan became known, 1 year after February -- the month of the final victory of the people over the reaction and the bourgeoisie -- The Heights joined in the campaign. Crowds of people abandoned their mountain settlements, left their small cottage industries behind, and rushed to Zd'ar. They also left their straw-roofed huts and rock-studded fields behind.

In 1947, Zďar on the Sazava, the rayon's administrative center, had a population of only 4,000. It was under socialism that the city grew. The machine-building plants and the foundries became the base for socialist reorganization. Today Zďar has a population of more than 20,000. Dozens of new settlements have been built in the rayon. The united agricultural cooperative in the villages has strengthened, and the other cities -- Nove Mesto on the Morava, Bystrica pod Peřstein, Velke Mezirici and Velka Bites -- have been improved.

The rayon has become the home of 124,000 people who will never have to take the long and hard road in search of a piece of bread, like their fathers and grandfathers.

We shall begin our trip in the premises of the rayon national committee, one of the modern buildings which have changed the appearance of the city. Our questions were answered by Irzi Svigalek, head of the social insurance and health care department.

The rayon has many retirees to which the local social services pay special attention. Thus, citizens who are unable to care for themselves entirely, but who wish to live at home, are under the care of the so-called guardianship service. The basic services which its personnel provide to the elderly include housecleaning, shopping, delivery of meals at home, coal deliveries, garbage removal, changing and washing linens, cleaning premises, help with personal hygiene, etc. The guardianship service worker may call in a physician, bring the necessary medicines and if necessary supervise their administration.

Geriatric nurses take care of citizens suffering from chronic diseases. They cooperate with sectorial physicians closely and provide the necessary care under their supervision. Special personal hygiene centers have been opened. They provide services to citizens who lack home bathing amenities. Guardianship service vehicles take the handicapped to these centers and bring meals to the aged.

We visited one such service on Jaroslav Gasek Street, in the very heart of a modern microrayon. It is located in the so-called Guardianship Service Home, which houses a nursing facility. In addition to caring for the residents, the center cares for other old citizens as well. The rayon has two such guardianship service homes. The second is in Velke Mezirici. Two other houses -- in Heralci and Doubravnik -- which will be used by the service are undergoing repairs. About 1.5 million koruni were spent on guardianship services in 1980. Of this sum the beneficiaries contributed 50,000 koruni only and state funds accounted for the balance.

The work of social care institutions -- represented in the rayon by two homes for retired people -- is closely related to that of the guardianship service. In this case again, the state meets more than two thirds of the costs involved. Care for the old is provided also by pensioners' clubs operated by the guardianship service centers. Here old people can listen to the radio, watch television, play a variety of table games, read, talk, hold meetings, etc. The clubs are kept open all day long. Many people spend all their time here, going home only to sleep.

Concern for the handicapped and the partially disabled is an important aspect of social policy. Although finding jobs for such people is frequently quite hard, employment has been found for all of them. Practical experience has indicated that many citizens in the rayon could use the help of society but do not ask for it because of shyness or other reasons. That is why the rayon's national committee

has three social insurance workers who, with the help of Czechoslovak Red Cross and Women's Union volunteers, locate such citizens and see to it that they receive the necessary social services.

Great attention is paid to children, above all by creating a good atmosphere at home. The rayon keeps track of children who need the help of society. This applies to children raised by single parents or with guardians. Special care is taken of mentally retarded children.

The rayon has 112 kindergartens attended by 76.8 percent of all children between 3 and 6 years of age. Kindergartens are established mainly by the national committees but also by industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives which, furthermore participate in staffing them. The 12 rayon nurseries complement the preschool establishment system.

The enterprise medical institutions assist in meeting the needs of the citizens. They care for more than half the rayon's working people. By 1985, 65 percent of all working people will be treated by these establishments.

After machine building, the most important industry in the rayon is the mines in Dolny Rozince. Their director, Engineer Trojan, described to us the various aspects of social insurance in this area.

To begin with, they include mandatory preventive treatment at the Stosu Sanatorium in Slovakia, where miners spent 4 weeks free of charge every 3 years. The enterprise subsidizes miners' vacations by the seashore, in Yugoslavia. The trip costs 5,000 koruni of which the worker pays no more than 1,400. Part of the cost of trips to the GDR and Bulgaria and trips by miners' children to the Soviet Union on an exchange basis is also subsidized by the enterprise. Every year, more than 2,000 workers stay at its rest home for half price.

Every miner has the right to a second free lunch and to free work clothes and shoes. Over a period of 24 years, the enterprise has built 2,754 apartments in various rayon settlements, three hostels, four kindergartens, three houses of culture -- in Dolny Rozince, Bystrica pod Perstein and Nove Meste -- and two ninth-grade general-educational schools.

The enterprise operates three mines, each with its pensioners' club. These clubs sponsor free bus trips throughout the republic and use of recreation facilities and plant cafeterias by the veterans, who enjoy the same benefits as the working members of the collective. The retired enjoy equal privileges in the area of preventive medical care and treatment.

After Rozince we stopped at a beautiful secluded area in the forest. Here, on the shore of trout-stocked Medlov Lake, stands a modern rest home built by the Central Council of Trade Unions. With a card issued by a plant trade union committee, a person can stay here 2 weeks for 700 koruni. This includes food and a private or semi-private room. Entertainment includes bus trips and sports. Movies are shown regularly. The health institution has its sports grounds, movie hall, televisions, a library, beauty shop, wine cellar and billiards room. Here one can meet people

from all parts of the republic. Every year more than 8,000 people spend their vacations here.

Similar modern rest homes have been built during the last 2-3 years at the Lugacovice, Liptovsky Jan, P'estjani, Strbsko Plese in the High Tatras and Stry Splyvy resorts. The construction of many similar projects is under way. All in all, today the country has more than 100 health homes operated by the Central Council of Trade Unions. In 1945, trade union health homes were able to accommodate 4,418 working people, mainly those who had been in the fascist jails. In 1980, trade union rest home cards were issued to more than half a million people. The previous year, the home at Medlov Lake had celebrated its tenth million visitor since 1945. Some enterprises also have their own rest homes.

Slavkovice is a small village not far from Nove Mesta. It houses the board of one of the big collective farms in the rayon, the Vzlet Czechoslovak People's Army United Farm Cooperative. We have already mentioned that in the past, the poverty of the rural population of The Heights was extreme. The best land in the area belonged to estate owners and the church, while the rocky fields of the peasants in the mountains and the foothills could not even provide semi-starvation living. Between the world wars more than 10,000 peasants left the area in search of a living in America, France, Belgium or Germany. Poverty taught the rest a variety of crafts which they practiced under their thatched roofs 18 hours a day. A total of 33 crafts were practiced in the countryside at that time in order to fight off desperate need.

The cooperative land on the mountain slopes is still fragmented, for which reason no heavy equipment can be used. However, the face of this part of the rayon also has undergone a striking change.

The cooperative farm has existed in its present form since 1976. It combines 13 settlements with a total of 5,320 hectares of land and 1,300 members, approximately 700 of whom are active workers and about 600 are pensioners.

Potatoes are raised on 600 hectares, or about 55 percent of the arable land. Zd'arsky Rayon is one of the biggest potato growers in the country. Milk and beef production constitutes another important sector. The rayon averages 3,650 liters of milk from each of the 1,800 milk cows annually.

After this brief description of the cooperative farm, let us now meet with its leading personnel, who will tell us what collective farming and state aid have contributed to the life of the peasants. We found Comrade Miroslav Czech, farm economist and member of the rayon national committee, in the board's premises. He has been a deputy and council member since 1971. In the last elections he was elected to a third term. Also waiting to meet with us was Josef Blaga, deputy board chairman in charge of personnel. Naturally, we were mainly interested in facts related to the implementation of social policy.

Improving labor conditions is one of the main tasks. Each animal husbandry project here has shower rooms, heated locker rooms and kitchens. The central kitchen has been modernized and can now serve 1,000 meals daily. The cost of a meal is 5 koruni, of which the cooperative members pay only 1.5. Pensioners carry the food to the working areas, in the fields and the village.



The cooperative pays great attention to retired people and shows proper respect for their age and merit in the implementation of Lenin's ideas on cooperatives, for it is precisely they, the veterans, who struggled for the socialist reorganization of the countryside and who endured the main burdens of this struggle. The pensions some of them receive are still low, for which reason the farm supplements them in a total amount of 260,000 koruni per year.

The board meets regularly with the pensioners twice a year. Entertainment is provided, celebrants are given commemorative gifts, and veterans talk about the past and are treated to a concert. Pensioners can take part in free bus trips to noteworthy sites in the country. They can also stay in rest homes free of charge. Like all other members of the cooperative, they are given an annual preventive medical examination.

The cooperative has its labor school which is concerned with the professional growth of the workers. Everyone is given the opportunity to become a repairman, tractor driver or livestock breeder. The farm also trains apprentice craftsmen. Nor is physical culture neglected. The cooperative has its sports council and two sports grounds where soccer, hockey and volleyball teams train.

The Cooperated Peasants Union acts as a trade union in Czechoslovak agricultural cooperatives. Vzlet has five cost-effective production sectors. This is the basis for the work of the Union. Each sector has its shop committee which, in addition to everything else, controls the implementation of a special program and actively formulates suggestions on improving work in this area.

In 1977 the Cooperated Peasants Union Central Committee awarded an honor certificate to the farm for third place in the competition for improving working and living conditions in united agricultural cooperatives and villages in the Czech Socialist Republic.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) alone the cooperative farm allocated 735,000 koruni for rural social development. It also built and transferred ownership of four kindergartens to the national committees in its rayon. It is paying the salaries of their technical personnel, while the national committee pays only the salaries of the teachers. The cooperative farm has the right to use a certain number of places in these kindergartens for the children of its members. Children who are not within walking distance of the kindergarten are transported free of charge.

Let us look at the Regulation on Payments From the Cultural and Social Requirements Fund, which was adopted at the annual meeting and became effective as of 1 January 1981.

A newly married couple receives 500 koruni in cash. Any one can visit his birthplace all expenses paid. Trips abroad include travel to the Soviet Union as a competition prize at no cost; in the case of trips to other socialist countries the cooperative farm pays 70 percent of the cost. Sanatorium treatment: the first visit is free; 60 percent of the cost of a second trip and 40 percent of the third are paid for by the farm. For children who go to pioneer camp, the farm contributes to the cost 24 koruni daily.

The birth of a child is solemnly celebrated at the cooperative. A savings account is opened in the name of the new citizen, with an initial deposit of 200 koruni if both parents are members of the cooperative, or 100 if only one of them is.

Each retiring member of the cooperative is presented with a commemorative gift worth 300 koruni. Valuable gifts are presented on the occasion of fiftieth and subsequent birthdays and on golden wedding anniversaries.

A worker who has been presented with a government award is given a 1,500 koruni bonus; the recipient of a departmental award is presented with a 1,000 koruni bonus. Socialist competition winners receive valuable gifts. A cooperative member who moves into a new home is given 2,500 koruni.

In the future as well the cooperative will supplement small pensions and pay for the entertainment on the occasion of International Women's Day, annual membership meetings, anniversary celebrations, etc.

All of this is stipulated in the official document of the Vzlet United Agricultural Cooperative in Slavkovici.

We visited the ancient city of Velke Mezirici, located in one of the picturesque valleys of the Czech-Moravian Heights. Although small, the city is one of the important centers in Zd'arsky Rayon. It has a very rich and varied history. Formerly, it was the center of Horack, a mountainous area in southwestern Moravia. In the past, the city was famous for its historical monuments and schools. Today, the city's skyline has been expanded by the outlines of industrial enterprises and modern housing projects. A daring monumental concrete viaduct which carries the Brno-Prague highway cuts across the valley over which the city is spread.

The purpose of our visit was to see the Kablo Plant, one of the most famous enterprises in the country. The plant was built in 1946 on the site of the former glue factory and soon afterwards became one of the biggest enterprises in the rayon. The plant was modernized and expanded to its present size, as demand for cables increased in the country. There is no person in the country who has not used its output. This includes a great variety of wire with plugs for electric household appliances and telephones, all kinds of insulation materials and so on. Kablo employs 1,650 people.

Much can be said about the 35-year history of the plant and its extensive production program. However, we were interested in our original topic and that is why we set out to see Engineer Karl Minarzik, the plant director, in his office. Minarzik is also a member of the CPCZ rayon party committee bureau. Miroslav Rumler, deputy director in charge of personnel and secretary of the Mezirici city party committee, Ladislav Vrba, head of the personnel department and deputy party committee secretary, and Jan Kiec, plant trade union committee secretary, were present.

What does the plant do for its workers, how does it express its concern with their way of life outside the enterprise and for their recreation, vacations, cultural development and education, and how does it help them to exercise their social rights? These were the questions we asked our interlocutors.

The specific measures contained in the social policy of the Kablo Plant are not implemented only when an occasion or a problem presents itself. The plant's social policy covers a 5-year period, which coincides with the plant's five-year plan and is then refined on an annual basis and becomes part of the collective contracts. It stipulates social measures both for the enterprise and the town.

Kablo has 950 women employees to whom it pays great attention and who are granted a variety of benefits. Women can work part-time and 110 of them are allowed to work at home. There are no women on the night shift or doing heavy physical work.

An average of some 200 women are on mandatory leave at all times. Pregnant women are given easier work. According to the law, after the birth of her first child a woman is entitled to 6 months paid and 3 years unpaid leave, during which she has the right to work at home. The plant actively helps her in placing the child in a nursery or kindergarten.

The enterprise built 70 housing units during the Fifth Five-Year plan and 72 during the Sixth; another 70 are planned for the Seventh. The solution of the problem of retaining cadres is related to the construction of housing facilities. Loans for individual house building are given by the trade unions or come from the social and cultural requirements fund. A worker may obtain a 20,000 koruni grant from the rayon national committee if he pledges to work at the enterprise for a period of 10 years. Young workers who return to the plant after completing their army service receive a lump sum of 5000 koruni.

The plant has its own construction organization. This year it will complete the building of a rest home. Another rest home already exists in Spindlerove Mline in Krkonosy. The Mezirici Kablo Plant is one of the seven in the Kablo Kladno Association. The working people have the right to use any one of its rest homes. The rest homes charge 25 koruni per adult and 10 per child daily for room and board.

The plant sponsors a Pioneers' camp. The cost to parents is 200 koruni, to which the enterprise adds another 500 for a 3-week stay. It also sends Pioneers to Hungary and the GDR on the basis of exchange visits with sister enterprises. Every year the plant offers the six best workers a free trip to the USSR.

Kablo pays great attention to labor conditions. Workplaces are systematically checked for safety and hygiene, after which steps are taken to eliminate shortcomings. Let us also mention medical services. The plant has its medical center with a general ward, dental offices, rehabilitation section and sauna. Specialists -- an otolaryngologist and an ophthalmologist -- regularly visit the center. In some sections, the wire-drawing shop for example, noise pollution is high, for which reason the hearing of those who work there is mandatorily checked.

Kablo shows great respect toward and concern for retired workers. It has 505 pensioners, who have their own club, council and trade union group organizers. They hold regular weekly meetings in the premises of The Heights -- the unified working people's club. With the help of the plant trade union committee, the club's council organizes trips and visits to theaters and concerts for the retirees.

The pensioners are entitled to the same rest opportunities and rights as the active plant workers. Retirement ceremonies are organized by the management and the plant trade union committee, the names of the retirees are entered in the plant's history record and they are given commemorative gifts. Every December the management, the party committee and the plant trade union committee invite all pensioners to a talk at which executives describe the enterprise's accomplishments during the year and the new successes achieved by the enterprise. The pensioners react to such information actively and sometimes voice critical remarks on the subject of the enterprise's work. After the meeting, the end of the year is celebrated by all those present.

Pensioners can use the plant's cafeteria on the same basis as the working members of the collective. They pay 4 koruni per meal, to which the enterprise adds another four.

The plant has its Spartak-Kablo Physical Culture Club with soccer, tennis and track sections. Their accomplishments may not be impressive but they give everyone the opportunity to improve his health through sports. The plant has tennis and volleyball courts, a miniature golf range and a ski lift.

We have already mentioned that the enterprise's social program includes measures outside the plant, closely involving the city. This is logical, for the people work at the plant but live in the city, which inseparably links these two areas. In this respect, all city enterprises share identical views and cooperate closely in the implementation of the joint urban development program. Unquestionably, The Heights -- the united working people's club -- is an example of such joint efforts. The club is the pride of the entire rayon. Even Zd'ar, the rayon center, cannot boast such a cultural facility.

Miroslav Rumler, the city party committee secretary, has made a great contribution to the development of good cooperation among all city enterprises. Although he is deputy director of the Kablo Plant, any kind of specific concern for "his" enterprise is totally alien to him. The united club, which was founded by the Kablo Plant and in which the plant invested 2.7 million koruni, is at the disposal of all city enterprises. Here is a characteristic feature: the club's council is headed not by a Kablo official but by Fratisek Veznik, director of the agricultural machinery repair plant.

The Heights' activities are directed mainly at the young, for whose benefit it sponsors a number of programs, such as contests and poetry readings, dancing and entertainment events and others, jointly with the Socialist Youth League. The club's activists cooperate with socialist labor brigades, innovators and production frontrankers in all areas of ideological-educational and cultural work.

Forty-two organizations, including 14 industrial enterprises, virtually all town schools, three agricultural cooperatives and others are club members. They each pay the club 26 koruni per trade union member per year. Most of the club's operational costs are paid by Kablo.

The club's activities are quite varied and geared to a great variety of interests. They include extracurricular training, talks, lectures and a variety of educational and hobby courses such as knitting, working with a sewing machine, foreign language



instruction, social behavior and dancing, typing, playing musical instruments, nutrition and food serving and fashion. The club operates 14 amateur art circles for still and motion-picture photography, graphic arts, puppetry, choral singing, music, poetry and dramatic reading, chamber singing and theater groups, two rhythm music groups, a jazz-exercise group and a disco club.

The day we visited the club, preparations were under way in its concert hall for that evening's recital by Mexican pianist Manuel de La Flor, while an exhibition of paintings by Antonin Pelce was being held in the exhibits hall. Famous orchestras perform at the club. It has hosted famous Soviet masters such as Svyatoslav Richter, Igor Oystreich and Rudol'f Kerer. Entertainers such as Alla Pugacheva and the Blue Bird Ensemble have performed here. The club has sponsored Soviet, Bulgarian and Hungarian culture days, performances by Brazilian and Japanese artists and an ensemble from Tahiti. The club held a Soviet and Czechoslovak working peoples' friendly evening on the occasion of the first visit by a Soviet Union friendship train to Velke Mezirici.

What else can we add? We could mention, for example, that every year the club organizes pleasure trips to Bulgaria for its member-organizations. The twelfth such trip will be organized this year.

All of this is handled by 13 full-time workers helped by a 50 member aktiv. All of them are employees of the Kablo Plant, the guarantor of the club. The club is managed by a council representing its member-organizations. We have already mentioned its chairman.

Let us now leave the rayon. Naturally, a full description of the life of its citizens today and of the deep changes made in all areas as a result of the successful building of socialism would be impossible, given the short duration of our visit. It would be impossible to mention all the changes made in the social area, which is precisely the sphere of human life in which the results of the party's policy, whose objective is the good of man, are most apparent. Our visit should also have included the one-of-a-kind Chirana Plant in Nove Meste, the Tokoz and the machine-building and casting plants in Zd'ar, the Mars Plant in Svatice, Plant No 1 of the Brno Machine-Building Association in Velke Bites and dozens of other enterprises built over the past 36 years.

Life does not stand still. This year marks the beginning of the new Seventh Five-Year Plan, dominated by the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. The party has formulated many new important tasks which expand and intensify the humane social program implemented on a broad scale. Some of these tasks must be implemented by the population of Zd'arsky Rayon as well. They have been formulated and will be partially implemented within the framework of the electoral program which sets the tone for the elections for national committee deputies on all levels, including the Federal Assembly, held at the beginning of June.

During our trip we learned a little about all that was accomplished after the 1976 elections. New pages have been added to the chronicle of socialist change in the towns and villages of Zd'arsky Rayon since then. The program for its all-round development is being successfully implemented. The material and cultural standards of the people have improved and the system of political, economic and social guarantees for the life of the working people has been strengthened.

A look at the new programs for the social development of the rayon and its towns and villages shows that the working people are pursuing their chosen path under the party's leadership on the basis of their growing successes.

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## THOUGHTS ABOUT PEACE IN EUROPE

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[Article by Prof D. Proektor]

[Text] The policy of the imperialist forces has led to an appreciable complication of the international situation. The confrontation of the two directions in world politics, in which the policy of the strengthening of peace and detente is opposed by that of the militarist circles of imperialism, primarily American, of a spiraling of the arms race and suppression of the peoples' liberation struggle, has been exacerbated. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, speaking in Kiev, declared, "the events in the international arena are an increasingly persistent reminder that peace is not a blessing that comes automatically. Unfortunately, this is not so. Peace is being threatened and threatened seriously. We have to struggle for peace." The increased danger to world peace emphasizes particularly forcefully the weight and significance for the future of the positive changes that have occurred in Europe, where the birth and strengthening of detente--a most valuable achievement of the 1970's--has exerted a salutary influence on mutual relations between states of opposite social systems.

Inestimable significance is attached in this connection to the purposeful struggle of our party and the Soviet state and the other socialist countries for peace and security on the European continent, the content and results of which were analyzed in depth by the 26th CPSU Congress. The conclusions drawn by the congress and the prospects it outlined give rise to the need to dwell in more detail on an evaluation of the part Europe is called on to play in the preservation and consolidation of peace in the immediate and more distant future.

### I

People in many countries frequently ask, are the basic factors that brought to life the process of European detente and determined its successes in the 1970's continuing to operate? What should be done to continue and extend this process in this decade?

This question appears quite complex and not solely because of the difficulty of forecasting in general. It is difficult as a consequence of the declining steps in the development of the detente process which are connected with the present stimulation of certain forces in the West that from the very outset have approached detente with hatred in their hearts and a curse on their tongues. It is also difficult because, as revealed particularly graphically by the latter half of the 1970's, the leaders

of this capitalist state or the other frequently either have no clear concept of detente or lack the stability of political viewpoint essential for ensuring its progressive development.

The detente process, which began in the latter half of the 1960's and enjoyed its greatest development in the 1970's, led to major positive results in the world arena, results achieved despite the tremendous efforts of militarist circles to continue the arms race. This indicated that the peace policy of the countries of real socialism and other forces of progress proved, it may be said, "stronger than military strength." Europe's significance as the world center of the stabilization of international relations increased as the Helsinki agreements--which were, in their way, Europe's unique achievement--were implemented.

At the same time, these years revealed the dynamics of detente and made it possible to clearly see what contributes to it and what slows it down. The detente process has had two quite clearly drawn periods. The first lasted roughly until the middle of the last decade. The All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation was its culmination. The second period then began--fluctuations and then a decline in interest in detente, primarily in the policy of the U.S. ruling circles. They began to actively endeavor to switch their own and Western European foreign policy mechanisms to the "cold war" mode. And here we return again to the question: Under the conditions of the increased tension brought about by the U.S. administration's departure from the policy of detente and influential Western European political circles' pandering to Washington's actions, will the opponents of detente be able to cancel out the fundamental prerequisites that offered the possibility of movement along this course? Could the shifts in American policy presage similar shifts in Western Europe also or will trends providing for manifest successes of detente prevail over the present cold winds from the western shores of the Atlantic?

The 1970's corroborated as clearly as could be the soundness of the communists, who pointed out that detente does not lead to the removal of the contradictions between states of different systems. Furthermore, there may be engendered and are being engendered new contradictions brought about by the aggressive circles' attempts to use the fruits of detente in their own class interests, for example, as in the attempts at the Madrid meeting of participants in the All-European Conference to reinterpret the Helsinki agreement to their own advantage for the purpose of the opposition against the socialist countries. Nor does detente completely remove the possibility of the emergence of some new conflict situations in the future. Political detente and the expansion of economic exchange in the forms and framework in which they have proceeded hitherto have not automatically brought about military detente and have been unable to surmount the attempts of the military-industrial complex to continue the arms race, which is forcing the socialist countries to respond to the challenges being thrown at them.

All this is as it is, and a sober approach to the essence of detente and an understanding of what is possible in it at each concrete stage are absolutely essential. But it would be wrong to think that European detente was only, as H. Kissinger said, a "limited compromise" and an attempt to survive in a world developing in a catastrophic direction. There is convincing evidence to the contrary, namely, the profound content of this process corresponding to the fundamental interests of all of the European states.



First, the problems of security and the prevention of war. Military might, which could not be even approximately equaled were we to combine together all European arms from the Roman legions through World War II inclusive, is concentrated in Europe. Europe is the focus of ultramodern armies and navies and a cluster of our century's greatest achievements in military technology, and all this is deployed in a comparatively small space. On the other hand, what can be done in a practical sense with the help of this force in the sphere of European politics? What, say, political tasks can the NATO bloc tackle to its advantage by military means under conditions in which it is opposed and, as ensues from many official statements, will be opposed by a defense potential of the Warsaw Pact Organization of equal might?

A new and characteristic phenomenon of our time distinguishing it from all previous eras is that now, as a result of profound sociopolitical and military shifts in the world, a limit has been reached beyond which the possibilities of the devotees of the use of military means for political purposes are by no means directly proportional to the might at their disposal. Such is one of the manifestations of the ongoing profound changes. The United States' incapability, despite its entire nuclear arsenal, of achieving success in Vietnam and containing the liberation movement not only in remote regions but also right alongside it proves how futile are the militarist circles' hopes of creating military superiority.

What has been said also applies to an immeasurably greater extent to such a region as Europe, which is directly involved in the NATO-Warsaw Pact Organization confrontation. Here the use of military force in the name of achieving political goals in accordance with the old "scenarios," such as those imperialism needed for the instigation of two world wars, proves to be--even though aggressive imperialist circles are attempting to prove the opposite--beyond the bounds not only of common sense but also of political expediency. It is capable only of leading to nuclear war and general catastrophe.

However, the dialectics of international political development are such that on the one hand it is precisely in the zone that is the most dangerous for the future of the peoples covering a considerable proportion of the northern hemisphere that gigantic military might has been built up that in all logic makes war between West and East suicidal and, on the other, it is precisely here, certain Western politicians and military figures believe, that it is essential to continue to perfect and increase this might. For what? To make some "limited" nuclear war acceptable and to achieve superiority over the other side, as if it is a question of combat elephants at Cannae or of guns at Waterloo, or to acquire an opportunity for the "indirect" use of military force for the purpose of political pressure?

Having made the achievement of military superiority over the Soviet Union their main political credo, these politicians and military figures are reluctant to come to terms with the fact that the possibility of the direct use of military force for the accomplishment of foreign policy goals in Europe has actually been reduced to zero and that the sweeping plans for a further buildup of military potential on the continent, as formulated by the United States and the NATO top brass, are in the broad sense an anachronism and extraordinarily dangerous for the future of mankind.

Graphic testimony to this is the gigantic arms race program for the 1980's recently announced by the U.S. President. It covers the entire "strategic triad" and "tactical"

nuclear forces and conventional forces and provides for the creation of a whole number of qualitatively new weapons systems. An element of this program for the achievement of global superiority over socialism is the notorious NATO decision on the deployment in Western Europe of 572 new American nuclear missiles. This is aimed not only at the creation of a strategic preponderance over the Soviet Union in Europe but is also quite obviously intended to serve as a means of increasing the United States' political control over its allies and as a method of applying the brakes to European detente and also of limiting the growth of the influence of the democratic, antiwar forces in Western Europe.

The nuclear arms race in Europe, to which the United States is pushing its allies, is deadly dangerous for all the European peoples. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress. "They want to instill in people the idea that a nuclear war could be limited and wish to reconcile them to the idea of the permissibility of such a war. But this is outright deception of the people! After all, a 'limited,' in the American concept, nuclear war in Europe, say, would mean right at the very outset the certain destruction of European civilization."

A comprehensive analysis of the question of ensuring European security leads to the sole correct conclusion: The solution of political contradictions by peaceful methods and adherence to detente as a form of interstate relations are for Europe an objective necessity and the main and logical historical trend.

Second, to judge by everything, the objective economic need for the cooperation of European states of the two social systems will remain inescapable for a long period of time. The socialist community countries are embarking on the implementation of new long-term programs of economic and social development. The 26th CPSU Congress outlined a sweeping program for the continued construction in our country of the material-technical base of the communist society. The best conditions for this are undoubtedly created by a stable international situation and the steady development of international economic relations. This also applies to an equal extent to the other socialist states, which are engaged in peaceful creative labor.

The Western Europe countries are also confronted by long-term tasks connected with their prospects for economic development. The energy crisis, the increased prices for raw materials, the currency crisis, unemployment and inflation--all this requires the concentrated attention of these countries' leading circles primarily on the solution of acute economic problems. Power engineering questions occupy a special place among these. According to data that has been made public, in 1978 alone Western Europe consumed approximately 1.2 billion tons of "oil equivalent" (including gas, coal and nuclear power). Energy imports are a most important item of the Western Europe states' foreign trade. Under these conditions, it is particularly attractive for them that the Soviet Union is the biggest oil and gas producer.

The results of the 10th session of the USSR and FRG Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Commission, which proved its ever increasing intensification in recent years, were highly indicative in this respect. The USSR's commodity turnover with the FRG increased 36 percent in 1980 compared with 1979. The commission discussed the prospects for cooperation on large-scale projects in the immediate and more distant future.

Economic relations between the USSR and the FRG serve as a convincing example of mutually profitable cooperation between states of different social systems, which is at the same time an important factor in the strengthening of peace in Europe.

The Western Europe capitals are also taking account of the distinctiveness of technological development in East and West Europe, which is leading to increasing interest in the sphere of technology exchange. The prominent West German economist [I. Janke] writes: "We should not forget that the cost of research in the East and the West has now reached astronomical levels, and for this reason there is great interest in spreading the load to the shoulders of as many people as possible." According to him, there are "common technological and cultural traditions in East and West Europe." It is also a question, he believes, of the West European countries' growing interest in an inexpensive all-European common transport system--"from shipments by internal waterways along the Elbe through containerized shipments by the Siberian Railroad!" The territorial proximity, the short supply lines, the possibility of creating new jobs thanks to economic cooperation, the ancient traditions of trade exchange--all this represents long-term prospects for economic cooperation between the two parts of Europe.

Third, historical experience is of lasting significance. The main international conflicts of the 20th century--two world wars and also the "cold war"--affected primarily the European countries. It was precisely in Europe, and in no other region of the world, that the foundations of international relations were completely and catastrophically shattered twice in the 20th century, where the biggest military concentration was effected and where the military crises entailed the greatest sacrifices. It is quite natural that it is precisely here, in one of the oldest centers of world civilization, that the peoples react with the most awareness to the prospect of a new military catastrophe, which would be fatal for the continent.

In connection with NATO's decision on the deployment of new missiles in West Europe, people there speak ever more frequently of the total impossibility of any concentration of nuclear weapons in densely populated areas. Helmut Schmidt wrote back in 1961 that missiles deployed on land must in no event be located in densely populated areas. He emphasized: "Everything that brings fire on itself is unacceptable for states with a high population density or small territory." The collection "A World Without Weapons?" which has just been published in the West observes that this thought of Helmut Schmidt's assumes great relevance in connection with the debates on NATO's decision regarding American missiles in Europe.

A mass antiwar movement is growing up literally before our very eyes in the West European countries. It is embracing increasingly broad strata of society, including those who even recently gazed skeptically on the protests emanating from the democratic ranks against the increased danger of nuclear annihilation. This is not "Moscow's hand," as is trumpeted across the ocean. "...The new peace movement, which is by no means directed from afar, is growing constantly," Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL writes. Only hopeless conservatives could think that at the end of the 20th century the crude onslaught of militarism on the peoples' interests would encounter just as weak barriers as was the case at the start of the century, when it succeeded in unleashing a world war with comparative ease.



Now the symbol of this onslaught is the decision to deploy hundreds of new American nuclear missiles in Europe and to produce neutron warheads, which could suddenly turn up here. West Europeans are rising up against the new boom of militarization and against the threat of a nuclear conflict. They have no wish to be the obedient soldiers in the American forward nuclear defense area.

A broad fall-winter offensive of the peace forces is developing under the slogans of struggle against the nuclear rearmament of West Europe. It is acquiring various, including new, forms. Peace marches are being held from Copenhagen to Paris and from Peruggia to Assisi. More than 1 million West Germans signed the "Krefeld Appeal," which contained a call for the renunciation of NATO's "double decision." A demonstration in support of peace unprecedented in the FRG was held in Bonn on 10 October. The opponents of armaments have won a parliamentary majority in Holland. Broad antiwar protests are being expressed in Denmark. Fervent appeals for peace and the limitation of the arms race are resounding in the presence of 400 people at the authoritative "defense hearings" in [Kolling].

It is perfectly obvious even now that the mass antiwar demonstrations that have embraced the West European countries represent a qualitatively new phenomenon capable of exerting an appreciable influence on the continent's political life.

It needs to be mentioned that various circles of the West European public are adopting an increasingly skeptical attitude toward propagandist attempts to substantiate the arms race with the lie of the "Soviet military threat." For decades it was reiterated over and over to the West European peoples that the Russians would at any moment be bursting into their countries in their tanks. But the years passed and nothing of the kind happened, and, furthermore, by no means thanks to the buildup of NATO's military might. Such assertions had absolutely no grounds from the very outset. An understanding of the falsity of this propaganda is penetrating the public awareness of the West increasingly.

Whence it follows, among other things, that the authority of antiwar, antimilitarist public opinion, which is increasingly acquiring real force, exerting a growing influence on policy, will in all probability continue to grow in West Europe. This process tends toward further growth as increasingly large masses of the population in the West European countries and throughout the world become accustomed to assertive political activity and become aware of the unacceptability of war as a means of solving political problems.

## II

There is one further question that arises in connection with what has been said above: Is Europe, which is split into opposite military-political groupings, capable of exerting an influence on the strengthening of peace and stability worldwide? In other words, can it be supposed that the impact of the European countries on the general course of events to the benefit of peace will grow or will conflicts ultimately sweep over them also? This question requires an answer if only for the reason that the opinion is being expressed, among others, in certain political and scientific circles of the West that the conflicts arising in other parts of the world, whether in Africa, the Near and Middle East or elsewhere, are inevitably calling in question European detente as well and denying it a future.



Let us begin with the fact that in recent decades the role of Europe, viewed as a whole, on a global scale has undoubtedly increased.

The socialist part of the continent represents one of the most dynamically developing regions of the world. The CEMA countries account for approximately one-third of world industrial production. Their economic growth rate in the 1st decade was twice that of the developed capitalist countries. The economy is being switched to an intensive development path in the countries of the socialist community.

West Europe, which occupies roughly 2.7 percent of the territory of the globe and has only 8 percent of its population, disposes of approximately 30 percent of the aggregate social product of the nonsocialist world. Its share of world exports and imports is quite high. Of course, it would be wrong to make the nature of foreign policy directly dependent on the state and scale of economic development. But on the other hand, experience shows that economic requirements condition, as a rule, a coincident policy, and if the policy contradicts the requirements of the economy, this leads to crisis consequences for those pursuing the policy.

Proceeding from this, it may be assumed that in the coming years the role of Europe as a whole as a factor for peace in the overall system of international relations is capable of increasing in proportion to its increasing significance in the modern world and the growth of its world relations and economic and political influence.

The socialist countries of Europe are by their very nature a determining factor for a stable, peace-loving policy. They are making a decisive contribution to the continent's global peace functions. To judge by existing trends, West Europe will remain just as interested in detente and cooperation with the socialist countries. We must not, of course, make light of the contradictions in and complexity of the foreign processes in the western part of the continent. However, detente in Europe has reason, it seems to us, to be less susceptible to fluctuations of the moment than in other regions and to be comprehensive and fundamental.

The experience of the 1970's showed that in the framework of so-called "Atlantism," that is, the West European states' interaction with the United States, the majority of these states nonetheless operated from the standpoint of an interest in detente and mutually profitable cooperation with the socialist countries. This was determined by no means by some situational considerations but by purely material and political circumstances. There are few people in West Europe who doubt that a world nuclear conflict, were it ever to occur, would hit primarily their countries.

Various West European political circles are displaying a greater interest than across the ocean in a stable policy of detente, the solution of problems by political means, and also in a policy based not only on military superiority but on a balance of forces. As events are showing, however, the positions of the supporters of militarist hegemony and power methods, that is, a policy contradicting detente, have strengthened in the United States on the current wave of conservatism, while West Europe is, as before, displaying interest in the development of trade and various forms of business relations with the socialist countries.

West Europe as a whole adopted, as is known, a critical attitude toward the lively turnabouts in the policy of the Carter administration and his threats to crush detente and advocacy of continuation of the SALT process and cooperation with the socialist

states. West Europe has by no means displayed unity with the United States nor, incidentally--this needs to be noted--has it shown consistent unity with respect to the plans for "bringing the missiles up to strength," plans which are dangerous for its future.

The crisis of "inter-Atlantic relations" is a reality that, as emphasized in a recently published authoritative joint paper by scholars of four of the most important Western world policy institutes, "is a product of changing complex historical and structural trends which are acquiring social, political, economic and military proportions.... The most important political result is probably the fact that the good days of the old 'Atlantic system' have now passed." Mutual mistrust between the United States and its West European partners is growing. From this stems also their differences in the approach to detente. And it is not by chance that there can now be seen either a "second birth" of the idea of "West European unity," which was shaken by disillusionment with the previous plans for the creation of a "united Europe," or the manifestation of trends toward the formation in West Europe of new allied structures represented by, for example, the intensive rapprochement of the FRG and France. In any event, the obvious growth in the independence of a number of West European countries from the aims of Washington's policy and these countries' continuing reexamination of the terms of "partnership" with the United States have also created for these countries greater opportunities for foreign policy independence in relations with the socialist states.

These trends could, it must be said, also have a reverse side. It is sufficient, for example, to mention that West Europe's military contribution to the North Atlantic bloc increased approximately fourfold in the 1970's. We note the aspiration of the ruling circles of certain West European countries to military-political interaction with the United States outside of the NATO zone.

However, by and large it is obvious that the stronger peace is in Europe, the more opportunities are opened for all European countries to play the part of a global stabilizing factor, operating jointly in questions where their fundamental interests pertaining to the securing of peace coincide. In this sense, Europe has, we must suppose, a great future. Europe is a continent of savages, the French socialist Jean Jaures once said, referring to the endless wars on European soil. Now, it would seem to us, Europe has many opportunities to do away with this reputation, becoming step by step the increasingly influential center of a peace policy on a global scale.

### III

And, finally, a question whose importance in this context is obvious: the measures needed to make Europe a stable, lasting zone of long-term peaceful relations.

The 26th CPSU Congress provided an in-depth analysis of European international-political development and put forward a program for the further extension of detente and cooperation in Europe. In the current situation the congress' conclusions acquire particular significance both for Europe itself and also for international relations on a global scale. The congress put forward the idea of the continuous nature of the Helsinki process and formulated a number of fundamental, important initiatives in the sphere of European detente, including military detente.

The latter fact is extraordinarily important in connection with the fact that the 1980's have begun, as is known in an atmosphere of a new supercharging of international tension. West Europe is the "focus" of three colossal programs of continuation of the arms race planned by American imperialism all-NATO programs geared to an increase in the bloc's military potential in West Europe; regional programs made up of approximately 30 "joint arms projects" to be implemented by the European NATO partners, and the national plans for modernization of the armed forces to be implemented in each of these countries and covering various types of weapons, including the further development of the French and British nuclear potential. Rapid and profound changes are occurring in the development of military equipment. Qualitatively new types of weapons are being developed that could make supervision of these weapons and, consequently, their concerted limitation an extremely difficult matter.

Militarist circles in the West would like very much to undermine detente in this way, impose on the socialist community an economically exhausting arms race and, as they believe, thus present a further all-around upsurge in the planned economy and fulfillment of the programs for economic and social development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

But proceeding from the fact that the decisive front of competition with capitalism lies in the sphere of the economy, the socialist countries are making their necessary military efforts precisely commensurate with the basic tasks of economic policy and will not give in to the provocative challenges of the aggressive circles of imperialism and the "knights of the arms race." Whether detente exists or not is ultimately determined by the interaction of profound and complex social, class and political factors, and it has not been given the Pentagon generals to abolish these factors at their discretion. If it were otherwise, it is very likely that mankind would not have overcome the "cold war" and that nothing would have been heard of detente.

Various "scenarios" of war in Europe are being propagandized in the West, a war which breaks out on each occasion as the result of the "aggression of the Soviet Union." Arguments concerning some "nuclear imbalance" in Europe to the benefit of the Soviet Union as the most likely cause of a European conflict have become particularly fashionable. However, the most thorough estimates based on all the known data convincingly testify to the absence of such an imbalance and to the presence of rough equivalence. Proceeding from a careful analysis, this is shown, for example, by the prominent expert, Dr D. Lutz of Hamburg University. The West German Gen F. Birnstiehl writes in this connection: "The scale and type of nuclear weapons do not afford either side the chance of a devastating first strike." E. Eppler, a retired West German minister, defines the NATO decision on "bringing the missiles up to strength" as a provocation of the Soviet Union.

Highly competent military specialists, whose opinions were collected in the book "Generals for Peace," which was recently published in the FRG, come to a similar conclusion. One author, Gen W. von (Baudissin), who formerly held various top staff positions in NATO and is currently director of Hamburg University's Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, writes: "I believe that strategic stability prevails between the world powers and their allies."

Even in the atmosphere of the concerted propaganda trumpeting the "Soviet military threat," increasingly sober voices are being heard in the West, as the facts show, pointing both to the absence of such a threat and to the falsity of the proposition



of the Soviet Union's "military superiority" being put forward by the West's militarist circles. Whether it is a question of strategic nuclear arms or intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, there is in any event--to which an objective military analysis testifies--rough equivalent between the sides.

Whence follow at least three conclusions.

Recognition by the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community of the true rough equivalence of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization is obvious testimony to the socialist countries' adherence to a defensive military doctrine. The USSR has declared repeatedly at the highest level that its doctrine is of precisely such a character. And the West? The notorious Carter directive on "limited" nuclear war--to take just one example--can by no means be said to reflect a defensive concept.

The third conclusion is that a military conflict in Europe is pointless and senseless from the viewpoint of any European country. Neither now nor in the foreseeable future is it possible to achieve any real political goals or to accomplish any political tasks either in Europe or globally with the direct use of military force, meaning ultimately a nuclear war, since a nuclear war in Europe would have catastrophic consequences.

From all this there ensues the need for realistic political and military figures in the West, including West Europe, and a new in-depth interpretation of a number of military-political and military problems, including the question of the correlation of policy and war, the place of military strength among other factors determining the nature of contemporary relations between West and East and the tasks of military policy and so forth. The point is that military strength, particularly that which is based on nuclear potential, is viewed, as before, by the bourgeois strategists who stubbornly cling to it as a particular kind of political weapon. The mere fact of the presence of military strength at their disposal acquires, they believe, increasingly great significance, despite the loss of the capability of its direct use, for which they would like to substitute preservation of the possibility of its threatened use, that is, so-called "deterrence." Military strength becomes, from their viewpoint, a more flexible and diverse instrument of policy.

The general movement, the authors of Western military doctrines believe, is in the direction of the extension of the, so to speak, classical political, economic and psychological functions of military strength, and, furthermore, the reality of the limitation of the purely forcible functions in this understanding of their, which was characteristic, for example, of the two world wars, is not taken into consideration at all. Military strength of its own accord, as it were, becomes to an even greater extent political strength. The opinion has become established in a considerable proportion of the ruling circles in the West that with the development of military equipment and the creation of new missiles which are more mobile and accurate, "mutual deterrence" is the path of maintaining peace and the threat of a "limited" nuclear war a means that is applicable in policy.

The point is that neither "deterrence" nor the threat of a "limited nuclear conflict" can impose a political will on the other side and force it to alter the social system accepted by the peoples. But they are capable of leading to a real increase in tension and increasing the danger of the outbreak of conflicts.



To avoid such a dangerous development, it is essential to put the accent not on "deterrence" but on detente and to base military policy not on threats but on such factors as the preservation of peace as the highest goal, prevention of wars and conflicts, clarity and stability of political activity, sober-mindedness in an evaluation of real dangers, restraint in arms development, maintenance of a balance of forces as a condition of stability, a gradual reduction in the level of this balance, equality and equal security, an understanding of the other side's way of thinking and, what is particularly important, the consistent pursuit of military detente. The countries of the socialist community are pursuing their policy in precisely this direction.

The experience of the meetings of state figures of the European socialist and capitalist countries at the highest levels shows how much can be achieved given mutual respect of interests. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's regular meetings in the 1970's with the French president and with FRG Chancellor W. Brandt and then H. Schmidt, in the course of which the most important impetus was given to detente, might serve as an example. The experience of the last decade showed the particular significance of these meetings for East-West relations.

The Soviet Union has initiated vigorous activity to implement the Peace Program for the 1980's and is submitting important new proposals aimed at converting Europe into a continent of peace and good-neighborliness. A struggle is being waged, among other things around such problems as the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament, expansion of the zones of confidence-building measures and the creation of nuclear-free zones on the continent. At the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed the adoption of a declaration solemnly proclaiming that states and statesmen who were the first to resort to the use of nuclear weapons would be perpetrating the gravest crime against mankind. Among the Soviet initiatives are proposals on the conclusion by all the states that participated in the All-European Conference of a treaty prohibiting first use against another of both nuclear and conventional arms, on the non-extension of the circle of participants in military-political groupings in Europe and a number of others. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed in response to a question from the Greek newspaper TA NEA, the Soviet Union will never use nuclear weapons against countries that renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have such weapons on their territory. The Soviet Union is ready at any time to conclude a special agreement with any nonnuclear country.

Agreement has been reached with the United States on negotiations on the question of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union is ready to conduct these negotiations seriously, honestly and constructively, adhering strictly to the principle of the equality and equal security of the sides. Only this principle can ensure the success of the negotiations.

As is known, the creation of the American so-called forward-basing system is fraught with a structural imbalance of forces in favor of the United States and its NATO allies in the sides' strategic balance. The system of forward basing in West Europe is, as it were, a "second strategic potential" of the United States strengthening the first component of the "triad." But this system is not limited and is not controlled by the SALT talks, and the Soviet Union has nothing analogous to it in the proximity of American borders. This fact is also acknowledged by many specialists in the West. For example, A. Mechttersheimer, a prominent West German expert, writes: "In Europe, there is, consequently, a structural nuclear imbalance within the framework of the strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. A most important element of this imbalance on the American side is the system of forward basing, which

could strike with atomic weapons targets in the Soviet Union from airfields of West Europe and Turkey and aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean." Implementation of the NATO Council decision on the deployment of new missiles in West Europe would lead to an even further strengthening of the United States' "second strategic potential," which is uncontrolled internationally, threatening the destabilization of the political and military situation in Europe.

The Soviet Union believes that a way out of the situation could be found by way of negotiations on intermediate-range missiles, which could be conducted in direct connection with the question of the corresponding United States' forward-based nuclear missiles in Europe. The problem of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe can be settled, given good will. The Soviet Union does not intend to insist on the preservation of the entire number of missiles deployed in its western regions. It could agree to a reduction therein, but on condition, of course, that the question of implementation of the notorious NATO decision is removed from the agenda.

The history of wars and conflicts of the 20th century shows that it is necessary to take account of the approach of each state to questions of national security. It is only possible to correctly evaluate the problems of the Soviet Union's defense in Europe by viewing them on a global scale, taking into consideration the complexity of its geostrategic position along the entire length of its state border, which is more than 60,000 km. The Soviet Union's attitude to the question of medium-range weapons may be understood in this context. We can count on only part of these weapons for European defense. After all, it cannot be forgotten that even in World War II considerable armed forces of the Soviet Union were pinned to the Far East region and could not have been easily transferred to the main front of the struggle--the European front. This factor has to be taken into consideration in any serious determination of the balance of forces in Europe.

The experience of the past decade showed graphically what Europe may expect from a relaxation of tension and what is beyond its range of possibilities. The achievements of the policy of detente, as well as the actions of its opponents from the antidetente camp, are inscribed in the surrounding world such as it is. Neither detente nor antidetente can to any extent change the effect of the objective laws of social development and abolish the class struggle and revolutionary social changes.

And, in addition, it is very important to recognize and perceive the European cultural-historical community. This is a further aspect of European history, which is saturated not only with conflicts and wars but also the mutual influence of cultures, which contributed to the flight of creative genius that has brought human civilization to its present level. And today European culture, viewed as a single whole and tracing its origins back to ancient times, possesses a sometimes disparaged but, nonetheless real, colossal potential for uniting the peoples of the continent.

There is no doubt that deep-lying class, economic, social and other processes will take their normal course in Europe. They will incessantly give rise to increasingly new problems, which cannot be avoided and from which it is impossible, in particular, to isolate the problem of the continent's peaceful future. But this cannot and should not entail some rigid tying of detente policy to these problems. There is always a great multitude of such problems, and it would hardly be displaying state wisdom to periodically fish out those that give rise to the temptation to in some way encroach on the partner through detente and cooperation.

From our viewpoint, it is mistaken to view the world at the beginning of the 1980's full of pessimism. The experience of the postwar decades convincingly confirms that war can be prevented and that detente is capable of getting a "second wind." The international situation could, as Europeans know full well, be better or worse. But it is very important not to depart from the correct path and to strive persistently for a reduction in the level of tension and for the preservation of detente and its further development. In the present situation, circumspection and due consideration and at the same time bold efforts in the name of peace and the future of European civilization are needed more than ever.

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N. G. CHERNYSHEVSKIY: ALONG THE ROAD TO A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

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[Article by I. Pantin and Ye. Plimak]

[Text] As Mignet, the French historian, justly pointed out "...To be born great is not enough. One must be born at the right time." Such was the case with Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevskiy, who was assigned in life an enviable yet difficult role. This leader of the Raznochintsy revolutionaries and continuer of the liberation tradition initiated by A. N. Radishchev, V. G. Belinskiy and A. I. Herzen was active at a turning point in Russian 19th century history -- the age of the 1861 peasant reform -- when the most tangled knot of contradictions in the country's social life was being tied, its fate was being determined for decades ahead and the question of "What Is To Be Done?" which faced its progressive forces was taking shape.

The awakening and direction of the theoretical searching by this revolutionary were triggered by the extremely grave "Russian problems" of how to renovate the fatherland's social structure, emancipate the people, awaken the peasant masses to the struggle and protect "the simple people" from the calamities of capitalism. Nevertheless, had Chernyshevskiy limited himself to Russia alone, he would never have accomplished what he did as a social philosopher and particularly as a theorist of the revolution. Ever since the American and French revolutions, close study of the experience of progressive Western countries and steady efforts to draw from it lessons which would benefit their own country had become a tradition for the members of progressive Russian society. Naturally, comparisons between a less developed and a more advanced social object caused difficulties. Furthermore, the very development of the countries which had pushed ahead created extremely complex problems.

According to Chernyshevskiy, "Russian history can be understood only in the context of world history. It is no more than one variant of the same forces and phenomena found in world history" (VII, 268).<sup>1</sup> It was world history precisely which suggested to him the truth that there had not been a single "successful" reform instituted "from above" by absolutism during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Even before tsarism had undertaken the practical formulation of the reform, in his famous

<sup>1</sup>Here and subsequently see N. G. Chernyshevskiy, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy [Complete Collected Works], in 15 volumes, Moscow, 1939-1950. Volume 16 (supplement), Moscow, 1953. Volume and page numbers are indicated in Roman and Arabic figures respectively.



"Lessing," Chernyshevskiy had formulated his antiliberal credo: the essence of the matter rested in the "stupid mechanism" rather than replacing those who controlled it. "The only enduring good is not that which depends on random individuals but that based on the independent institutions and activities of a nation" (IV, 37-38). During the period of the reform in Russia matters did not reach the point of "independent activities of the nation...."

The year the reform was passed, the misled peasantry rose to the struggle, urged on by the Raznochintsy in the cities. However, what made the 1859-1861 revolutionary situation in Russia peculiar was that precisely when the "lower bottoms" were beginning to stir, the "tops" were already coming out of the crisis created by the Crimean War and were beginning to surmount its consequences. The spontaneous and uncoordinated peasant uprisings of 1861 were easily suppressed and the students pacified. Repressive measures devastated the ranks of the revolutionaries, who, as it were, had been unable to find their way to the people

A revolutionary explosion had been postponed but remained inevitable. This Chernyshevskiy understood as he summed up the initial results of the reform in his "Letters Without Address." However, he anticipated the outcome of the "expected denouement" as mercilessly tragic: The people "do not even know our name (i.e., the name of the revolutionaries -- the author); the protest of the peasant masses will be uncontrolled and destructive" (X, 90, 92). Actually, as early as the start of 1862, Chernyshevskiy depicted the hopeless situation to which the narodniks were to find no solution over the 20 years which followed, until the appearance of Marxism in Russia.

The most complex dilemmas which faced the revolutionaries of the 1860s were not exclusively the result of Russian backwardness. Unlike Russia, the progressive countries had had periods during which they had acted independently. However, Chernyshevskiy emphasized, "Here again such activities had never been successful" although "a great deal had been changed within such short periods of noble thrust" (VI, 12). A revolution was a far more effective form of progressive movement than reformation by a monarch, but the claim that the revolutionists had fully mastered this means for the reorganization of society was totally invalid.

By destroying absolutism, eliminating feudal ways and means and resolving the agrarian problem more or less radically, the revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries were creating not the new, "sensible" and "free" social system dreamed of by their makers but a new system of exploitation. True, the proletariat appeared on the historical stage in the middle of the 19th century, in the 1848-1849 revolutions. However, this had not resulted in a change in the familiar situation in England or France.

Actual purposeful intervention in historical events required an understanding of the profound factors which influenced social progress and their most complex ties with "superficial" factors, and an interpretation of the role played by the various constructive activities of the people. In other words, the struggle had to be continued on the basis of the new outlook.

The newly developing social science was formulating the theoretical premises for the implementation of this global task set by the classical bourgeois revolutions during

the social battles which had been fought during the previous century. Its attention was focused on the bourgeois society which was developing in Europe.

A study of the process of its establishment (particularly by historians of the Restoration) and its economic structure was undertaken (French and English utopian socialism). A comprehensive view of its development was being formulated (German philosophy). Naturally, these individual concepts were incomplete and one-sided and were not pursued to their proper conclusion. Guizot and Thierry, who saw the appearance of the "third estate" in the struggle between the aristocracy and the people, did not ascribe the division within it to the warring classes. Smith and Ricardo absolutized the system and rejected the possibility that it could be replaced by a superior one as a result of intensified social contradictions. Conversely, the transitional nature of bourgeois society was firmly supported by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. However, they firmly rejected the class struggle and blood-shedding revolutions, and their projections of the future were mainly fictional. Finally, the concept of historical development was depicted by Hegel as the movement of a self-aware Intelligence, as an "absolute idea." Feuerbach's attempts to bring philosophy down to earth, to help rid it of theology and to convert it into a "philosophy for man" also led to the abandonment of dialectics.

Initially, the results of such scientific efforts were imperfect and the revolutionists rarely turned to them. They put greater stock in fiery enthusiasm and loud fighting slogans. They suffered frequent defeats, experienced "spiritual dramas" and tragedies and kept returning to the truth which was formulated by Saint-Just as early as 1794: "...Obviously, the logic of things is leading us to results which we could not even imagine" (Saint-Just, "Discours et rapports" [Speeches and Reports], Paris, 1957, p 145).

Gradually, however, things changed. The interdependence between progress in the social sciences and success in the revolutionary struggle became apparent. In synthesizing the best among previous philosophical achievements, K. Marx and F. Engels formulated a materialistic understanding of social development as the theoretical base for revolutionary-reorganizational human activities and undertook to organize the proletariat -- a class history itself had destined to become the gravedigger of bourgeois society.

The change which had taken place in the social sciences did not become immediately apparent in Western Europe, and even less so in Russia. Chernyshevskiy himself was not familiar with scientific socialism. What was noteworthy, however, was that he too was moving in the same direction -- toward the creation of a scientific theory of revolutionary action -- and that his attention was drawn to the same theoretical sources considered by Marx and Engels.

Officially, Chernyshevskiy did not establish a scientific school of his own. His ideas rarely developed in a systematic manner. They were scattered among articles and reviews written on a great variety of occasions, distorted by the need to take censorship into consideration and formulated with deliberate simplicity. It was as though something prevented him from categorically asserting and supporting his viewpoint and separating his own from conflicting views. This "something" was an awareness of the complexity and many-faceted nature of problems the total unraveling of which he was as yet unable to accomplish, although he refused to give them a fictitious one-sided solution. Hence the wandering of his thoughts through

different noncoincidental areas, and the conflicting views and contradictions which have puzzled researchers.

Yes, Chernyshevskiy is indeed contradictory. However, as Marx has pointed out, contradictions are not always a sign of the weakness of a philosopher. They may be proof of the "wealth of vital foundations from which a theory is extracted and on which it grows" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 26, Part III, p 82). This fully applies to Chernyshevskiy. A study of his works shows the essential unity between his theoretical views and the integral nature of the stand taken by the philosopher, who, although not without contradictions, steadily progressed from the old to the new -- to a materialistic understanding of social processes. Such unity and integrity are not immediately apparent and need to be discovered.

Chernyshevskiy was a convinced supporter of the "anthropological principle" in philosophy. Anthropologism runs throughout his theoretical elaborations, be they in the areas of history, political economy or socialism. According to him, there could be no knowledge of society without knowledge of the "nature" of people: "He who does not want to know people does not want to know the truth, does not want to think" (IV, 775). Chernyshevskiy never betrayed this research principle he borrowed from Feuerbach.

However, to be a student hardly means simply to repeat what the teacher says. Having started his work entitled "The Anthropological Principle in Philosophy" with the idea of man as a "separate individual" endowed with features such as love of self and egotism, Chernyshevskiy moved on to topics which were of no interest to the German philosopher: the concentration of wealth, force and power in the hands of some individuals. One more decisive step was taken toward the creation of a social science: the boundaries of the "knowledge of morality" which interested Feuerbach were substantially expanded with the inclusion of political economy and politics (VII, 255, 268, 283, 292). True, the new was still side by side with the old. Chernyshevskiy believed that wealth and power -- "the means for influencing the fate of others" -- were "extraneous to the human organism." He had not realized that boundless thirst for wealth and unbridled love of power had already become features of the "nature" of man in a class society. Naturally, his claim that wealth and power cause society "far more harm than good" was but a poor and inaccurate description of the antagonistic nature of progress. Nevertheless, the Rubicon had been crossed. The importance of the study of established factors had been realized. This study became the principal mental vector based on the Hegelian principle that science recognizes only one system suited to all areas of mental activity: the genetic system (XII, 172).

"Anthropological philosophy" also contributed to progress in the new direction. Feuerbach himself was familiar with the permanent presence of individual "egotism" in family, corporate, communal, group, patriotic and other egotisms, i.e., in "social egotism." As V. I. Lenin wrote, Chernyshevskiy developed this "embryo of historical materialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 29, p 57). He not only determined the tendency of group or caste interests to rise above those of society (XV, 23-24) but became aware of the conflict between the aspirations of large groups of people occupying different positions in the social production system, such as "rent interests," "profit interests" and "wage interests." It became necessary to eliminate this conflict (IX, 516). In the



tradition of Hobbs, Helvetius and Feuerbach, Chernyshevskiy declared "personal gains" to be the principal motivation for human actions, and took this as his starting point in defeating the old educational outlook. He refused to accept ideologically interpreted motivations as determinants of human actions, believing that other impulses -- material benefits and considerations -- defined the nature of the forces which moved history.

Chernyshevskiy took as his main topic the study of real people in their actual and changing circumstances, something which had never interested Feuerbach. He undertook to develop the "ideas of universal history," whose founders included Hegel, Guizot, Niebuhr and Slosser (III, 356). The idea expressed in his analysis of Guizot's work, "History of European Civilization...", on the existence of "forms" detrimental to progress, aimed at "making the working people entirely dependent on them, so as always to have the biggest share of the wealth produced through labor" (VII, 477) was not formulated with the necessary depth and completeness. A system such as feudalism was described as merely the result of conquest and denounced as being adverse to progress. However, the idea of the subordination of labor and the appropriation of its results as the meaning of "civilization" was profound and fruitful. The philosopher clearly saw the evolution of labor through history: "forced," "obligatory," and "hired." His interpretation of this evolution became increasingly materialistic.

Chernyshevskiy related the higher stages of historical development -- the transition to hired labor and its disappearance in the future -- to industrial production: "Machines do not tolerate slave labor;" and "A trend which conflicts with the unlimited right to private property is becoming increasingly strong in the area of huge enterprises." A summation of tremendous importance appears: "If the nature of production processes were to change, so inevitably would that of labor.... Consequently, there is no reason to worry about the future of labor...." All in all, progress leads to the recreation of the ancient communal system, but on a new basis (II, 295; IX, 220, 222, 902).

The philosopher realized that the appearance of forced labor in the history of mankind is the simultaneous manifestation of classes and people "in a special position" relative to the others (XVI, 555, 556). He tried to clarify the laws of the class struggle.

"The general course of historical progress is a widening circle. It begins with the leading social classes and reaches the lower popular strata very slowly" (III, 645). "Progress reduces the force of inequality" (IX, 513). The "strictly political element" in the struggle could be noted in Athens; in Rome there was "a far greater admixture of economic elements;" feudalism was the result of "conquest" and was "maintained through force;" in modern times, "political forms have no intrinsic importance, but are important only in terms of their attitude toward the economic aspect of the matter" (VII, 31, 477). These general concepts do not provide a sufficiently complete and accurate description of the process. What is noteworthy, however, is the tendency to define the specifics of the class struggle during various historical periods. He accurately notes that the element of noneconomic coercion played a substantially more important role in prebourgeois society, during the early stages of civilization.



All in all, "in the new world the development process is not only broader and deeper but also far more complex than in classical antiquity." Its essence is described in terms of a formula which, although not strictly accurate terminologically, is essentially correct: "As we have seen, rent interests conflict with profit and wage interests combined.... We have seen that profit interests conflict with wage interests. The moment the capitalist and the working strata gain the upper hand over the rent-earning stratum, the struggle between the middle stratum and the people becomes the main content of the country's history" (VII, 31; IX, 516). The trend toward a compromise between the "aristocracy," which is leaving the stage of history, and the "middle stratum," and conversely the irreconcilability between the interests of "the middle stratum and the workers" is clearly shown (VII, 32, 39).

In his overall interpretation of the nature of historical progress, Chernyshevskiy defended the idea of its insurmountability, complexity, uneven development, difficulty and tremendous cost.

He considered the course of progress also within the framework of the conventional educational dichotomy -- the interaction between knowledge and ignorance -- and the interaction between "inquisitiveness" and "labor," on the one hand, and some kind of adverse "forms" prevailing over labor. He expressed the idea of the need for "more direct means" of change rather than education, formulated the encouraging trends related to the expansion of industry and immediately drew the conclusion that everything "is insignificant compared to the development of the mind, which is the starting point of everything...." (IV, 841-842, 860-861; VII, 477-478, 645; IX, 197).

Such obvious contradictions conceal a profound search. Chernyshevskiy was able to see the entire variety of the factors in progress and to realize that in real history the importance of their role can change. However, he also sensed the existence of stable fundamental factors. This led to synthesizing formulas, the most profound among which are the primacy of "labor and means of material existence," the "economic laws which govern social life," and the secondary nature of "mental," including "political," development (III, 180, 356-357; X, 441). The old concepts of "education" and "anthropological materialism" are not excluded from but become part of the new definitions, as important although reinterpreted aspects.

He started work on the dialectics of the correlation between theory and practice in human activity, which was generally unrelated to education (III, 207, 238; IV, 293, 746; V, 577; IX, 269, 461-464) and defined the role of "knowledge" in history, as the "nature" of man became increasingly part of history. From a hint of the definition of "man developed by civilization," found in his early works, the philosopher quite systematically reached the conclusion in later works that "If I undertake this project, I am obligated to develop the human in man" (II, 616; XII, 28).

The basic thesis of Feuerbach's materialism, which called for setting man on his feet and finding the means during his earthly life for attaining the aspiration to happiness inherent in his character, was given a new interpretation within the context of Chernyshevskiy's views. It became a question of eliminating social (economic above all) obstacles blocking the individual's mastering of his own nature, obstacles which had existed in a specific historical aspect. Therefore, the main question in Chernyshevskiy's anthropological theory as to "why relations

among people could not be consistent with the needs of human nature" (IX, 334) led directly to criticism of the bourgeois economic system.

As an economist and critic of capitalism, Chernyshevskiy clearly realized that a theoretical voyage beyond the horizon of the bourgeois system was impossible without a critical reinterpretation of classical political economy. He followed the current of socialist thinking (Owen, the Ricardian socialists) which, as Marx pointed out, "either becomes a viewpoint in bourgeois political economy or wages a struggle against it on the basis of its own specific viewpoint" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, Part I, p 347).

Although he valued the scientific discoveries of the leading lights of the classical school highly, Chernyshevskiy firmly emphasized the class limitations of Smith's and Ricardo's theory, "a theory which expresses the views and interests of capitalists" (VII, 37). According to him, the classical political economists (not to mention their vulgar followers such as Bastia and Say) based their views on national wealth, production effectiveness and the demographic laws on the distribution of wealth and productive capital in bourgeois society advantageous to the "middle" and partially to the "higher" strata. Not even a mention was made of any kind of historical base for such relations, for the "principle of rivalry," the "private system," based on "economic reckoning," was considered the ideal social structure (IX, 413).

The Russian socialist did not deny the historically progressive nature of capitalism, which defeated medieval feudalism as well as "routine and false pride" in the rapidly developing "production in the country." However, he refused to acknowledge the "normalcy" of this system in the light of a fact "which has now become the main booster of history everywhere:" In far richer societies there are classes "living under conditions of the greatest poverty" (IX, 35, 158, 418).

This was Chernyshevskiy's starting point in exposing the antagonistic nature of relations within the bourgeois system. Here work and only work is the producer of values. Nevertheless, a substantial share of the worker's output falls into the hands of the capitalist, for which reason "the former wants the increase and the latter the decrease and elimination of that share of the value which passes from the latter to the former" (VII, 36, 38). According to Chernyshevskiy, the capitalist buys the labor of the worker. He had not yet reached a clear understanding of the distinction between labor and manpower and consequently the origin of added value. Nevertheless, he had attempted (although incompletely) a revision of the traditional point of view. In his view, labor was a type of activity "used as a measurement of values without, however, being a value itself;" "Labor is not a product. It is no more than a productive force, a source of products" (IX, 596). In thinking about the value of such a "strange commodity" as labor, Chernyshevskiy tried to prove that under capitalist conditions the "sale and purchase of labor" are quite similar although milder forms of "slavery" (IX, 537-538). The Russian philosopher claimed that "the very principles which govern today's life interfere with the well-being of the masses" (IX, 643). He deemed it impossible to eliminate the contradictions in capitalist production methods on the basis of capitalism and even less so on the basis of its laws and definitions. Whereas Mill, the objectivist, whom Chernyshevskiy translated and whose works he discussed, acknowledged the inevitable advent of socialism but preferred to work for the reformation of capitalism, Chernyshevskiy objected to neglecting the end objective and to its separation from immediate goals: it was illogical to say one thing ("it is necessary to go to

Berlin") and do something entirely different ("but let us forget about it and go to Kazan' instead," IX, 354).

As Marx pointed out, Chernyshevskiy was able to expose the bankruptcy of bourgeois political economy in masterly fashion (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, pp 17-18). Nevertheless, the positive side of the "theory of the working people," which he pitted against the "theory of the capitalists," retained obvious traces of its origin.

The new theory was based on a simple principle: the attempt to eliminate the "inconsistency" in classical economics. On the basis of one of its aspects -- the idea that abstract conditions govern all material production -- "scientifically" developed by Smith, he pitted this principle against specific fetishistic and apologetic views on capitalist production. He "liberated" general principles from their specific form of manifestation, believing that the latter owed their appearance "not to the essential concepts of the nature of the matter but simply to external circumstances, extraneous to the matter at hand" (IX, 86). Thus the "consistent" and logical development of Smith's ideas on labor as the only producer of all value led Chernyshevskiy to the conclusion that the product must belong to the one who has produced it. From this viewpoint, "capital itself is the product of labor" (VII, 37, 41). In his view, the other postulate of the political economists, to the effect that "personal interest is the main booster of production" also reaches its full development when "the product is the possession of the one who has worked to produce it" (VII, 18-19).

Chernyshevskiy's "theory of the working people" was not scientific political economy at that point but only an approach to it. His criticism of bourgeois political economy substantially differs from that of Marx. Marx considered it important to base the criticism of bourgeois political economy on the contradictions within the capitalist system itself. The great Russian utopian socialist also based his criticism of capitalism on the principle of historicism, and the development of contradictions within that system. Nevertheless, he considered as his main problem that of exposing the discrepancy between the principles of the theory of labor value and the practice of capitalist society. He tried to prove that bourgeois political economy is unable to elaborate "a formula absolutely suited to the combination of production elements" (IX, 465).

In both his criticism of capitalist society and his substantiation of the ideal of the future, Chernyshevskiy relied on "first-rate philosophers" such as Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen (IX, 355); he appreciated Goldwin (XII, 683) and used some of Louis Blanc's elaborations in the dissemination of his ideas (IX, 355-366). However, while following the current of utopian socialism, Chernyshevskiy too a major step forward in comparison to the utopians. As a rule, in his predictions of the future he refused to go beyond the limits of the "abstract" definitions provided by the science of economics. He clearly understood the dreams and imaginary pictures of the future of his teachers -- "the first manifestations of new social aspirations" always looked more like "poetry than serious science" (VII, 156; IX, 465). We find the bright picture of his expectations in his novel "What Is To Be Done?" in the poetic "Vera Pavlovna's Fourth Dream."...

The outlines of the new society as depicted by Chernyshevskiy are the following: under socialism "labor and property will merge within the same individuals;" "the



separate classes of hired workers and those who hire them" will disappear; the "triple splitting of the product," which predominates under private ownership, will disappear; "rent," "profit" and "wage" will be concentrated "in the same hands" (VII, 21; IX, 466-467, 489). The division of labor inherent in "improved production" processes will remain. However, the chaining of the worker to "the same part of the process," which results in the "loss of the organism" of the worker will disappear (IX, 188-193). Unproductive types of labor will be eliminated and distribution will be based on the principle of "a share for each member of society, as close to the average figure as possible, based on the ratio of the mass of values to the number of members of society." Under a production system "based on consumption" and on the "accurate assessment of social forces and needs," crises will be eliminated, along with the forced loss of working time. Saved labor will be used for relaxation purposes or for any kind of new occupation (VII, 49, 56, 57; IX, 433). "The working person" will become involved in the management of all production affairs. "Nothing of any importance" will be done without his agreement (VII, 57, 61). As a whole, socialism will be the extension of civilization, "which gives the individual independence, so that he will be increasingly guided in his feelings and actions by his own motivations rather than by forms imposed from the outside" (IX, 854). The "alpha and omega of our aspirations offer full scope for the development of the personality" (IV, 328).

Chernyshevskiy's socialist theory included only the preliminary, most general outlines of the historical project which faced mankind. However, he was very specific and above all realistic in defining the ways and means of transforming reality. From this viewpoint, Chernyshevskiy's turn (as was the case with the later Marx) toward the works of Slosser, the well-known German historian, represented a natural need, although the Russian socialist basically differed with him on a number of items. It was no accident that, in publishing Slosser's "History of the 18th Century..." (which also dealt with the French revolution) and his "World History" in Russian, Chernyshevskiy systematically deleted Slosser's liberal statements.

The theoretical foundations used by Chernyshevskiy in his search for ways of changing reality are clear. The final form of exploitation relations cannot be eliminated by subjective means, based only on common welfare and love of mankind. "Facts do not yield to any kind of entreaty but only to the force of other facts" (IV, 272). All transformation plans must be based on firm foundations and related to the economic interests and political activities of "simple people." In this sense, the future victory of socialism was clear to him.

However, what appeared obvious in abstract logic and theory proved to be far from equally clear in the study of real life. A study of recent history indicated to Chernyshevskiy that in the life of nations there had been times of inspired historical work, periods when the masses rose to the struggle. It was precisely during such times that society took decisive steps forward: in the short periods of "intensive work" "nine tenths of what is known as progress" was achieved" (VI, 12-14). Immediately afterward, the philosopher emphasized that success has never been the companion of revolutionaries.

The social "substance" revealed the amazingly stubborn will and mind of the people precisely when they undertook the reorganization of their social relations most firmly. Whereas during the "usual" course of development, many decades had to



pass before the inconsistency between ideal and reality and between an idea and its execution could be detected, this was revealed in just a few months or even weeks during revolutions and times when the political arena was invaded by the masses and their leaders, and periods of tremendous, rapid expansion in the scope and forms of human practical activity.

It was the clarification of this paradoxical manifestation of historical progress in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions that interested Chernyshevskiy most of all. Why did the brief success of the masses clear the way for the rule of the new exploiting system? What determined the mysterious cyclical nature of political systems in a revolutionary period and the "eternal changes in the dominant moods of public opinion?" Why was it that both convinced progressives and reactionaries "supported moderate parties equally?" (VI, 12-15; VII, 671; IX, 252-254).

The formulation of these questions led Chernyshevskiy to think about the role of the masses in the historical process and the interaction between masses and leaders. He saw the tremendous potential of popular movements and the still insignificant level of their utilization and the limited nature of revolutionary theory and practice.

The philosopher became aware of the extremely narrow outlook of the masses, who rarely noticed "the relationship between their material interests and political change," and their apathy under normal circumstances -- a narrow mindedness and inertia which had kept decaying systems and orders in power for decades. He began to realize that involving the mass in the struggle requires tremendous efforts. Even during the best revolutionary periods, such as the 1848 revolution and Garibaldi's campaign, only a few thousand people, and rarely tens of thousands among the millions, had taken part in the movement (VIII, 82-84, 312-313). The inconsistent mood of the masses involved in the revolutionary struggle had to be added to this, as had been the case in France in 1789-1795 (VI, 416).

On the other hand, movements were frequently led by people who had more enthusiasm than insight, or simply by "progressive fools." Reorganizers clearly set out to work "ahead of their time." They were "impatient, indecisive and gullible." Not only moderates but even radicals frequently made unnatural alliances with reactionaries. Most revolutionaries were afraid to include in their programs "the type of changes needed by the masses," such as "agrarian reform." Frequently, "because of their inexperience and naivete, politically ignorant people became toys in the hands of schemers;" "swindlers" dragged people working together into "a morass;" "most frequently, it was trust in knaves that led to the failure of good projects" (VI, 339, 369, 370; VII, 785; XIII, 55, 106, 218; XIV, 550).

Although Chernyshevskiy's study of social problems was still occasionally abstract, elements of concreteness, historicism and a class approach were becoming increasingly clear. Thus, in "Capital and Labor" he reached a basic conclusion on the reasons for the failure of recent popular movements: "So far, in political matters the people have been a mere tool of the middle and upper classes in the struggle between them. They have had no consistently independent position in political history." A change for the better had been made only in England, where starting with the middle of the 19th century, "workers have organized huge unions for independent action in political and particularly in economic matters." Their practice is "quite consistent with the theories which the French describe as communist" (VII, 35, 39). His comments on Mills reveal another most important

fact: the bourgeois narrow-mindedness of "the overwhelming majority of revolutionists" who participated in the 1848 events (IX, 348-349). Another clearly noted trend adverse to the outcome of bourgeoisified military-bureaucratic systems was the "mechanistic nature of their petty actions" (VI, 21). Chernyshevskiy's study of the ascent to power of Louis Napoleon in his survey titled "Politics" is of a lesser quality than Marx's "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire. However, what is significant is the approach of the Russian revolutionist to the problem of the state and revolution.

Socially independent activities and the making of necessary changes by the state were impossible within the framework of the old absolutist and new Bonapartist systems. It was precisely on the basis of this fact that Chernyshevskiy concluded that revolutions or rather revolutionary cycles were needed. He realized that the revolutionary method of making historical changes involves inevitable costs: "Much is lost in the process of wrecking and much disappears because of the violence;" revolutionary crises are very costly to both the liquidators and the liquidated." However, he firmly objected to the use of this argument in defense of obsolete institutions (IX, 390-391; XI, 233).

It is true that during his life time representative bourgeois systems did exist. The philosopher formulated criteria for their evaluation based not on the "formal participation" of people in "formal administrative actions" but on the "real importance" of people in real social life (VII, 402); he tried to determine the possibilities of the historical movement within the framework of these forms which, as he said, replaced "primitive" means of resolving conflicts with a "correct and peaceful solution" (VIII, 519). Given a choice of methods, the Russian revolutionist unquestionably preferred "peaceful" improvements to violent ones, as a result of which "all known social needs triumph peacefully, through legal demands and discussions" (IV, 404, 495; XIII, 244). However, what sets Chernyshevskiy apart from the liberal supporters of bourgeois parliamentarianism is his emphasis on the extreme unreliability and limitations of such a method of historical change. Bourgeois parliamentary procedure is still not the kind of political system which ensures the rapid and total satisfaction of the demands of the masses; the real power remains in the hands of the old parties which represent the ruling strata. Here again, the nonparliamentary actions of the masses, which sometimes reach a boiling point, are the levers of progress (VI, 90-91, 98).

His complex and incomplete concept of progress developed gradually. Historical results more or less favorable to the people are achieved, he thought, through a series of "brief periods of intensive work" -- through revolutions. Although each revolution moves society considerably forward it does not yield the results sought by the revolutionaries. It is followed by a decline, long stagnation and reaction. In turn, however, the reaction unwittingly prepares for the advent of a new round of revolutions, when according to the law of the "physical change of generations," people "whose strength has not been sapped by participation in previous events" grow up (VI, 13, 15-16). This occurs until parliamentary forms have been established, which provide opportunities for social activity, even if limited, and until socialist forms have been established in the even more distant future. As we can see, Chernyshevskiy envisaged the advent of socialism as the result of a cyclical and rather lengthy process: "Was the Roman Empire brought down with a single stroke or two?" (IX, 832-833). Furthermore, success in the struggle is largely determined by the appearance of politicians who "seek help for their undertakings in the

independent activities of the popular masses" (IV, 71). Nevertheless, the main prerequisite for success is the conscious participation of the working people in the revolutionary movement; for the time being, "it is only the vanguard of the people -- the middle stratum -- which is beginning to be active on the political stage. The main mass has not taken up this project as yet and its dense columns are still only approaching the field of historical activity" (VII, 666).

The Russian philosopher faced yet another most difficult problem: finding a national way of development within the general movement toward socialism. On the one hand, there was exceptional backwardness and an obsolete autocratic mechanism which made revolution inevitable. On the other, the onslaught of the revolution was hindered by the ignorance of the masses, which were slumbering in "deep lethargy" (V, 694).

Nevertheless, Chernyshevskiy tried to find support for accelerating the historical progress in some elements in the backward Russian social structure. True, most frequently on the purely abstract and logical level, he raised the question of the conversion of Russian society from the lower to the higher development stage, bypassing intermediary forms or curtailing them to a minimum. Along with Herzen, Chernyshevskiy became the founder of Russian populism, of Russian peasant socialism.

In developing this theory, Chernyshevskiy did not revise his sociopsychological concept. He considered the community an unquestionably archaic element being destroyed by the march of civilization. Russia was "entering a period of economic development in which capital is used in economic production;" this precisely was the guarantee of the great changes awaiting it (IV, 304). However, since the existence of communes in the country was a fact, it had to be taken into consideration. Therefore, Chernyshevskiy concluded that the community could ease the birth pains of the new society and that the protection of the "farmer mass against proletarianization" was possible under the development at that time of the "economic movement in Western Europe," the essence of which was conversion to large-scale machine output through associations (IV, 307, 341).

We now know that the specific form of noncapitalist development suggested by Chernyshevskiy proved to be utopian. If the community was to become an element in socialist reorganization, this could only be accomplished by eliminating "nefarious influences" and above all by combining the democratic revolution in Russia with the proletarian revolution in the West. That is how the founders of scientific communism formulated the problem (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 35, p 137; Vol 19, p 305). This did not happen. Naturally, we must not underestimate Chernyshevskiy's attempt at finding a shorter path toward the development of superior forms of civilization in a way consistent with the interests of the masses. In present-day terminology this means that he formulated the most important theoretical and practical problem of "interform" interaction. This problem took on new aspects and topicality in the 20th century, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, when formerly dependent and colonial countries with a largely archaic socioeconomic system chose the path of independent development.

Let us note another essential feature: the propaganda campaign in favor of communal socialism which Chernyshevskiy actively conducted during the 1850s. Subsequently, his interest in this problem waned and we find no hint of communal socialism in his novel "What Is To Be Done?" which he wrote during his incarceration in the



Petrovavlovsk Fortress. However, the work showed a glimmer of a new approach to social problems.

Starting with an "innocent" family plot, the writer skillfully leads the reader to most important "political problems," and shares with him a great number of ideas such as the development of the "new people," the socialist reorganization of society and the creation of a revolutionary organization which can lead the people in the struggle for a new life. The writer deserves great credit for creating the character of Rakhmetov -- an informed, dedicated, unyielding professional revolutionist loyal to the people, who is the opposite of the revolutionary dreamers and the cunning down-to-earth revolution makers. The author of this superficially romantic novel was able to depict the greatest difficulties in the revolutionary struggle. The outcome of the tragic situation in which the characters are frequently "chased off the stage" even after a lucky "change of scene," was obviously related to their turning to "factory matters" (XI,193-195, 326-336).

The publication of this famous novel in SOVREMENNİK (March-May 1863) was the last act in the social activities of the leader of the Raznochintsy. Tsarism was aware of the power of Chernyshevskiy's revolutionary thinking and tried to kill this great mind even while the body was still alive.

The writer paid for 10 years of journalistic work, which he continued while incarcerated, with 19 years of forced labor. Accustomed to tireless theoretical work, he became exhausted in Siberian exile. In order to preserve his sanity he wrote incessantly, destroying what he wrote (some of his works reached subsequent generations, but only "Prologue," an incomplete novel, has come down to us). In Vilyuysk, separated from the world by the endless tayga, he rejected the suggestion by the authorities that he ask for a pardon: "I believe that I was exiled only because my head and that of gendarme chief Shuvalov are different. Can one ask to be pardoned for this?" ("N. G. Chernyshevskiy v Vospominaniyakh Sovremennikov" [N. G. Chernyshevskiy as Remembered by His Contemporaries]. In two volumes. Vol II, Saratov, 1959, p 196). However, his physical and spiritual strength was waning. Kept under police supervision, first in Astrakhan' and then in Saratov, he stopped participating in the social struggle.

The cause to which the great revolutionist dedicated his life was continued by his students and followers. Problems which were insurmountable on the level of the Raznochintsy revolutionary awareness and organization began to be resolved, in the final account, on the level of the proletarian revolution, to the advent of which Chernyshevskiy had contributed so much.

We consider Chernyshevskiy our contemporary above all because of his sociological and political realism, his aspiration to reach the truth "whatever it may be" (V, 505), his rule of "always assuming what is the least favorable to progress in any crisis" (VI, 49) and our recognition not only of the tremendous importance of his ability "to get to work," but of his "impeccable honesty," necessary in this same revolutionary matter, and his search for a way to humanize social relations.

In recent decades researchers have looked at Chernyshevskiy's "Eastern tales," written in exile, such as "The Helm to the Helmsman" and "Sign in Blood." In the latter story, the writer describes a Book Burner, a person who has decided to put an end to the poverty of the masses. He has invented an omnipotent machine which can



do anything and can do it free. However, someone makes off with the blueprints of the wonderful machine and uses them to make gigantic bombs of "100,000 poods each." In this manner, a machine which was to serve mankind becomes the true curse of the nations: "Woe to the country on which this bomb will be used!" (XVI, 343). We may recall that the character in Chernyshevskiy's novel "What Is To Be Done?" spends his time, apart from his daily clandestine occupations, on some sort of "universal-historical" problem -- the problem of blending madness with intelligence" in all human affairs (XI, 197). As we can see, even then Chernyshevskiy was concerned with problems quite common to us: the misuse of scientific and technical achievements threatening to the people, and the need for a change in the nature of social thinking itself.

Chernyshevskiy expressed the essence of his approach to human transforming efforts in his famous formula: "The path of history is not the sidewalk on Nevskiy Prospekt..." (VII, 923). Both Marx and Lenin were familiar with and appreciated this formula. It is a formula which has retained its full significance to this day, when the forces of social progress have increased tremendously and when the conditions of their struggle have become vastly more complex.

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DOSTOYEVSKIY -- ARTIST AND THINKER

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[Article by G. Fridlender]

[Text] This year, 9 February marked the centennial of Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoyevskiy's death, and the 160th anniversary of his birth will be celebrated on 11 November.

Dostoyevskiy's work left a deep mark on world culture and continues to influence the minds and hearts of millions of people throughout the world. UNESCO proclaimed 1981 the Year of Dostoyevskiy.

The philosophical sharpness, intensity and saturation with action of Dostoyevskiy's novels and stories are in keeping with the inner tension of our century -- a century of great revolutionary change in the life of mankind, two world wars and the development under our very eyes of a social and a scientific and technical revolution, all of which are breaking down customary norms and concepts.

A heightened interest in individual and social crises was natural to Dostoyevskiy -- an interest in the latent forces which might be profoundly concealed in either, but might also explode at any moment and become a great threat to mankind unless suppressed by the human conscience and intellect, thus forming a base for new creativity. The attention which Dostoyevskiy as an artist paid to the destructive internal forces which dozed beneath the deceptive cover of the order and seeming "good looks" of a class, aristocratic and bourgeois society, the tragic nature of which went undetected by writers who were his contemporaries, made his works particularly topical in the 20th century, when under Western imperialist conditions the customary foundations of the old and peaceful life of the ruling classes trembled and the old apparent "order" was replaced by chaos, tragic nonsense and the reign of the "absurd," as noted bourgeois ideologists have honestly admitted.

A raznochinets in terms of social self-awareness, Dostoyevskiy reflected in his works the complex and conflicting world of the ideas and feelings of the "intermediate classes" (V. I. Lenin), those of the intelligentsia, government officials and in general the urban nonproletarian population in tsarist Russia in particular, describing not only their dreams, hopes and rebellious outbursts, but also the typical conservative illusions created by their petit-bourgeois way of life.

Following in the footsteps of D. Merezhkovskiy, N. Berdyayev and other critic-idealists of the turn of the 20th century, many Western students of Dostoyevskiy still claim that the main problems discussed in his works are abstract and metaphysical and only slightly if at all related to the study of the real specific historical problems of social and political life.

Echoes of a nonhistorical, nonclass and deliberately objectivistic approach to the interpretation of Dostoyevskiy's ideological and artistic legacy are also found in the works of some Soviet philosophers and literary critics who, in violation of the tenets of Marxist-Leninist methodology, firmly "ignore" the weak aspects of Dostoyevskiy's work. We are amazed by their long dissertations on the "Christian nature," morality and "conciliarism" which they regard as Dostoyevskiy's main spiritual legacy, on the "progressive nature" of Russian orthodoxy, which is alleged to blend with "the idea of people," and so on and so forth. Such a profoundly erroneous interpretation clashes with the novelist's entire work.

Dostoyevskiy's life and work are an amazing tangle of contradictions. A passionate denouncer of social injustice, who began life under the influence of the ideas of Belinskiy and the social utopians of the 1840s, Dostoyevskiy later, by his own admission, experienced the complex and tragic process of the degeneration of his beliefs. In the 1860s, he openly opposed Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov and the other Russian revolutionary democrats. Innate love of democracy, people and homeland coexisted conflictingly in him with senseless appeals to "higher ups" and a reactionary idealization of the corrupt tsarist monarchy and orthodox church. For this reason, we must not equate his literary works with his political and religious philosophy. Whereas his novels and stories reflected the complexity of life in its sharp and contradictory aspects, as a philosopher, publicist and moralist Dostoyevskiy frequently acted on the basis of prejudiced ideas and concepts unrelated to real life. Furthermore, these abstract concepts occasionally invaded the very fabric of his artistic works, in which brilliant discoveries and fine talent in sensing the social truth coexisted with reactionary idealistic schemes.

Personality features largely explain these striking contradictions in the outlook of this Russian writer: Dostoyevskiy suffered from a life-long nervous affliction. He had a hot-tempered, impetuous and passionate nature, equally unrestrainable in irrational love and equally irrational hatred. However, an interpretation of his works on the basis of his subjective features alone, such as was practiced by many of his contemporaries and subsequently and steadily by bourgeois writers and critics, would be extremely naive. Regardless of the nature of Dostoyevskiy's physical and mental condition, the contradictions in his works were mainly the result of objective circumstances, of the transitional period in Russian and Western European social reality in which he lived and worked.

Dostoyevskiy's sickness could not prevail over his outstanding personality. His entire life, filled with tireless work and deep thoughts on the present and future of mankind, was totally dedicated to literature. Despite the painful consequences of his poor health, which steadily eroded his strength and frequently deprived him of his memory and ability to work for weeks and months, triggering in him raving fits of malice, irritability and unfair attacks on ideological enemies (for which reason many of his letters generate violent feelings of repulsion even today), he

remained a creative artist who greatly enhanced the social and psychological study of the ills of European bourgeois civilization and of his society. This was what put his works among the masterpieces of Russian and world realistic art.

As the son of a physician in a Moscow hospital for the poor, Dostoyevskiy considered himself a lifelong "proletarian literary worker" (F. M. Dostoyevskiy, "Pis'ma" [Letters]. In four volumes. Vol I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928, p 333). His great desire to help those who were, like him, "insulted and injured" led him into joining the Petrashev Society in his youth. He found himself in its extreme-left wing as a result of becoming a member of the Speshnev circle, the end objective of which was "a coup d'etat in Russia" (F. M. Dostoyevskiy, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works]. In 30 volumes. Vol XVIII, Nauka, Leningrad, 1978, p 194). For this act, Dostoyevskiy was sentenced by the government of Nicholas I to death by firing squad, in 1849 -- a sentence which was subsequently commuted to 4 years at hard labor. The prisoner was informed of the commutation of the death penalty only after he had been taken to the Semenovskiy Square in Petersburg and he kept blindfolded for several minutes awaiting his execution, something he was to remember a lifetime. This refined psychological torture, which Nicholas I had invented with a view to smashing the Petrashevs, strengthened the writer's eternal hatred of all cruelty, violence and arbitrary action.

"...No person has the right to turn away from and ignore what takes place on this earth," Dostoyevskiy wrote ("Pis'ma," Vol II, 1930, p 274). It was precisely on this, "what takes place on this earth," the study of the problems he was faced with in this period of change in Russian life in the 1840s-1870s and the social and political development of the bourgeois West, that the writer concentrated in his work.

In characterizing the legacy of the Russian democratic enlighteners of the 1840s-1860s, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the main problem which faced the leading representatives of the progressive literature of the period was the struggle against serfdom and its manifestations in the country's political, cultural and social life. From the very beginning of his literary career, Dostoyevskiy concentrated mainly on determining the potential strength and possibilities of the "little man," whose liberation was strongly supported by progressive literature in the 1840s. It was this factor which determined the nature of his work in the middle of the 19th century. Was the elimination of the old serfdom order and institutions sufficient for the building of a new and just society? Could it be that the future of mankind was not threatened merely by its entanglement in the ways of serfdom but also by the bourgeois society which had already been established in the West? These were the questions which Dostoyevskiy began to consider at an early age, guided by practical experience. The result was that no one was able to present the destructive trend of bourgeois individual freedom in such tragic depth better than Dostoyevskiy.

The writer soon realized that the ordinary daily life of the gentry and the bourgeois society created something worse than material poverty and rightlessness. It was supplemented by a variety of fantastic "ideas" and ideological illusions in the minds of the people -- the "Ideals of Sodom" -- which were as oppressive, stultifying and nightmarish as the external, visible side of life. Dostoyevskiy's concentration on this "fantastic" side of life in a big city led him to blend in his novels and stories the sparing and precise images of the "prosaic" reality of the



bourgeois world with the dramatic study of its social tragedy, philosophical range of characters and profound penetration into the "depths of the human soul."

The concept that the most terrible insult to man is scorn for his personality, which makes him feel like an insignificant "rag" trampled by dirty feet, was displayed with tremendous force in Dostoyevskiy's very first works -- the novel "Poor People" (1845), which was enthusiastically welcomed by Belinskiy, and "The Double," a poem about Petersburg (1846). However, as Dostoyevskiy proved, a person with a maimed personality frequently is a tangle of amazing contradictions himself. A corroding, smarting feeling of personal insult can not only develop, in the soul of a "little man" in a big city, into hatred for his oppressors, but can also create in him a tendency toward social idiocy, power-lusting "Napoleonic" or "Rothschildian" dreams and vengeful thrusts of wild hatred which sweeps away everything standing in his way. At this point, the seemingly peaceful and meek "little man" can become a tyrant and a despot, a great danger to society.

After serving a 4-year term in the Omsk stockade and the balance of his period of exile in the army in Semipalatinsk, as ordered by the court, Dostoyevskiy was able to return to Petersburg 10 years after the sentencing. This was in October 1859. It was then that he was reborn as a writer. In the 1860s, he wrote one work after another, which made him one of the geniuses of the Russian and world classics: "The House of the Dead," an impassionate exposure of tsarist hard labor, but also an expression of the writer's great love for people's Russia (1860-1862); the novels "The Insulted and the Injured" (1861), "Crime and Punishment" (1866), "The Idiot" (1868), "The Possessed" (1871-1872), "A Raw Youth" (1875) and "The Brothers Karamazov" (1879-1880); the novella "Notes From the Underground" (1864); the short story "A Gentle Creature" (1876), and others.

Dostoyevskiy's breadth of creativity and taut treatment of social and philosophical problems reached their peak in the novels he wrote in the 1860s and 1870s. Through them the writer acted as a critic and denouncer of bourgeois individualism. He gave this basic topic of his works a tragic philosophical interpretation of particularly strong pathos and depth.

Whereas vengefulness, malice and sinister "Napoleonic" (or "Rothschildian") dreams may go totally undetected deep in the soul of the ordinary philistine and petit bourgeois, that same sinister and degenerate underground may present a vastly greater social danger if it nests not in the soul of the "little," ignored and ordinary man, but a developed, intelligent and thinking bourgeois. All of Dostoyevskiy's novels and novellas deal with the solution of this problem. There is no slag accumulated in the course of the centuries which can not rise from the bottom of the soul and there is no evil which can not trigger arbitrariness in the bourgeois personality, which frequently displays not only wild, senseless and whimsical fantasies and outbursts of irritated self-esteem, but a most cruel and unrestrained despotism toward others. Carried to its limit, the artificially inflated idea of the bourgeois freedom of the individual turns into its opposite -- arbitrariness and violence. In that distorted shape it not only destroys all normal and natural ties between individual and society, the nation and the world, but also leads to the moral destruction and degradation of that same "free" bourgeois individual.

The tragedy of the situation of the thinking characters created by the writer is that, while becoming alienated from their environment and passionately rejecting its unfairness and evil, they themselves carry the burden of the false ideas and illusions it has created. The poison of bourgeois individualism and anarchy has penetrated their minds and poisoned their blood, for which reason they are their own worst enemies. The sickness and schizoid nature of society create in them an equally sick and schizoid mind, bringing to light profoundly antisocial, immoral, sinister and destructive ideas.

Dostoyevskiy's character in "Crime and Punishment" is Raskol'nikov, a student and a raznochinets who lives in a small room and who has been expelled from the university because of poverty. Raskol'nikov has a sharp and disturbed mind. He is intolerant of any lie or falsehood, and his own poverty has opened his mind and heart wide to the suffering of millions of people. Unwilling to accept the moral foundations of a world in which the rich and the strong rule the weak and the oppressed with impunity and in which thousands of healthy young lives are perishing from poverty, Raskol'nikov murders an old, greedy and repulsive usurer. He believes that with this murder he is challenging that entire hypocritical slavish morality which has dominated people forever, according to which man is nothing but a helpless louse. However, the fact that one murder leads to another and that the same ax strikes equally at the innocent and the guilty is not enough. The horror is that the murder of the usurer brings to light the fact that Raskol'nikov himself has nurtured deep within himself the ambitious (although subconscious) dream of ruling over the "trembling creature," over "the entire human anthill." The dreamer who proudly planned to help other people by setting an example turns out to be a potential tyrant burning with secret ambition, and a threat to mankind. This tragically closes the circle of the character's thoughts and actions. The author forces Raskol'nikov to abandon his individualistic rebellion and acknowledge the disastrous nature of his "Napoleonic" dreams openly and in public.

Dostoyevskiy was among the first to sense that a rebellion against bourgeois morality by the simple expedient of turning it upside down neither does nor can bring about a rational change in the life of man and society. Subjectively, in the mouths of those who voice them, the slogans "kill," "steal," "everything is permissible" and others may be thought to strike at the hypocrisy of bourgeois society and mores. For while asking us in theory "not to kill" and "not to steal," in practice the capitalist world is raising murder and robbery to the level of an ordinary "normal" law of social life. Objectively, however, the slogan that "everything is permissible" is an apology for evil, i.e., a more aggressive form of that same bourgeois morality.

The post-reform breakdown in Russian society and his observations of the life of the petit bourgeois-raznochintsy among the urban strata made Dostoyevskiy feel the danger in the situation of these strata which yielded easily to the temptations of capitalist development and absorbed the poison of individualism and anarchy. It was in such cases that the crises in traditional morality frequently triggered in young people immoral, destructive and reactionary feelings and ideals, which were objectively bourgeois-anarchic and were accompanied by actions of protest and calls to the struggle.

One of the problems which held the writer's attention during his lifetime was what modern fiction and philosophy refer to as the problem of the "superman." Nietzsche

and the ideologs of modern philosophical irrationalism after him rejected the principles of good and justice as unnecessary and formulated the postulate of the age-old folly of human existence. According to Dostoyevskiy, it is precisely such ideas that embody the extreme "alienation" of the individual from the nation, society and mankind, from everything which is the source of a "living existence." The person who believes that he has the right to "manipulate" other people freely and with impunity, ignoring their minds and consciences, alienates himself from them by this very fact and undertakes to pit "one tenth" against the remaining "nine tenths" of mankind. That is why Dostoyevskiy rejected the old class civilization and, in the writer's view, in the final account, this expressed the profound meaning of Raskol'nikov's and Ivan Karamazov's tragedy.

The study of the crises in the spiritual life of the bourgeois and the criticism of individualism and anarchy in Dostoyevskiy's novels remain equally pertinent today. Nevertheless, the particular turn he gave in his works to the tragic wanderings of the individual caught in the maelstrom of capitalist civilization was extremely wrong.

The period of capitalist development in Russia created a great deal of social craziness, bourgeois-anarchic searching and a variety of reactionary intellectual crises in the urban petite bourgeoisie and the aristocratic and bourgeois intelligentsia. It was precisely this inseparable component of the spiritual atmosphere of his time that Dostoyevskiy the artist detected, described and analyzed with particular keenness and sensitivity. However, that same period also created, in the progressive and thinking segment of the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the desire to raze the old society based on inequality and exploitation to its foundations, and triggered in it the greatest possible dedication and courage in the struggle against autocracy, and great loyalty to the interests of the people. In

Dostoyevskiy's mind, these two historical currents fatally blended. The sinister shadow of the old class society blinded him to the greatness of the new revolutionary world which was being born under his very eyes.

That is why, while depicting the futility and destructiveness of the "rebellion" of the lone intellectual, consumed by the fire of secret ambition, Dostoyevskiy proved unable to make a historically accurate assessment of the anarcho-individualistic wanderings of the intellectual bohemian in the big cities and to depict the objective of the revolutionary idea of the socialist movement clearly and consistently. This precisely was the source of Dostoyevskiy's tragedy and the reason for the harshest conflict in his philosophical thinking, which had an unquestionable impact on the works of the writer.

The reactionary side of Dostoyevskiy's thoughts and works was manifested most clearly in "The Possessed," a work which despite all its covert and overt ideological contradictions is of great topical importance from a certain viewpoint. In this novel, Dostoyevskiy closely considered and studied the mysterious deep forms of a phenomenon particularly widespread in our century's sociopolitical life -- political reaction, which acts under a revolutionary banner regardless of the nature of the right-wing or "left-wing" slogans behind which it hides.

Nevertheless, despite the great artistic perspicacity which enabled Dostoyevskiy to see, behind the petit bourgeois anarchists and conspirators of his time such



as Bakunin, Nechayev and their followers, the dark and sinister shadows of Petr Verkhovenskiy, Shigalev and The Grand Inquisitor, in "The Possessed" he could not and was obviously unwilling to separate Nechayev-style pseudorevolutionists from the "young navigators in the storms of the future" about which Herzen had written with admiration and pride. For this, history inflicted a cruel punishment on the author of "The Possessed," by turning his novel into a symbol of political reaction in the perception of his contemporaries and subsequent Russian generations. To this day, bourgeois reactionaries and petit bourgeois in the West are trying to use Dostoyevskiy -- the author of "The Possessed" -- in the struggle against communism. However, as early as the 1870s, K. Marx drew a clear line between Bakunin's and Nechayev's petit bourgeois anarchism, relativism in politics, ethics and esthetics and vulgar barracks communism, on the one hand, and the program of the revolutionary Marxist party, free of any shade of ethical relativism and pure and noble in terms of its objectives, and political ways and means of struggle, on the other.

Dostoyevskiy, who saw the reason for the weakness and confusion of the aristocratic and bourgeois intelligentsia in its alienation from the people, warmly supported the unification of the intelligentsia with the masses. He considered as the living embodiment of democratic ideals not only peasant communal land ownership, thus sharing the error of many among his contemporaries, but the entire way of life of the Russian popular masses, which had endured despite centuries of oppression and serfdom.

In his efforts to detect in actual Russian history factors and forces which would make it possible for the homeland to develop in a different, antibourgeois direction, Dostoyevskiy felt pride in the features of the way of life, culture, mores and life stance of the various strata of the Russian population of "the lower depths." However, Dostoyevskiy's democratic outlook itself was marked by the same deep contradictions as his criticism of bourgeois individualism and arbitrariness.

Just as the writer could not perceive the distinction between anarchy and revolution and between the tragic spiritual wanderings of the alienated man, on the one hand, and the bright, noble, and dedicated revolutionary thinking focused on the people and alien to any anarchic touch, on the other, he was unable in his appeal to educated Russian society to become one with "the soil" to distinguish between truly national ideas, on the one hand, and the ideology of autocratic serf-owning Russia, on the other.

In calling upon the rich classes and the intelligentsia to accept the "people's truth," Dostoyevskiy was unable to perceive the real people and the content of this "truth" under the conditions of the intensifying class struggle in post-reform Russia. The painful socioeconomic processes which were taking place in the post-reform countryside led the peasantry to the path of ferment and mass protest and struggle against landlords and the autocracy. In the cities, the proletariat grew and shaped its political awareness and was soon to establish its own revolutionary Marxist party, to lead the working people and to mount the assault on autocracy. The writer's tragedy was not only his unwillingness to notice the great depth of such historical changes but the fact that he turned away from them deliberately throughout his entire life. Hence Dostoyevskiy's reactionary utopian appeal for a "reconciliation" between that which in reality could not be combined and reconciled -- between the ruling classes and the people, autocracy and the



people in their "gray homespun coats," or between the official dogmatic teachings of the church and the lofty ethical ideals of humanism.

As a sensitive observer of reality and an analytical artist, Dostoyevskiy felt the distressing impossibility of "reconciling" the sociohistorical and cultural-psychological contradictions in the Russian and Western European social life of his time. The more painfully he reacted to the intensification of these historical contradictions, the more passionately, persistently and urgently he appealed for a "reconciliation" among antagonistic classes and conflicting social groups and ideological currents, while dreaming of "universal harmony."

Dostoyevskiy could not understand that only the awakening of the revolutionary awareness of the people's masses and their turning to active revolutionary struggle against autocracy could allow them to say their true "new word" in Russian life, and that this "new word" should not be an expression of the people's loyalty to the old conservative, monarchic and church ideals and traditions but, conversely, a total critical reassessment and complete elimination of them.

However, Dostoyevskiy was not made of the same fabric as the ordinary self-seeking defenders of the ruling classes. In his heart, the writer had never lost his loyalty to people's Russia. In rejecting a class society in which happiness and education were the monopoly of "one tenth" of mankind, Dostoyevskiy continued to the very end of his life to dream warmly of making the entire Russian nation educated and happy and of finding the way to the "kingdom of thought and light" ("Polnoye Sobranie Khudozhestvennykh Proizvedeniy" [Complete Collected Writings]. In 13 volumes. Vol 11, Leningrad, 1929, p 173).

In his last works -- his speech on Pushkin and "The Brothers Karamazov" -- Dostoyevskiy entered into open conflict with church doctrine, according to which the world is "in a state of evil" and human happiness can never be achieved in this, but only in the next world. That is why both the speech and the novel led the zealous defenders of official church dogma to accuse the writer of "heresy" and, worse, of being directly influenced by socialist ideas.

Still, the attempt to force both himself and others to believe that "the kingdom of thought and light" could prevail in Russia without the destruction of the historically developed medieval socioeconomic order and political institutions, through the moral acceptance of the people's beliefs and truth by the tsar and "the best people" among the nobility, was the writer's gravest error. The rejection of the idea of a revolutionary change in reality and the wish to prove that the monarchy under Alexander II and the orthodox church as it existed then could be changed in accordance with the people's ideals and spirit, and once reformed would justify their historical "grounds," objectively led Dostoyevskiy into defending the domestic and foreign policy of the monarchy of serfdom and to idealizing the official church. This was understood perfectly well by Pobedonostsev, who tried to tie the author of "The Possessed" to the chariot of autocracy.

In a letter to the poet A. N. Maykov, Dostoyevskiy complained that as a man given to extremes he tended to carry each single one of his statements or position held by his characters to its extreme. This is not to say that the writer had absolute faith in his ideas or that he shared the views of his characters unequivocally. On the contrary, by his own admission in a letter to N. D. Fonvizina, "the

eagerness to believe" "became the stronger" in his soul the more he encountered "arguments to the contrary" ("Pis'ma," Vol I, 1928, p 142). Despite the wish to force himself to believe in God, Dostoyevskiy painfully realized that he was "a child of faithlessness" and that doubts concerning the truth of a religious outlook would remain in his soul "to the grave" (Ibid.). That is why today Dostoyevskiy can be considered least of all as the representative of any kind of organized and complete system of philosophical and social ideas. His greatness, as Leo Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy's brilliant contemporary, accurately perceived, lay in the questions he posed for mankind rather than the answers he tried to provide at various times, being himself aware of their unsatisfactory nature and constantly revising them in each of his novels.

In cautioning us against the tendency to defame (or idealize) Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy wrote that Dostoyevskiy died restless and unreconciled, "in the midst of the process of an inner struggle, a struggle between good and evil." According to Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy was like his main characters "all struggle" (L. N. Tolstoy, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy," in 90 volumes, Vol 63, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, p 142). This is a perfect description not only of Dostoyevskiy's personality but of the spiritual climate in the fictional world he had created, in which everything was restless and in a state of motion, dominated by controversy, struggle, passionate and a feverish and never diminishing desire for individual and social justice. The complex transitional epoch in which the writer lived, with its characteristic conflict between the old and the new and with its sharp and tense social and ideological struggle, was reflected in the constant clash of ideas in the stormy circle of the raging human passions which seethe in his novels.

The historical truth about Russia's post-reform development was not on the writer's side in his fierce debates with Chernyshevskiy, Shchedrin and later Russian revolutionists. The first Russian revolution of 1905 had already proved that the revolutionary democrats were right in believing that the people's masses in tsarist Russia had a tremendous potential of revolutionary strength and opportunities. However, these forces could mature and show themselves truly only when the peasantry and all the oppressed masses of the old Russia could be led by the proletariat, headed by a revolutionary party and armed with a scientific Marxist outlook. Thanks to the leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, the idea of a Russian revolution, which Chernyshevskiy supported, found deep historical roots in the people's soil. "...The result was that the supporters of a democratic trend in the 1861 reform, who were deliberately hostile to liberalism, and those among them who appeared isolated and lacking justification then and for a long time afterwards, proved in fact to be standing on immeasurably firmer ground once the contradictions which were in their embryonic stage in 1861 ripened," Lenin wrote when he analyzed the ideological struggle in Russia in the 1860s in the light of the lessons of the first Russian revolution ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 20, p 168).

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which inaugurated a new era in the life of Russia and all mankind, summarized the dispute between Dostoyevskiy and the revolutionists and socialists of his time fully and definitively. The people, whom the great Russian writer kept asking to involve themselves in political life, voiced their weighty historical opinion. This opinion of revolutionary truth turned out to be different from that which Dostoyevskiy expected to hear in the 1870s. His dream of the advent in Russia of the "kingdom of thought and light" and his passionate

desire to see the Russian people point the way to a bright future for all European nations and all mankind, like the dreams of other great minds of the past, became possible only as a result of the socialist revolution undertaken by the working people, headed by the working class and the communist party.

Dostoyevskiy failed to see the revolutionism of the people in the Russia of the 1860s-1870s. In the final account, this is what explains the main contradiction in his sociopolitical outlook. Nevertheless, his artistic concepts were based not on the selfish interests of the power of the rich or the dogmatic and predetermined metaphysical and moral elaborations of his present-day bourgeois interpreters, but on the specific experience of the people's life and moral search which he observed. This was the living foundation of his concerned and active, rather than contemplative, humanism, warmed by his love of man and by his pain at seeing man suffering and insulted, a humanism filled with deep hatred of the unjust class-oriented bourgeois world and the evil it creates in the human soul.

Many works have been written in the West in which Dostoyevskiy is treated as the poet of chaos, the father of the literature of the "absurd." However, Dostoyevskiy was least of all a pessimist. He looked at Russia's future with a feeling of great hope, and passionately tried to find the way to future "universal harmony" and fraternity among people and nations.

While acknowledging the profoundly abnormal system which had developed over the course of centuries in the European countries, and which inevitably led mankind to a "division" and loss of moral principles in the bourgeois age, Dostoyevskiy passionately claimed that no man has the right to remain deaf and indifferent to the suffering of another. Everything in the world is interrelated, and the pain caused one person affects someone else down the line. Hence Dostoyevskiy's opposition to the positivistic and fatalistic view of the role of "environment" which shifted the blame from man to external "circumstances," his struggle against the concept of man as a helpless "peg" (or "piano keyboard," activated by someone's hand), his call for effective aid and compassion and his desire to see a new "universal harmony" established on earth. The writer deemed it his obligation as an artist and his duty to present and future generations to help to "restore the doomed man" suppressed by "the circumstances, the stagnation of the centuries and social prejudice" ("Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy," Vol XX, 1980, p 28).

According to Dostoyevskiy, one of the main faults of a class civilization was the fact that it had been built on the blood and suffering of the people and the tears of innocent children. He condemned violence and bloodshed passionately. However, his personality was too powerful to allow the poetry of spiritual meekness, humility and suffering to make him turn a deaf ear to the stormy and rebellious thrusts of the human spirit or to hide from him the real drama of historical life in Russia and the rest of mankind. Patience and firmness in suffering are great ethical values. Nevertheless, according to Dostoyevskiy, they have their limits. There have always been (and always will be) moments in human life when patience becomes immoral and turns into support of violence and arbitrariness, thus becoming its opposite. It was the awareness of this real historical dialectics of the social and moral good and evil that determined the power with which Dostoyevskiy exposed violence and arbitrariness in his novels, the constant restlessness of the writer and his characters, and their irreconcilable hatred of any manifestation of egotism, indifference, selfishness and a consumerist attitude toward life.



An atmosphere of moral exigency, conscientiousness, a disgust caused by the absence of spirituality, egotism and cruelty, the love of the writer for Russia and the Russian people and faith in their historical future are typical of Dostoyevskiy's work. These features of his spiritual legacy gave him the power to relate to people and to awaken the minds and consciences of both his and future generations.

The communists differ from Dostoyevskiy in their views on the building of a new society in which the free development of one is a prerequisite for the free development of all. For the first time in the history of mankind, Marxism-Leninism has given us scientifically tried roads leading to the practical building of such a society. Equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the communist party was able to inspire the Soviet people and to guide their efforts to the solution of this historical problem. However, today as well, all Soviet people, who share the powerful feelings of internationalism and friendship among the peoples, also share Dostoyevskiy's faith that Russia will help other nations to find a way leading to the international fraternity of working people.

The principal ideological themes in Dostoyevskiy's novels -- the debunking of the various forms of petit bourgeois and individualistic-anarchic ideological wanderings, the artistic exposure of their social futility, and study of the reasons which can make the same person (who may be subjectively entirely selfless and honest, such as, for example, Raskol'nikov, A Raw Youth and Ivan Karamazov) object to social injustice but accept the individualistic bourgeois morality of the "superman" -- have become tremendously important today. This is because the reality of modern imperialism has greatly increased the number of evil temptations which poison the mind of the bourgeois and because of their attractiveness to the intellectual (and semi-intellectual) philistine of today as compared with Dostoyevskiy's time. Progressive world literature will keep turning to Dostoyevskiy's experience as a writer as it exposes the modern counterparts of Stavrogin, Verkhovenskiy, Shigalev, Captain Lebyadkin and Smerdyakov.

The critical study of the various types of alienation of the individual and of bourgeois arbitrary behavior, individualism and anarchy and the severe judgment which the great novelist passed on his characters sharpened the attention of literature and the arts concerning the further stages in the evolution of the bourgeois personality and its morally sick individualistic awareness. Through this side of his work, Dostoyevskiy had a tremendous impact on the development of the topic of debunking individualism in realistic literature, ranging from M. Gor'kiy, L. Leonov and other Soviet writers to T. Dreizer, F. Mauriac, Akutagava, A. Camus, T. Mann, A. Segers and W. Faulkner, and on world theater and cinematography.

Dostoyevskiy's work is so comprehensive and contradictory that in the course of the literary and social struggle of the 19th and 20th centuries, it has frequently been and still is the subject of differing and sometimes radically opposite interpretations. Virtually every philosophical and literary-esthetic current which appeared in prerevolutionary Russia and subsequently in the West after the death of the great novelist has tried to "appropriate" Dostoyevskiy or at least to claim him as its historical forefather. Numerous monographs and articles at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century depicted Dostoyevskiy as a naturalistic writer or a predecessor of symbolism. Later on, he was frequently described as an expressionist, a pre-Nietzschean and Christian philosopher, a Freudian, an existentialist, and the forefather of the literature of the "absurd." Modern



liberal professors who "trade in humaneness" (to use Dostoyevskiy's term) would like to see in him a supporter of some sort of sugary humanism which hates true freedom more than anything or fears nothing more than the hardships of the struggle for the real liberation of mankind of the kind the socialist states and the communist and workers parties throughout the world are waging today.

According to Dostoyevskiy, under the conditions of the old society, even a noble effort could result in the appearance of its base and repulsive "double" in life and art. "Dostoyevshchina," a feeling of spiritual paranoia, baseness and crime in life and art, was the distorted "double" of Dostoyevskiy himself. That is why, in the period of the reaction, Gor'kiy sharply opposed "Dostoyevshchina." In 1914, Lenin, who supported Gor'kiy's struggle against this phenomenon, condemned the "superfoul imitation of superfoul Dostoyevskiy" in V. Vinnichenko's novel ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 48, p 295), i. e. the imitation of the worst, the sick and reactionary aspects of Dostoyevskiy's works, which lacked his sharp social criticism and intolerance of evil. One of the major tasks of literature, criticism, political journalism and philology in the USSR and the other socialist countries is to fight against the bourgeois, tendentious and false nonhistorical interpretations of Dostoyevskiy's works, which take up the defense of "Dostoyevshchina" with a view to interpreting the legacy of the great Russian writer to the advantage of contemporary anticommunism.

From the very beginning of the Soviet state, guided by the Leninist doctrine of the cultural heritage, our cultural workers have paid very close attention to Dostoyevskiy's works. Dostoyevskiy's name ranked second (after that of Tolstoy) in the list of writers the Soviet government intended to honor for their contribution to Russian culture by the erection of monuments to noted revolutionists and outstanding Russian cultural leaders in Moscow and other cities in the RSFSR, on the basis of a 1918 Sovnarkom decree passed on Lenin's instructions. In 1921, Moscow and Petrograd widely celebrated the centennial of Dostoyevskiy's birth. While Berdyayev and other emigres of the 1920s were vainly trying to prove that Dostoyevskiy's works were hostile to the Russian revolution, A. V. Lunacharskiy was saying and writing that despite all of that writer's contradictions, he had never been totally able to suppress within himself the voice of the accuser, the rebel against social injustice.

After the October Revolution, Dostoyevskiy's manuscripts were carefully collected and filed in the state archives. Their systematic publication was undertaken as early as the 1920s. The beginning of the scientific and strictly historical study of his works, as opposed to the impressionistic and subjective interpretations characteristic of Russian prerevolutionary and bourgeois science was undertaken. This study followed its natural historical development, which initially included not only accomplishments but difficulties, hesitations and occasional outright errors. The creative mastery of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine helped our science to engage in a strictly objective and scientific study and interpretation of Dostoyevskiy's legacy in the postwar years. The best such works by Soviet scientists earned well-deserved international recognition.

The development of Soviet science proved most clearly that any attempt to ignore the profound and living sociohistorical aspect of Dostoyevskiy's work in the study of his writings is unpromising, for it would lead us away from the clear and simple truth of Leninism by blocking the way to the objective understanding of

Dostoyevskiy's works, not only in terms of their historical contradictions but also the tremendous charge of positive spiritual energy they contain.

Currently, the USSR Academy of Sciences is successfully completing the publication of the complete scientific edition of the entire published and manuscript legacy of Dostoyevskiy -- his fiction, journalistic articles and letters. His novels and stories are being published in large editions in all the languages of the USSR. His works are studied in school. They have been adapted for the theater, the motion pictures and television, which has made them quite popular. Every year, thousands of visitors from all parts of the Soviet Union visit the Dostoyevskiy museums in Moscow, Leningrad, Semipalatinsk and Staraya Russ.

Dostoyevskiy's patriotic belief that the kingdom of thought and light "can be established here, in our Russia, perhaps sooner than anywhere else" and that "all of our 90 million (or however many they may be) Russians" will be "educated, humanized and happy" ("Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy," Vol 11, 1929, p 173) could not be confirmed during his lifetime. A new, a people's Soviet socialist state had to come into being before the "universal responsiveness" of Russian culture, of which Dostoyevskiy wrote with such inspiration, could be fully and freely manifested. Only the socialist epoch could create the prerequisites for real fraternity among people and nations and for a rapprochement and peaceful cooperation among all countries and cultural areas on earth. Under such circumstances, not only the working people in our country and in the rest of the socialist comity but all people of good will, wherever they may be, are offered a broad opportunity to participate in the effective and practical daily struggle against all the forces which divide mankind and threaten it with self-destruction -- a struggle for the great creative synthesis of international, all-human cultural values which the great Russian writer demanded.

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## MARXIST ETHICS: UNITY OF HISTORICISM, THEORY AND NORMATIVENESS

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[Review by V. Sagatovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the VUZ textbook "Marksistskaya Etika" [Marxist Ethics]. A. I. Titarenko, general editor. Second revised and expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 352 pages]

[Text] Moral convictions are the straight basis for the moral choices which people make in all areas of life. Under the complex and dynamic conditions of contemporary life, the reasons for making one or another choice are frequently far from obvious and may become the subject of sharp ideological struggles. Although moral upbringing cannot be reduced to moral education it is inconceivable without it. Moral norms must be not only customary and mandatorily observed in ordinary behavior. We must also know why they must be observed and be able to defend the communist moral line in the theoretical and practical struggle against those who make their choices on a different basis.

It is very important in the teaching and propaganda of Marxist ethics to have a textbook which closely combines theoretical-methodological foundations consistent with the contemporary level of development of Marxist science, party and problem mindedness, with an orientation toward the real phenomena of contemporary moral life. The book under review meets these stipulations, for which reason the fact that it has come out in a second edition comes as no surprise.

The authors proceed from the fact that Marxist-Leninist ethics is a combination of three features: the specific-historical, the general theoretical and the normative. This means first of all that ethics is not an abstract system of nonhistorical principles and norms but that it must be based on the study of the actual condition of morality in its historical development and that it must try to find the sociohistorical, the class meaning of current mores. Secondly, however, historicism in which the description of a phenomenon is raised to the level of understanding presumes the theoretical substantiation of the specific and essential nature of morality and its place in the life of society and the individual and its structures and functions, i.e., a theoretical summation of the entire preceding development of morality. Thirdly, ethics must not only describe and understand morality but formulate the norms and moral prescriptions which stem from historical analysis and theoretical substantiation with scientific clarity. The absolutizing of each one of these aspects may lead either to the extremes of empiricism (description for its own sake), systems development (system for its own sake) or dogmatic moralizing

(imposition of unsubstantiated norms). The authors have been able to avoid such absolutizing and to find the proper balance in combining these various aspects.

A noteworthy feature of the textbook is the planned sequence in the presentation of the material. The first three chapters deal with the subject of ethics in its historical development, the specific nature of Marxist ethics, the problem of the sociohistorical foundation of morality and its features at each historical stage of social development. This general theoretical and historical introduction prepares the ground for the study of the nature, specific features, structure and functions of morality, which are discussed in chapter four. The initial general "model" of morality presented here is concretized in the fifth and sixth chapters in two directions: the system of morality in its dynamics, depicting its role as a regulator of moral behavior (when it becomes a question of problems of moral choice) and a description of the correlation between morality and man's ideas on the meaning of life and happiness. In other words, it is moved from the area of social functions to that of individual acceptance.

Once we become familiar with the structure of morality in action and in terms of the needs of the individual, we can substantiate the moral principles of socialism and communism. This subject is discussed in chapter seven. Normative requirements must be compared with reality, however, and chapter eight offers an analysis of moral relations in the socialist society. Increasingly, the further improvement of these relations depends on the role of the subjective factor, on the way moral upbringing and moral rules pertaining to relations in society at large, in the production collective and in the family will be applied. These problems are discussed in chapter nine.

Moral upbringing includes the waging of an irreconcilable struggle against anti-values and ethical theories and moral stipulations alien to us. However, in order to fight the enemy we must know him well. The last two chapters give us this necessary knowledge and a criticism of contemporary bourgeois ethics and moralizing anticommunism. The characteristic features of these chapters are a set of arguments and aggressiveness in the study of the views of our ideological opponents. The disparate and one-sided nature of contemporary bourgeois ethical doctrines is proven convincingly and basic anticommunist ethical myths are exposed. This applies to the misinterpretation of collectivism and the moral convictions of communists, and views on the incompatibility between idea-mindedness and goodness and on the sacrificial nature of communist morality.

Therefore, in both their presentation of Marxist ethics and their criticism of opponents, the authors systematically survey the road from theory to practice: from what is proclaimed and substantiated to the way it is actually implemented.

The work provides complete and systematic coverage of ethical problems. However, Marxist ethics is not an absolutely complete and closed system. New problems arise, the system of categories expands, different solutions are offered, discussions are held, etc. All of this has been reflected in the work without disrupting its orderliness and clarity of presentation.

Naturally, some parts in the textbook are superior to others, not all of the authors' views are beyond challenge and some features could have been presented better. For example, the activities, relations and awareness related to morality



clearly need greater clarification: what kind of activities could exist (if considered as a means of human life rather than a type of behavior looked at from the outside) without awareness? What type of relations are we discussing: objectively developed structures or deliberately developed organizational relations?

As a whole, however, those interested in ethics and problems of moral upbringing now have a good aid which makes interesting reading and which gives a sufficiently complete and profound idea of the contemporary state of Marxist ethics and the tasks related to the moral activity and upbringing of the new man as formulated by our party at its 26th congress.

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