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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 18, December 1981



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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 18, December 1981

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

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 1981 pp 3-6

[CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers statement]

[Text] Having considered the results of the visit paid by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, to the Federal Republic of Germany on 22-25 November 1981, the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers express their full and complete approval of the very important and useful work performed by L. I. Brezhnev during his talks and conversations with FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt and other West German state and political leaders. L. I. Brezhnev's public addresses during the visit provoked European and world-wide response. On the whole, L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG was a true mission of peace in the fullest and loftiest meaning of the term.

L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG assumes particular significance in terms of bilateral Soviet-West German relations, the full range of East-West relations and the general direction of world politics in this tense and very important period in international relations, when they could either deteriorate drastically or take a turn for the better.

The development and outcome of the latest Soviet-West German summit meeting is yet another confirmation of the effectiveness of the international affairs policy formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is aimed at removing the threat of war, nuclear war above all, disarmament, detente and peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems. L. I. Brezhnev's discussions and talks in the FRG and his meetings and addresses became a major political step in the practical implementation of the peace program for the 1980s.

The basic interests of the security of the Soviet people, our friends and allies and all the peoples of Europe dictated the need to focus the talks in Bonn on the most urgent and topical problem of averting the threat hanging over Europe because of the plans to deploy new types of American nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries, the FRG above all, and preventing a change in the balance of forces in favor of the NATO bloc. L. I. Brezhnev posed this question with great clarity and determination.

In the FRG, L. I. Brezhnev submitted new and far-reaching proposals the sole purpose of which is to reach a mutually acceptable agreement and to save Europe from the danger of a nuclear conflagration. These proposals are addressed not only to the

FRG and the other Western European countries, but also to the United States, in connection with the Soviet-American talks on medium-range nuclear weapons which were initiated in Geneva on 30 November.

The essence of the new Soviet proposals is the following:

First. The Soviet Union has substantially broadened its previous suggestion concerning a moratorium on the development of new and the updating of the existing medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe for the duration of the talks pertaining to such armaments. The Soviet side expressed its readiness -- providing that the other side would agree to such a moratorium -- to reduce its nuclear medium-range weapons deployed in the European part of the USSR by a certain percentage unilaterally, shifting toward the lower level on which the USSR and the United States could agree as a result of the talks.

Second. The Soviet Union emphasized its intention to urge a radical reduction by both sides in the number of medium-range nuclear missiles, not in tens but hundreds of units at the Geneva talks. Naturally, it will be necessary to consider both the American advance theater weapons and the British and French nuclear weapons.

Third. The USSR would be ready to reach an agreement on the full abandonment of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at European targets by West and East alike.

Furthermore, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, the Soviet Union generally favors the removal of all -- both medium-range and tactical -- nuclear weapons from Europe. This would indeed provide a "zero solution" fair to both sides. The proposals formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev constitute a program for the elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe. It is consistent with the expectations of all nations and the demands of the broad masses, who oppose the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union expects that the West, the United States above all, will consider the new Soviet initiatives most carefully and objectively.

The Soviet delegation to the Soviet-American talks was given corresponding instructions based on L. I. Brezhnev's talks.

The question of nuclear weapons in Europe is one affecting not only the future of the continent and the destiny of the hundreds of millions of people on it, but also affecting the fate of universal peace. The Soviet Union is in favor of finding a solution as a result of the talks in which no one's safety would be endangered, while the level of military confrontation in Europe would be reduced.

However, it would be illusory to labor under the delusion that such a solution can come about of itself. To this day, the United States and its main NATO allies show no desire to look for a mutually acceptable agreement in a realistic spirit and on the basis of equality and identical degrees of safety. The talks in Bonn proved once again that substantial differences remain between the positions of the Soviet Union and NATO, including the FRG, on the question of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Judging from a number of indications, the leading NATO members, the United States above all, continue to rely on acquiring military superiority, which actually means unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union. As L. I. Brezhnev declared firmly and clearly during his visit to the FRG as before, the Soviet Union will not accept this. The Soviet people and the communist party will never surrender the security of our country and our allies and friends. This must be made known to the peoples of Europe, the American people and all people who care about disarmament and peace. The leaders of the Western countries must also realize this.

One of the main conclusions which can be drawn from L. I. Brezhnev's talks in the FRG is that, regardless of their social system or participation in one military alliance or another, countries must make every effort and continue to work jointly to consolidate peace and restore the climate of detente and trust. It is important to make this the guideline for the practical policies of all countries.

The talks held by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in Bonn revealed a coincidence in the views of the Soviet Union and the FRG on the importance of maintaining the political dialog between countries despite the worsened international circumstances.

The CPSU and the Soviet state have always believed that each side, aware of its responsibility for the course which international events may take, must do everything within its power to create a political atmosphere which would be beneficial to the successful development of the talks and the dialog. As to the dialog between the USSR and the United States, the Soviet position was made entirely clear, above all at the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet Union favors such a dialog.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers give a high rating to the results achieved in the course of the visit regarding the development of bilateral Soviet-West German relations. These results will provide an energetic new impetus to the development of good-neighborly and peaceful cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in various areas. The "Natural Gas for Pipes" contract -- the largest undertaking in our century for the solution of the energy problem in Europe -- was concluded on the eve of the visit. Together with other plans agreed upon or under discussion by the two sides, it represents a firm foundation for the systematic growth of mutually profitable economic relations, which will extend beyond the 20th century.

Both the talks and the joint communique which was issued emphasized that the favorable development of economic cooperation consistent with mutual interests is having a favorable impact on relations among countries, in general, and can contribute to international stability and the consolidation of peace.

As a result of the visit which the leaders of the Soviet Union paid to the FRG, it was asserted that the two countries will continue to follow the historical route traced by the Moscow Treaty, for relations between the USSR and the FRG, and by the Helsinki Final Act, for relations among all the participants in the European conference.

The Soviet leadership has instructed the respective ministries, departments and organizations to observe strictly and in their totality the agreements stemming from L. I. Brezhnev's discussions and talks in the FRG on the development of cooperation in trade-economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other areas.

The Soviet people are fully justified in being profoundly satisfied with the results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG. Once again the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, conducted in close coordination with the fraternal socialist countries, has proved its peacefulness, broad scope and initiative, persuasively influencing the minds and hearts of the people.

The international activities of the Soviet Union for the safety and progress of the nations, detente and restraint of the arms race, and L. I. Brezhnev's personal contribution to the achievement of these great objectives are helping the will to safeguard the greatest value of human civilization -- peace -- and to defend it actively and daily and to strengthen it all over the world.

Experience proves that the louder and more demanding the voice of the peoples and the various social forces and circles becomes in defense of peace, the greater the chances that this struggle will be concluded successfully. The results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG increase the chances that the struggle for the preservation of peace will become even more effective and make all peoples more confident that even the most difficult international problems can be resolved.

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LENIN'S PARTY -- A FORCE OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 81 pp 7-22

[Text] Marxism-Leninism has clarified quite fully the question of the place and role of the communist party at each stage of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the toiling masses it is leading toward social liberation and the building of a socially just society. The scientific and political substantiation of its decisions have been repeatedly proved and are being proved daily by social practice. However, since this is one of the main problems in the science of communism, the international communist and workers movements and all social life in the socialist countries, we must return again and again to one or another of its aspects. We must steadily interpret the new experience in the activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties, find the most effective means for exposing bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of the true meaning of the historical work being done by the communists, and improve the means used to explain to the working people the vital importance of their rallying ever more closely around their political vanguard.

The variety of conditions under which the communists must act today, the complexity of the tasks they face in the course of the revolutionary struggle and the conversion of the capitalist into a socialist society, the steady and concentrated pressure applied to the communist parties by the bourgeoisie and, in countries which have taken the path of socialist development, the remnants of the exploiting classes, the sometimes insufficient ideological tempering of their members, to which other reasons may be added, may result in deviations from the essential stipulations of the Leninist doctrine as allegedly inconsistent with the specific characteristics (most frequently national) of the political activities of a given country. As a result, errors are made which, as a rule, turn out to be very costly to the party and the working people, while benefiting the class enemy.

Some laws governing the life of the communist party must never be broken, regardless of circumstances, for alternatives simply do not exist.

The working class cannot liberate itself and all the working people and carry out its universal historical mission without seizing state power, which is the only possible way of making socialist changes. But, as V. I. Lenin taught, "The proletariat has no weapon in the struggle for power other than organization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 8, p 403). He added that "By educating the workers party, Marxism is educating the vanguard of the proletariat, which can seize power and lead the entire people to socialism, direct and organize the new system, be the teacher, manager and leader of all working and exploited people

in the organization of their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch., "Vol 33, p 26).

This leads to at least two basic conclusions. First, such a party must be truly revolutionary and combat-capable in the full meaning of the term, both before and after the socialist revolution. Second, after becoming a ruling party and allying itself with the other revolutionary and democratic forces, it must always be able to promote precisely its own class policy, making no concessions on matters of principle. The result otherwise would be not a socialist state, but something socially shapeless and politically bankrupt, something which would gravitate toward bourgeois degeneracy.

"Proletarian dictatorship," Lenin wrote, "gave the following simpler interpretation to this Latin, scientific and historical-philosophical expression:

"Only a specific class, namely the urban workers and, in general, the factory-plant and industrial workers, can lead the entire mass of working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capitalism, in the overthrow itself, in the struggle to preserve and and consolidate the victory, in the building of a new, socialist social system, in the entire struggle for the complete elimination of classes" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 14).

The guidance of the revolutionary-constructive efforts of the working class and the toiling masses by the Marxist-Leninist party is one of the universal laws of the socialist reorganization of society, which has been confirmed by the experience of all countries which have already adopted or are trying to adopt the socialist path of development. The victory of the socialist revolution was ensured only whenever and wherever the Marxist-Leninist vanguard was its organizer and leader (regardless of the country's level of economic development).

History has proved just as incontrovertibly the futility of any circuitous, "second" or "third" roads to socialism, which avoid the substitution of a socialist democracy and public ownership of capital goods for bourgeois democracy and large-scale private ownership of capital goods.

However, the whole experience of the global revolutionary struggle proves perfectly clearly that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist changes and the expansion of this role are objectively necessary, although not a determined and automatic social development factor. Historical necessity is implemented by living people, including party members, the personnel of leading party organs, and leading party personalities. They have no right to make theoretical and practical errors or to formulate policy on the basis not of the scientific analysis of specific situations but of aspirations which, although lofty, may be groundless, or to allow themselves to fall under the influence of flatterers and careerists or to confuse wishes for reality. Unless the party becomes aware of such negative phenomena and takes energetic measures to eliminate them from its internal life and leading activities, its role in social life will inevitably decline. This is fraught with great danger to social progress.

We now have practical proof that even after the state of proletarian dictatorship has become a socialist state of the whole people, the leading role of the communist party not only does not diminish but increases. This theoretical conclusion of the

CPSU is entirely consistent with the Leninist understanding of the party's role. It reflects its true status in the developed socialist society.

It is not astounding therefore that all antisocialist actions in countries in which the working class assumed power together with the other toiling strata have always been initiated precisely with attacks on the leading role of the party, making it the target of particularly malicious attacks and falsifications. Perfectly aware of the fact that weakening the party's prestige in a socialist country facilitates harming not only the cause of socialism in that country but the global socialist system in its entirety, the representatives of the interests of the most reactionary circles, having learned from their defeats, are defaming Lenin's idea of the party as the political leader of the working people, claiming that the party's leadership is a "usurpation of power."

What is the basis of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the socialist countries? As the experience of the CPSU has proved, this role is based on the moral and political reputation which the party has acquired in the eyes of the people in the course of almost 80 years of dedicated struggle in the service of their profound interests, and its practically proven ability to find prompt solutions to the increasingly broad and complex problems which arise in the course of the progress of Soviet society toward communism. In the course of its activities, the party proves that it is the most conscientious, progressive and dedicated segment of the working class, all the working people and the entire Soviet people, seeing as its task, in Lenin's words, "not to reflect the average status of the masses but to lead the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 94). It is the vanguard which is boldly and confidently leading the people's masses, which have always been and will remain the main forces in the historical process.

In this connection, we might also recall Lenin's wise thought describing the deepest foundations of the leadership by the party of the revolutionary-transforming activities of the working people: "...Never will the millions of people listen to the party's advice unless it coincides with what they have learned through their own practical experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 178). Naturally, this applies not to any kind of personal but to social experience in the broadest possible meaning of the term. The party knows that its policy yields the necessary results when it takes the interests of the entire society as well as those of its constituent classes and social groups accurately into consideration, channeling them into the same bed.

The leading and guiding role of the communist party has been manifested more and more fully in the course of the defense of the gains of the revolution, the struggle against its foreign and domestic enemies, the period of establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the laying of the foundations of socialism and repulsion of the fascist invasion. The creation of a new state apparatus, the country's industrialization, agricultural collectivization, the enhancement of the living standard of the working people, the cultural revolution, the resolution of the national problem on the scale of society as a whole, the organization of an army of a new type and the strengthening of the defense capability of the socialist homeland were the different facets of the party's constructive front on which complex problems without parallel in previous history had to be resolved. There was no experience, there were no models or examples. This was a difficult ascent along a steep slope, leading to totally

unexplored heights. In fact, it was the first clearing of the general road to socialism. The experience is instructive not only because of the achievements but also the unexpected happenstances, contradictions and errors which the party courageously surmounted on the basis of the scientific program formulated by its founder and leader.

History teaches us that, when the bourgeoisie in a given country has suffered defeat, it justifiably relies on the help of international capital and the exploiting classes ruling other countries. We know how fiercely the greatest imperialist powers tried to help the Russian landowners and capitalists in their war against the victorious working class and peasantry. It was with the help of "neighbors" that the soviet systems in Hungary, Slovakia and Finland were suppressed in 1918-1919. In Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the antisocialist forces relied on outside assistance, as can be seen today in the case of the Polish People's Republic.

We must not forget that the victory of the socialist revolution does not as yet mean that the exploiters and their accomplices immediately lose their power and influence. They fall back on the old views, habits and mores which are firmly embedded in the minds of the people. They try to win over to their side the petty owners -- peasants, artisans and craftsmen -- and the intelligentsia, the mass information workers in particular. They bribe all the rabble and scum of society and declassed and criminal elements, obstruct the organization of the economy, etc. All of this demands that the working class and its communist vanguard establish a strong and firm system which, if necessary and in order to defend socialism, can impose its authority and have its requirements met.

One of the most complex tasks in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when the main question as to whether socialism will definitively defeat capitalism or whether capitalism, relying on some circles within the country and external help, will take its revenge, is the socialist reorganization of petty commodity output. It is a question of putting the peasantry and the petty urban owners (craftsmen and other petty merchants who do not exploit anyone else's labor), first of all, on the collective labor track. As long as such strata continue to build their lives entirely on the basis of private ownership, socialism remains largely an objective. For example, it is a profound error to assume that the private farmer or small urban entrepreneur can be an organic element of a socialist society. Both historically and logically, petty commodity output, developing uncontrolled, can lead only to capitalism and never to socialism.

That is precisely why, ever since the victory of the socialist revolution, the party has regarded the steady strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the other nonproletarian toiling strata as a prime political task. The objective of this alliance is to organize the building of socialism. It calls for concessions by the proletariat to its allies in the selection of the methods and pace of progress toward socialism, and sets the limits of such concessions. They include the strict maintenance of state power in the hands of the working class and prevention of a movement back to capitalism.

The economic policy which the socialist state must pursue (tax, credit, supply), guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, must, without forcibly destroying petty production, encourage the petty owners to unite in a variety of cooperatives based

on collective labor and public ownership. As the experience of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Romania and Czechoslovakia indicates, the forms and pace of such a transition to the new social system can vary widely. They share the same objective -- the socialist socialization of production. As long as this objective has not been reached, socialism cannot be considered as built.

The experience gained in the building and consolidation of socialism in the USSR also teaches us that even after achieving real historical successes, the party must be tirelessly vigilant, never sinking into a state of complacency. "More than any other," Lenin pointed out, "it was our revolution that confirmed the law that the power of a revolution and its pressure, energy, resolve and victorious triumph also intensify the opposition of the bourgeoisie. The more we win, the more the capitalist exploiters learn how to unite and to convert to more decisive action" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 244).

This law remains operative as long as imperialism and the bourgeoisie remain. This can be easily proved by looking at the experience of any country which has chosen the path of socialist development, and the whole experience in the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist global systems.

The CPSU was able to become the acknowledged leader of the people and to gain their full trust because of its continuing concern for acquiring and developing within it the qualities without which it cannot fulfill its role as a frontranking fighter and political vanguard of the working class and all working people. K. Marx and F. Engels wrote in the "Communist Party Manifesto" that "In practice...the communists are the most decisive segment of the workers party in any country, always urging the party onward; theoretically, as compared with the remaining mass of the proletariat, they have the advantage of understanding the conditions, development and general results of the proletarian movement" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 437). Lenin developed these thoughts expressed by the founders of communist ideology into a streamlined theory of the party of a new type and gave to the party of the Russian communists he created precisely such a nature as an organization. This is an organization which is guided not in words but in deeds by progressive theory, i.e., having mastered dialectical-materialistic methodology and the materialistic view of history, it subjects the process of social development to a constant creative study, clearly aware of its motive forces and objective and subjective factors, thus clearly defining the tasks at each specific stage of the struggle and never losing sight of its final objective.

The Leninist party can accurately assess the deployment of the class forces within the country and throughout the world and make timely use of the existing situation in the interests of communism. In the course of pursuing its realistic and consistently class-oriented policy, it always formulates realistic slogans of truly vital importance and gives specific assignments to the people. Firmness, daring revolutionary action, faith in the creative possibilities of the masses and in their all-round ideological and organizational training for the implementation of political and economic measures and readiness not only to lead the working people, but also to learn from them, and ensure firm unity between party and people.

Let us particularly single out our party's persistent struggle for unity within its ranks. This is an ideological, organizational and political unity which makes the party monolithic, turning it into a political organism which works with purpose and

organization and therefore, productively. It is a type of unity which has a positive impact on the consolidation of the entire socialist society. To this end the party is steadily increasing its exigency toward all its members and in the work of its organs and organizations. It concerns itself with the reputation of the party leadership and with the purity and moral features of every party member. The Soviet people warmly approve and unanimously support the party's domestic and foreign policy and the purposeful, comprehensive activities of its Leninist Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the outstanding party and state leader of our time. "We shall be celebrating the 75th anniversary of his birth," said Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, in a speech on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Leonid Il'ich's tireless and exceptionally fruitful activities for the good of the people and the triumph of the ideals of communism and peace set an inspiring example of dedicated service to the homeland, the working people in town and country, and the personnel of the army and navy."

The communist party is systematically following its scientifically and collectively formulated political line, acting in a disciplined and united way, infecting the masses with its example. The practical successes it has achieved strengthen the unity within its ranks even further, cement relations with all components in the political system of the society within and outside it, strengthen the moral spirit of the communists and increase the degree of respect they enjoy. Experience in party construction proves that the actions of party members become the more effective the more strictly they observe the Leninist norms of party life and the more actively they strengthen their organizational and ideological unity. Conversely, any weakening of the party's integrity or violation of the Leninist principles governing its construction leads to serious failures and can even threaten socialist gains. Lenin cautioned, and reality has confirmed, that any attempt to weaken party unity or the party's leading role risks unleashing antisocialist elements and the threat of restoration of the capitalist order.

In accordance with Lenin's behests, the communist party rallies within its ranks, educates and organizes the best forces of the working class and the toiling masses in order to oppose possible petit bourgeois vacillation, obsolete traditions and recurrences of narrow-minded professionalism and professional prejudice among the masses and to guide them in accordance with their interests.

Ideological unity presumes the type of Marxist-Leninist unity of views on the basic problems of the class struggle and the building of the new system which makes the party an alliance of like-minded people in the full meaning of the term. "Nonideological organization," Lenin wrote, is a foolishness which in practice turns the workers into pitiful servants of the power of the rich bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 14, p 126). This Leninist concept is entirely valid to this day, although there has been neither a bourgeoisie nor any other exploiter in the USSR for quite some time, and the front of the class struggle has shifted to the international arena. It is the more topical for countries in which the socialist reorganization has not been completed yet, and societies such as the Polish People's Republic in which a sharp class struggle is under way, latent or in the open, but invariably encouraged from the outside by the forces of imperialist reaction, who display a high degree of class solidarity in their antisocialist actions.

Naturally, as Lenin taught, party ideological unity alone is insufficient. It must be strengthened by organizational unity. In turn, organization requires precisely defined and mandatory norms and rules of operation valid for the entire membership. The strictest possible party discipline and unity of outlook, will and action are the most characteristic features of the CPSU. Democratic centralism -- the basic principle of the party's organizational structure developed by Lenin -- has been adopted by all Marxist-Leninist parties.

Today, as in the past, the fiercest attacks mounted by the revisionists and all kinds of factionalists are directed precisely against the principle of democratic centralism and particularly against the consequent requirement that the minority be subordinated to the majority, and the mandatory nature of the decisions made by superior party organs. They claim that any centralism represents a violation of democracy, the rights of the individual, freedom of speech, etc. However, such moaning cannot withstand any criticism. Democratic centralism does not presume the absence of different viewpoints in the party on any subject whatsoever. Lenin and the Leninists have always promoted the development of initiative and the active participation of each party organization and every party member in the discussion of all problems of party life. Complete freedom of speech and the clash of opinions during the discussion stage are not only possible and admissible but necessary. However, once the question has been discussed and a decision has been made all party members act as one. At this point the discussion and criticism end and the work begins. Otherwise there could not be any question of party discipline or any kind of organized party action, not to mention the party's leadership of the masses in the communist reorganization of society. To the party members, Lenin insisted, the right to criticize means "precisely the freedom to criticize fully and everywhere, providing that this does not violate unity in the implementation of a specific action on the principle which says that any criticism which undermines or hinders the unity of action as resolved by the party is unacceptable" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 13, p 129).

Naturally, unity is not something absolute or unrelated to its content. "Unity is a great cause and a great slogan," Lenin wrote. "However, what the workers cause needs is unity among Marxists, not unity between Marxists and the opponents and distorters of Marxism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 139).

It is a question of party unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Struggling precisely for such unity and in its behalf, ever since its founding, our party has uncompromisingly opposed all kinds of opportunists and factionalists. Such struggles have frequently ended in the expulsion of individuals and groups from the party. Such was the case with the liquidationists, who were expelled from the party at the Prague conference, and many Trotskyites, anarcho-syndicalists and right-wing opportunists who were expelled when the party had already become a ruling party. All of them were expelled not because of the views they expressed and the suggestions they formulated, which were different from those held by the majority in discussions of party policy matters, but because they were dragging the party toward adventurism or the swamp of reformist opportunism even after a comprehensively considered motion which they disobeyed, thus creating opposition groups within the party and exceeding the boundaries of party-mindedness, had been adopted.

That is precisely why former Italian Communist Party Central Committee members R. Rossanda, A. Natoli and L. Pintor, who were members of the "Manifesto" group, were expelled from the party in November 1969 -- not because they expressed their views at party forums, but because, having taken a stand which the ICP CC and Central Auditing Commission had already characterized as a "concession to the opposition elements" and "a play favoring anarchic freedom or social democratic liberalism," they defended it outside the party. That is also why R. Garaudy and J. Ellenstein were later expelled from the French Communist Party after publishing views incompatible with the ideological, political and organizational orientation of their party in the nonparty press.

The entire historical experience of the communist and workers movements proves that any violation of the ideological and organizational unity of the workers party, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, poses the risk of severe losses or even defeat at any stage in the struggle for socialism and communism. On Lenin's suggestion, and aware of the mortal threat posed to the cause of socialism by any sort of hesitation within the ranks of the ruling vanguard of the the working class, which was surrounded by the petit bourgeois mass, trying to contaminate it with its ideas and traditions, the 10th RKP(b) Congress passed the resolution "On Party Unity," which banned all factional activities and ordered the Central Committee to expel factionalists from the party regardless of their positions. This Leninist resolution does not apply exclusively to the past.

The social basis of opportunism disappears with the full victory of socialism. However, even then the party is not guaranteed against the ideological vacillations of the politically unstable people who have found their way into its ranks. For this reason, it maintains the reliable guarantees against all possible manifestations of factionalism stipulated in its bylaws in its arsenal of weapons. This is why the party program stipulates that "the most important source of party invincibility and the guarantee of the successful implementation of the great tasks of the building of communism are found in its unbreakable ideological and organizational cohesiveness." In this connection, the party's ability to combine the interests and efforts of the different groups and strata of working people and to ensure coordinated, purposeful and planned work by all state and public organizations, the proper functioning of and efficient interaction among all parts of the social organism and the adoption of a political approach to all familiar and newly arising economic, social and educational problems becomes particularly important.

The principal, the main task in the party's activity is social management (management of the country for the sake of the establishment of a new social system). Its most difficult part is the practical organization of the profound economic foundations of the life of millions of people. It was under Lenin's guidance that for the first time in history, the Bolshevik Party organized a planned economy. The party proceeded from the Leninist principle of unity between the political and the economic approach to the building of socialism and communism.

As we recall, Lenin waged an irreconcilable struggle against those who wanted to "remove" the party from the task of organizing the management of the national economy and actually to subordinate it to the nonparty "producer" element, assigning it exclusively an educational role. The leader of the proletariat saw in the "workers opposition" which formulated such anarcho-syndicalist views in 1920-1921 a threat not only to party unity but to the fate of the proletarian state. "...In

reality this means that the party must stand aside and no actual dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia is possible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 254).

The party's leadership of all state and public organizations does not mean replacing them, submitting them to petty supervision or duplicating their functions. No, the main specific feature of the party's guidance of society is that it is political guidance.

The party neither administers nor commands. Its method of action is persuasion and education of the masses and ideological and political organization of them. The party formulates the general strategy of development, organizes the working people for its implementation, selects, places and educates the cadres, supervises their work and controls the execution of decisions. Its activities are focused on seeing to it that all the units within the political system of society fulfill their functions properly and with a sense of full responsibility. It defines the extent of its authority through the party members, who follow a single line in the various activities of the different organizations, in such a way that every one of them improves the effectiveness and quality of his work and the political consciousness of the workers is enhanced. This applies equally to the organs of the people's power -- the soviets -- and to the state administrative structure, to all material and spiritual production units, mass organizations and creative unions -- in a word, to every component in that most complex system known as society.

Thanks to its tremendous political experience, the communist party concentrates progressive social thinking in its activities and implements the will of the people's masses, to whom it proves through its whole policy that its words are not different from its actions.

Neither the party organizations nor the party members have any kind of special privileges or rights. The communist party accepts as its members only those who have proved through their actions that they are joining not to obtain some kind of advantages but to work with dedication for the good of communism. "No indulgence to anyone when it becomes a question of the honor and reputation of our party and the purity of its ranks!" Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th congress. "It is precisely this kind of strict exigency that ensures the monolithic unity of the CPSU and its ability to head Soviet society and to lead the Soviet people to communism confidently."

Such is the Leninist, the bolshevik tradition of our party. We know how strictly Lenin approached the question of party enrollment even as of the Second RSDWP Congress, when a rigid "natural" selectivity was at work, for in joining the party, a person knew that he could expect a difficult and dangerous struggle and frequently jail, hard labor or death.

After becoming a legal and subsequently a ruling force, our party became even stricter in its requirements of new members. As early as 18 March 1917, when S. R. and mensheviks dragged anyone wishing to join into their party, the Bolshevik Central Committee Bureau resolved that new members had to be recommended by at least two party members.

After the October Revolution, Lenin especially warned that all kinds of self-seeking people and careerists, people without firm communist convictions who would introduce

a petit bourgeois influence within the party, would try to join it. That is why the 11th RKP(b) Congress (1922) decreed that "next year or in the immediate future, the RKP must pay strict attention not only to expanding its membership but to improving its qualitative composition." By qualitative composition, Lenin did not mean social composition alone, although he tirelessly called for the strengthening of the workers nucleus within the party.

Lenin believed that formal affiliation with the working class alone was not sufficient to make one a communist. He considered it necessary, "in order not to mislead oneself and others, to define the concept of "worker" in such a way that it applies only to those who in fact, by virtue of their position in life, are bound to develop a proletarian mentality" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 20). This last Leninist requirement is equally valid today, when all classes and social groups in Soviet society have adopted the class positions of the working class and distinctions in the conditions governing party membership based on social status have already been abolished. This requirement is particularly important in countries in which the contradictions of the transitional period are still apparent.

Party membership for those in the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia who are most worthy and dedicated to communism, and the reinforcement of party ranks with the best people in all working categories are prerequisites for the successful implementation of the party's lofty purpose. The party firmly opposes tolerance of those who violate its bylaws and the norms of socialist community life, and it is stricter with party members than with nonparty people. The high moral standard applied to every party member is a necessary prerequisite for the preservation of the authority earned by the party and its ideological influence over the masses, without whose support and trust it would be impossible even to think of the successful exercise of its leading role in society.

In noting the steady strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU at the 26th congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that the systematic development of intraparty democracy and increased exigency toward every party member are not Leninist principles of a past period, but the foundations of the party's development today as well.

Cadre policy is the most important lever for the implementation of the party's programmatic objectives. The time is long past when the party was limited in its ability to select leading cadres by the scarcity of professionally trained and ideologically tempered people loyal to the communist cause. However, to this day, the cadre problem remains the most important aspect of CPSU organizational work, along with control over their activity. There still are cases in which a most honest and dedicated party member who possesses extensive knowledge has not been placed in a proper position. Occasionally, as Lenin wrote to A. S. Yenukidze about one worker, it happens that "The boy could be a good poet, journalist or lecturer. Instead, like fools, we give him legislative work to do and as a result we waste his time and hinder the work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 54, p 161). To this day it is no rarity to find a talented scientist working as an administrator or a capable economic manager working as an ordinary office manager, and vice-versa.

We still retain in positions on various levels managers who are bureaucrats, boastful self-promoters, scoundrels, bribe-takers and careerists and, worst of all, grovelers and deceivers, to whom Lenin's words fully apply: "The false phrase or

boast is the equivalent of moral doom and a true guarantee of political demise" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 11, p 330).

That is precisely why, despite the increased number of cadres, ideological-political and professional training, moral purity and communist convictions remain topics of special party concern regarding managers of all ranks and in all areas of activity. This is not only an internal party affair but the concern of all working people who try to help the party organs to ensure the most expedient and impeccable positioning of people. As Lenin wrote, "The instructions of the nonparty proletarian mass and, in a number of cases, the nonparty peasant mass are particularly valuable in assessing people and in developing a negative attitude toward those who "attach themselves to power," who "begin to act like commissars" and who "turn into bureaucrats" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 123).

The party demands of all organizations and departments and above all from all its organs and party members a most attentive attitude toward the reports and letters from the working people, regular submission of reports by managers to their subordinates, comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism, strict observance of the constitutional right of any citizens of the USSR to criticize any official, and inescapable punishment for those who suppress criticism.

The party sets an example of criticism and self-criticism, strictly following the behest of the great Lenin: "...We shall learn how to win only when we are no longer afraid to admit our defeats and shortcomings and when we are able to look the truth, however sad it may be, straight in the face" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 309).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev justifiably considers criticism and self-criticism a sign of the political health of a party organization. At CC CPSU plenums and party congresses, he has set an example of profound critical analysis of the situation in the most important directions of the building of communism and the shortcomings in the work of the various management units and their leaders. A clear example of this was the November 1981 Central Committee Plenum, at which the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 26th congress and the national economic plan was considered in a strictly critical and practical spirit, and effective measures for the improvement of all our economic and ideological activities during the 11th Five-Year Plan were earmarked.

The brief but exceptionally meaningful definition of the essence of all organizational work in the field of management provided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev fully applies to cadre policy: "Simply stated, the essence of organizational problems calls for everyone who has the necessary rights to deal with them and everyone who bears full responsibility for them to do his job."

Naturally, this applies not only to people with power and state and party responsibilities. It applies equally to the journalist, worker, writer, artist, engineer, physician, agronomist and teacher, to people in all professions who are exercising their right to work and who bear, if not legal or material, at least moral responsibility to society, not for their intentions but for the end results of their labor.

Cadre training makes possible the successful management of the political system as a whole, for it contributes greatly to strengthening party unity, the effectiveness of social management and the rallying of the working people around the party.

It is natural for the party's leading role to increase at the present stage since, first of all, the scale and complexity of the tasks in the building of communism are becoming broader and more complex and require increasingly competent political and organizational support; secondly, the creative activeness of the masses is increasing; thirdly, today's cadres and their professional and ideological and political standards must meet new requirements. Economic intensification, production retooling based on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advancement of socialist social relations, which are most closely interrelated, also require the country's further cultural development. Therefore, all areas of theoretical, ideological-educational, political and organizational party work and management activities are expanding and becoming more complex.

In distorting the essence of events, the bourgeois ideologs and revisionists try to present matters as though the strengthening of the communist party's leading role under socialism means "an attack on democracy and human freedom." However, in terms of the development of the societal political system, the party's most important task is the comprehensive promotion and development of democratic principles and encouragement of the creative initiative of the masses and the activeness of state and public organizations. As the role of the CPSU grows, the importance of the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and all mass associations of working people becomes enhanced. These processes are organically interlinked, reflecting the profoundly democratic nature of the socialist system and the deep interest of its leading political force -- the communist party -- in the systematic improvement of socialist democracy in all areas of social life.

The party sees as the main meaning and content of our democracy the participation of increasingly broad masses in the administration of the country and social affairs. All activities within our political system and the steadily growing initiative of the working people are in the service of the building of communism. This type of democracy is a vital need for the working people and a necessary prerequisite for the development and strengthening of the socialist way of life. The CPSU is always concerned with making every person in the country feel that he is a citizen in the precise meaning of the term, with a profound interest in the affairs of the entire nation, who enjoys full rights and bears his share of responsibility for the country. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, "To try to pit the party and the people against each other and to speculate about the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is the equivalent of pitting the heart against the rest of the human body."

The party coordinates the activities of all state and social organizations, subordinating them to the building of communism and ensuring efficient interaction among all the units of the social organism.

The 26th CPSU Congress discussed the enhancement of the role and responsibility of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations in ensuring good results from the creative activities of production collectives and the communist education of the working people and the patriotic initiatives which are supported by the party members and subsequently disseminated throughout the country. The party organizations are working ever harder to apply a scientific farming system and progressive practical experience in agriculture. Many interesting features have appeared in cadre selection and upbringing and in upgrading the responsibility of managers for specific work sectors. The party organizations are directing the labor

collectives and all planning and management units toward upgrading the quality of industrial output. The party members are energizing their efforts in production intensification and in strengthening the ties between production and science. "The creative initiatives of many party organizations deserve praise in our social forum," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said. "The richer and more varied local experience becomes the more fruitful party activities as a whole will be."

The communist party is trying comprehensively to encourage initiative in state and social organizations. Naturally, it pays particular attention to the work of the soviets. In accordance with the suggestions formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, a law on the status of deputies was passed, clearly defining the rights and obligations of the people's representatives and the obligations which the state and social organs have toward them. This has yielded tangible results. On the initiative of soviet deputies, a number of important problems related to the vital requirements and needs of the working people and society at large have begun to be formulated and resolved.

The most essential changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society and the profoundly democratic nature of the state of the whole people have been concentrated in the new USSR Constitution. A new stage in the work of the soviets of people's deputies began after this constitution and those of the union and autonomous republics were adopted.

The activities of the superior power organs -- the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union republics -- have been noticeably energized in recent years thanks to the party's purposeful efforts. Combining legislative, managerial and control functions, the soviets are actively guiding the work of their subordinate organs. This contributes to the prompt detection and elimination of shortcomings and to the enhancement of the general tone of state life. The renovation of Soviet legislation, which was based on the USSR Constitution, yielded very useful results. The new laws make it possible to regulate the various aspects of social relations far more precisely. The work of improving the legislation is continuing. Many good laws were passed on the party's initiative. The party also sees to it that they are strictly enforced.

The USSR Constitution significantly enhanced the role played by the social organizations in the development of socialist democracy. They are an indivisible part of the Soviet political system and, taken together, include the virtually entire adult population in the country. They are one of the important channels for the participation of the citizens in the administration of social affairs.

The trade unions, which have more than 129 million members, are the largest of the social organizations. The work of the trade unions directly contributes to the exercise of democracy in the main area of the application of the creative forces of man -- in production. The trade union organizations have extensive tasks and rights. They are concerned with protecting the interests of the workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia, participate in the solution of economic, social and cultural problems and do a great deal to promote the extensive development of the socialist competition and mass invention and rationalization work. The 26th CPSU Congress called upon the trade unions to use their broad rights with greater initiative, to be more insistent in the implementation of collective labor contracts and labor safety measures, and to react more firmly to violations of labor

legislation, bureaucracy and red tape. This requires the further strengthening of trade union and labor collective control over the resolution of all problems affecting the working and living conditions of the people, their increased participation in production planning and management, cadre selection and placement and effective utilization of enterprise and organization funds. The party looks upon the trade unions as its reliable support among the masses and a powerful means for the development of democracy and involvement of the working people in the building of communism. The CPSU calls for raising the role of the trade unions to a still higher level as a school of management and communism and for steadily improving their work standard.

V. I. Lenin considered the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the broad system of other social organizations as links binding the party to the masses. In his works he called upon the party to contribute to the successful implementation by these organizations of their separate tasks in pursuit of the common objective -- socialism and communism. Firmly rejecting the Trotskyite concept of "governmentalizing" the trade unions and the views of the anarcho-syndicalists, Lenin proved that the final objective of all of them was to undermine the party's influence and authority with the masses of the working class and to eliminate the political power of the proletariat. "In the same way that even the best factory with a perfect motor and excellent machinery will stand idle if the transmission mechanism linking the motor to the machines is broken, catastrophe in our building of socialism will be inevitable if the transmission mechanism from the communist party to the masses -- the trade unions -- has been improperly structured or works faultily" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 349). This was true when only a small percentage of working people were trade union members. It is even truer today, when virtually all the working people are trade union members.

Lenin's stipulations, which define the comprehensive activities of the party concerning the trade unions and the other social organizations which link it with the masses, are equally topical today.

The CPSU program states that "The people are the decisive force in the building of communism. The party exists for the people and considers service to the people to be the essence of its activities. Further expansion and intensification of the links between the party and the people are a necessary prerequisite for success in the struggle for communism." However, if the strength of the party lies in its close ties with the people, the strength of the people is multiplied as a result of the party's correct political guidance.

"The 20th century proved once again," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "that the CPSU is a powerful, healthy and mature collective. The communists are the truly unbendable pivot of our society, its living soul. They are the truly revolutionary vanguard of the people.

From past and present experience, we well know that a role as a leading force of society does not come about of itself. It must be earned, it must be gained in the course of the tireless struggle for the interests of the working people. It is strengthened by the fact that the party is steadily intensifying its ties with the people's masses and lives with their needs and concerns.

"The strength of the party lies in its unity with the people!

"The strength of the people lies in its unity with the party and the party's leadership!"

One of the characteristic features of the CPSU which enables it to play its role as the leader of the people successfully is that it is a party of internationalists which combines in its activities dedicated service to the interests of the working people of its country with the same dedicated service to the cause of the liberation of the working people the world over. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, clarified the objective foundation of the international nature of the struggle of the working class and consequently of the communist movement, which is based on the common class interests of its national detachments in all countries, their common class objectives and the unity of the class forces opposing them. They raised the immortal slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" Marx's criticism of F. Lassalle's narrow-national view of the workers movement was farsighted. Yes, "In order to be able to struggle at all, the working class must organize itself as a class," Marx claimed, "and the immediate arena of its struggle is its own country." However, the class struggle of the proletariat is national in form only, and not in content (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 19, p 22). Marx perspicaciously cautioned that a "A scornful attitude toward the fraternal alliance which must exist among the workers in different countries, and encourage them in their struggle for liberation and to support one another firmly will punish their uncoordinated efforts by general defeat" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 16, pp 10-11).

Fully consistent with this view, Lenin taught the working class in large and small countries to avoid national exclusivity, narrow-mindedness and separation in the struggle for their objectives and interests, to take the overall general target into consideration and to subordinate individual to general interests. He considered nationalism the mortal enemy of the revolutionary struggle because "through its tactic of dividing and splintering, it reduces to naught the great behest concerning the rapprochement and unification among the proletariat of all nations, races and languages" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 7, p 325).

The Bolshevik Party was organized on an internationalist basis, uniting the working class of multinational Russia. It operated in all parts of the country inhabited by peoples who not only spoke different languages but who belonged to different socioeconomic systems, in terms of socioeconomic and cultural standards. The fact that all nations in our country reached socialism simultaneously and within a short historical period and formed a new historical, social and international community -- the Soviet people -- is the result of the internationalist policy of the Leninist party. It is the result of the fact that while taking specifics into consideration -- the national and historical characteristics of one region or another -- it did not ignore the main factor -- the common feature, which does not divide but unites the working people of all nationalities: their desire for freedom, independence and social justice, i.e. for socialism.

When bourgeois ideologists and revisionists throw at the workers movement the petty and false idea that the Soviet communists reject national and other characteristics of one country or another believing that all communist parties must follow their model, the sensible question of what model they are referring to arises. Is it an industrial center in Russia, Central Asia, the Extreme North or the Far East? In

the period of preparations for the October Revolution and in the initial years of the building of socialism, disparities in the levels of their political, economic

and cultural development were vastly greater than those between the central parts of Russia and the Germany, Britain, France and other well-developed countries, for example.

The communists have never denied the need to take the specific historical conditions and traditions of the individual countries into consideration. They realize, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, that "Each communist party is the creation of the workers movement of the country where it operates." Never in any document has the Leninist party ever called for the automatic transfer of its experience throughout the world. On the contrary, all fraternal parties agree that the art of guiding the revolutionary and transforming activities of the working class lies precisely in the able application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the individual country. "Think, Comrades," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress. "There is no single existing socialist country in which the forms, methods and means of the socialist revolution were the automatic duplication of foreign experience. The GDR, Poland, Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, Yugoslavia -- in a word all the socialist countries created their revolutions in their own way, according to the forms dictated by the ratio of class forces within them, their national systems and external circumstances.... Therefore, to speak of some kind of 'unification' and to pit one communist party against another according to the acceptance or rejection of the path they have chosen for their reorganization of society is possible, in my view, only if one ignores the real facts."

The CPSU is a party of internationalist-Leninists. It has never been indifferent toward the revolutionary liberation struggle of any country. It is even less indifferent when it is a question of the activities of fraternal communist and workers parties within the socialist comity, leading the great cause of reorganizing the life of the peoples in accordance with the principles of socialism. Our party joins them in their happiness when they are successful and feels their failures keenly. The Soviet state, which has traversed the longest and most eventful path to the final objective of the workers movement, has reached the stage of developed socialism and is gradually but steadfastly growing toward communism, has always given the fraternal peoples all possible economic, political and moral support and has protected them with all its might from attempts at imperialist armed aggression and the export of counterrevolution.

However, the most valuable and permanent feature is that the CPSU, the Soviet people and the Soviet socialist state have tried to share with all their class brothers and all fighters for socialism this extremely rich and comprehensive experience in building a new society.

Soon after the October Revolution, when the young Soviet Republic had taken its first and most essential steps toward socialism, Lenin said at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of the National Economy: "When the country took the path of the greatest possible change, the merit of the country and the party of the working class which had won out in that country lay in the fact that we took a strictly practical approach to problems which were previously considered on a theoretical and abstract basis. This experience will not be forgotten. It is the experience of the

workers who now, united in the trade unions and their local organizations, are undertaking the nationwide organization of the entire production process. This is experience which cannot be lost however difficult the events of the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may be. It has entered history as the gain of socialism, and it is on the basis of this experience that the future international revolution will erect its socialist edifice" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 383).

More than 63 years have passed since. The distance covered in economic, sociopolitical and cultural development has been tremendous. Experience of immense social significance has been gained in the building, defense and strengthening of socialist society. The general laws of progress toward communism have been confirmed in practice. The typical errors and false moves which lie in wait at every important step taken by communist and workers parties have been exposed. Without concealing difficulties and dangers, and fully confident of the final victory of communism, the CPSU considers this entire experience as belonging to the communists and the working people of all countries and calls up on them to study it attentively. Our party considers this to be one of its most important international obligations.

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MAN, COMMUNIST, PATRIOT, INTERNATIONALIST

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[Article by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Presidium member and Central Committee member]

[Text] We are approaching the noteworthy birthday of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

It is difficult to assess the work of a great artist, scientist or discoverer. Still it is easier than to assess his importance and place in history and his historical role, whatever the period. Speaking of the work of an artist or a scientist, we always have in mind his specific activity in a specific area or sphere. Through his work the writer, poet, composer, artist, painter or sculptor enriches the spiritual life of entire generations. Through his discoveries the scientist expands the limits of knowledge and speeds up scientific and technical progress.

The activities of the politician are distinguished by their tremendous variety and many facets. Through his work he creates the conditions necessary for the development of society, for the appearance of new works, discoveries and material and spiritual values, so that everything created by previous generations is preserved and multiplied, to serve man and enrich his life. Naturally, this applies only to politicians who have dedicated their lives to the liberation of the toiling masses.

It will be a difficult task for anyone who tries, in writing or orally, with the brush of the painter or the chisel of the sculptor, to encompass and assess the life, the comprehensive and all-embracing activities and accomplishments of the great man and politician which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev unquestionably is. What Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has done for the CPSU and the Soviet state, for the international, communist, workers and national liberation movements, for all nations and for mankind as a whole constitutes a valuable mosaic which clearly reflects the image of the man, communist, patriot and internationalist.

There is probably no area in which the broad activities of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev have not been manifested. He is the symbol of the simple and skillful worker who hammers out the plowshare and the sword, the industrious peasant who farms the land so that there may be bread and songs, the architect of human happiness and friendship among nations and the builder of the new and free life -- a life of constructive toil and peace. Through his comprehensive daily activities he exerts a

beneficial influence on politics, economics, ideology, culture and international relations. However, the determining factor is that the focal point of his aspirations and concerns as a politician of the Leninist type has always been the working man, the creator of all values, with his sorrows and joys. The purpose of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's life and work has always been to provide everything for man and for his good.

The role of outstanding personalities in politics developed even further with the victory of the October Revolution, when politics became a science and an art, an intrinsic cause of the liberated masses who had become the masters of their own destiny, and when entire nations took the path of socialism and its purposeful building. Marxism-Leninism has accurately assessed the role of the people's masses as the makers of history. However, this in no way belittles the role of the individual. History is familiar with a number of cases in which leading politicians have taken society into a dead end and have slowed it down or conversely, have accelerated its development considerably. In the building of socialism and communism, it is not only the role of the revolutionary vanguard, the party, which increases, but also the responsibility of the politicians for the fate of the nation.

We live in a time when some politicians on our planet have minds dulled and eyes blinded by narrow and egotistical class interests, as a consequence of which they frequently risk the lives of millions of people. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is the kind of politician who cares not only about the fate of the Soviet people but that of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. That is precisely why he is devoting his entire mind, experience and ability to the preservation of the most important of all things -- saving mankind from the fear and threat of a thermo-nuclear war and ensuring a peaceful life and peaceful toil for our own and future generations. All of this is an accurate reflection of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's profound socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

It would hardly be possible to find the historical equivalent to the gigantic efforts which the CPSU, its Central Committee, the Soviet people and L. I. Brezhnev personally are making in the interests of safeguarding peace on earth. This peace-loving policy of the Soviet state and the countries of real socialism is based on the very essence of the socialist social system. The support with which the Soviet peace initiatives are welcomed throughout the world proves that they reflect the most profound expectations of the broad toiling masses and the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has been toiling in the ranks of the Leninist party for half a century. He belongs to the generation of Soviet communists who laid the foundations for socialism under impossible circumstances, who defended the socialist homeland arms in hand in the bloodiest war in history, a war unleashed by fascism, and who resurrected from the postwar ruins and ashes towns, villages, industrial enterprises, dams, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, schools and hospitals. Today, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is at the head of a modern and comprehensively developed state which, using all the advantages offered by the socialist system, is creating the prerequisites for its growth into the higher stage of human civilization -- communism.

The Soviet communists, the working people in the Soviet Union and all progressive and peace-loving mankind are aware of L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding merits. They

place great value on his Leninist principle-mindedness, realism, sober thinking, courage, consistency, responsiveness and the fatherly love he shows for the toiling man and to his needs and requirements. He is as simple as life itself. He speaks persuasively, in practical terms and always clearly. A master of arguments, he expresses the vital needs and feelings not only of the citizens of his homeland but of hundreds of millions of people on earth who trust and understand him. He is the son of the party which represents the honor and conscience of our epoch.

We too, the communist and working people of Czechoslovakia, know L. I. Brezhnev as an outstanding person, wise government leader and loyal friend of our country. The history of the appearance and first steps of our communist party is inseparably linked with V. I. Lenin. The subsequent development of our party was closely linked with the Leninist Bolshevik Party, whose leaders have always devoted particular attention to our party and the interests and requirements of our people. L. I. Brezhnev's name is linked with the entire noteworthy course of the work of our party and people over the past decades. He took part in the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Hitlerite fascism, helped to strengthen the foundations of socialism in our country and was concerned with its further development. During the difficult period of crisis, it was he who showed fatherly concern and anxiety regarding the fate of our peoples.

I have known Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for a period of many years. I knew him before he held the highest party and state positions. But both then and now, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has always been accessible as a comrade, and democratic in our contacts.

I have had the good fortune of taking part in many talks, conferences and meetings held under the guidance or with the participation of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Let me recall just a few of them from the period when our party and society were in a state of severe crisis, when creeping counterrevolution had raised its head in Czechoslovakia and when a search for a solution to our crisis was under way with the participation of representatives from the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, as for example at the meetings in Dresden, Moscow, Czierne-nad-Tisza, Bratislava and again Moscow. Incredible though it may seem, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev showed greater concern for the future of Czechoslovakia than some Czechoslovak pseudopatriots, who had no concern whatever for the fate of our people but instead were ready to gamble with and to sell it out.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev helped to find the best alternative and a real solution to the problem of safeguarding the positions of socialism in our country and the traditionally good relations of alliance and friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, so close to his heart. He patiently explained, argued and persuaded in discussions on how to surmount the crisis and to eliminate the reasons for it, and on resuming the successful building of socialism in the CZSR.

I recall that during these talks Comrade L. I. Brezhnev strictly applied the principles of total equality. He always acted as our sincere brother and ally.

His statements and actions clearly indicate the respect he feels for the Czechoslovak people and their progressive traditions and how highly he values the socialist gains of our homeland. That is precisely why in the course of the talks he argued and literally begged all the participants not to forget the heavy sacrifice which our peoples had to make before a socialist regime could be

established and defended in Czechoslovakia. He emphasized that one must not retreat from counterrevolution, since it must be defeated and destroyed, as this is the only way to defend the historical gains of the masses.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's political farsightedness, prudence, decisiveness, knowledge of the circumstances, true patriotism and inflexible internationalism were displayed in the course of these talks. Many years have passed since, but some things are never forgotten. As the saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. We really found out who was a friend and who only pretended to be.

With his tireless work for the CPSU, the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist comity and the struggle for peace and social progress, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has inscribed his name indelibly in the glorious history of the CPSU and the Soviet people. Heroic new pages in the chronicles of the history of the Soviet Union have been written under his leadership. He has entered profoundly into the souls and hearts of hundreds of millions of those whose expectations and dreams he expresses and struggles so firmly to implement.

Unlike Prometheus who, according to the ancient legend, gave mankind the gift of fire, Leonid Il'ich, metaphorically speaking, gives the people the gift of his warmth.

At the difficult crossroads of history, he always knew what road to take, for his heart has always beat for socialism and man.

On the occasion of L. I. Brezhnev's birthday, we, the Czechoslovak communists, send him flowers as an expression of our gratitude, respect and admiration. In the words of our great poet, we wish for eternal spring in his life and hope the heat of the struggle for a better world in his blood will never cool.

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ECONOMY AS THE MOST IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

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[Article by N. Lobachev]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress stipulated that the accelerated intensification of public production and enhanced effectiveness are the principal directions of the country's economic development. Maximum results with minimum resource outlays is the lofty meaning of the slogan "The Economy Must Be Economical" formulated at the congress.

In order to implement the congress' resolutions, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a number of decrees aimed at the implementation of extensive measures for the economical and efficient utilization of material resources in all economic sectors and have called upon all working people to participate actively in the nationwide movement for economy.

In developing the idea of the thrifty and effective utilization of the people's property, V. I. Lenin frequently pointed out that socialism is based on the strictest possible regimen of savings, the nationwide accounting and control of material resources and the sensible and rational utilization of labor results. He emphasized that communism begins where rank-and-file workers show selfless concern for increasing labor productivity and preserving each pod of grain, coal and iron, in a word, everything created through human toil and for the good of man.

Lenin's view on the economical utilization of national property is based on the comprehensive consideration of the effect of the economic laws of socialism. Socialist society can and must be the most economical by virtue of its very nature. This is natural, for it is immune to crises and unemployment, the consequences of which are the waste of productive forces and the uncertain existence of millions of working people in the capitalist countries.

I

The economy of the USSR is developing on a planned and stable basis. The results of its development in the 1970's were summed up at the 26th party congress. During the past decade the Soviet people achieved major successes in all directions in the building of communism and are increasingly enjoying the results of their labor accomplishments. Our production and scientific and technical potential increased considerably during the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans; the stable, dynamic growth of economic sectors was ensured. Their technical level was enhanced, a major upsurge in the well-being of the people was reached and the country's defense capability

was strengthened. The national income increased by a factor of 1.6; 1,127,000,000,000 rubles were invested in the national economy and productive capital was increased by a factor of 2.2. The party's agrarian policy and the course of agricultural upsurge and strengthening its material and technical base were implemented steadily.

The main party line of steady enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the working people was pursued. The fixed programmatic requirement of "everything in the name of man and for the good of man" has remained the starting point of the party-political approach to the economy.

Some positive changes were achieved in the 10th Five-Year Plan in upgrading economic effectiveness, improving labor productivity and conserving material resources. Our party and state organs and labor collectives made proper use of existing reserves. The familiar resolutions of the CC CPSU were adopted on the metal saving experiment in Cheryabinskaya Oblast and the economical utilization of fuel and energy resources in Kemerovskaya Oblast. Based on the experience of these and other oblasts, extensive work was done on the conservation of fuel-energy and material resources. The material intensiveness of the social product was reduced, as a result of which raw and other materials, fuel, energy and other labor objects worth 11.4 billion rubles were saved.

However, the fact that a developed socialist society has already been created in our country and that the economy is expanding steadily is no reason for complacency. The building of communism urgently demands that we wage a tireless struggle for increasing the national wealth and achieving the best end results with the lowest possible outlays. That is precisely why we cannot tolerate the situation in which many ministries, associations and enterprises are not fulfilling their plans for saving on material resources and are allowing their inefficient utilization. Losses remain high, and above-normal stocks of material values and equipment accumulate. These shortcomings can be avoided by the more energetic use of possibilities of increasing production effectiveness. However, there are so-called organizational-economic reasons for the substantial and frequently groundless outlays of material resources. Such serious shortcomings are caused by other even more profound reasons.

As we know, the new principles for improving planning and management, known as the economic reform, were formulated in 1965. Their implementation made it possible to improve the situation in industry, construction and other sectors. Major positive changes were achieved in economic work. The sovnarkhozes were reorganized into sectorial ministries, which made the implementation of a unified technical policy in economic sectors possible. Positive results were achieved in the trade area. A nationwide system of material and technical procurements was developed, within which substantial efforts were made to streamline the material and technical support of expanded socialist reproduction.

However, the implementation of the economic reform made a number of negative phenomena clear as well. They were noted at CC CPSU plenums and in the press at that time. Economic development, the increased complexity of economic relations and the need to eliminate a number of shortcomings in planning and incentive called for taking new steps to ensure the further advancement of the economic mechanism. They were reflected in the 12 July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

The decree calls for the adoption of a widespread system of measures to improve planning and economic management. We know, for example, that the basic indicator which

guided ministries and planning organs in assessing economic activities of enterprises and associations--goods marketed--did not contribute to the solution of an important problem such as upgrading production effectiveness. The result was that the more expensive the output was, the simpler it became to implement a planned assignment. It became no longer a question of variety or lowering material intensiveness. Receiving an assignment in terms of the overall value of goods marketed, the enterprise gave priority to the production of items which were most profitable to the producer and were more material intensive.

The situation hardly changed with the amendment contained in the instruction issued to the central economic organs to rate plants according to marketing based on the implementation of contractual obligations and orders placed by the USSR Gosplan organs. In 1980 alone, violating contracts and orders, associations and enterprises fell short of delivering goods worth 16.9 billion rubles. This greatly worsened the work of related enterprises. In the first half of 1981, there were 7.3 billion rubles' worth of undelivered goods based on contracts and orders. The inertia of the old gross output approach to the evaluation of the work is so strong that to this day, after a decision on the gradual conversion of industry to another indicator--normative net output--has been passed, it is not being implemented with the proper amount of energy. Some economic managers excessively fear that under the new procedure for assessing the work many enterprises which are now considered front ranking would fall back, thus disturbing the system of indicators used in assessing the work of entire ministries and departments. Therefore, pursuit of the overall volume of goods marketed in terms of tons of metal and equipment continues to cause substantial harm to the national economy.

The past few years have proved that profit unrelated to production costs cannot be an effective regulator of quality indicators. It has become clear that there are two ways to increase profitability: the hard--by reducing production costs--and the easier--by raising wholesale prices and rates. Unfortunately, many economic managers have taken the path of least resistance and have increased the production of highly profitable goods, frequently ignoring the interests of consuming enterprises.

This was the situation in which construction output found itself, in which the indicator related to assessing the work of construction workers on the basis of the overall volume of construction and installation work continues to be used. The successful experiment of assessing the work of construction workers on the basis of finished projects completed in the Belorussian SSR has not become properly widespread; the new indicator of finished construction output is not being applied. The results of the inefficient system of economic management in construction are quite eloquent. The volume of unfinished construction has become very close to the annual volume of capital investments. The amount of uninstalled equipment, a considerable share of which has been imported, is growing.

It is entirely obvious that such methods of economic management practiced during the past decade lagged badly behind practical requirements. This must not be allowed to happen in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid particular attention to these economic management shortcomings in his recent speech at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum. "The congress," he said, "proclaimed the slogan 'The Economy Must Be Economical.' The entire economic mechanism must be made consistent with this requirement. However, we must admit that this has not been accomplished so far to the necessary extent. That is precisely why we still come across economic situations in which enterprises and associations

find it economically unprofitable to formulate stressed plans, speed up scientific and technical progress and upgrade production quality. That is precisely why we have still not been able to discard indicators which essentially encourage waste. This applies to the notorious 'gross output,' computed in terms of tons and rubles in the case of the production of machine tools and bread baking or tons/km in assessing the work of the transportation system."

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that we must complete the conversion of the economy to intensification and also adopt new measures to ensure the further improvement of socialist production effectiveness in the 1980's and that the 11th Five-Year Plan can and must become a major step in this matter. Particular attention must be paid to its main component--upgrading labor productivity, improving productive capital and lowering public production material intensiveness, i.e., lowering raw material, material, fuel-energy and other outlays per ruble of national income. "...A matter which is seemingly simple and quite ordinary," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "has become a pivotal feature of economic policy: an economical attitude toward the public good, the ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have....This must be the target of our technical policy, the policy of capital investments and the system of planned and accountability indicators."

Unquestionably, reducing production material intensiveness and the economical utilization of all material resources will be of the greatest importance in this connection. This is determined also by the fact that the further increase in the extraction of minerals requires tremendous capital investment increases.

It has been estimated that the cost of conservation measures is considerably lower than that of producing addition amounts of fuel, raw materials and other types of material resources. In machine building, for example, investments in saving 1 ton of rolled metal range approximately between 250 and 300 rubles. This is several hundred percent less than the cost of building additional capacities for the production of 1 ton of rolled metal, taking into consideration the entire cost of extracting the additional quantity of ore and fuel, and the smelting of the cast iron and the steel. However, the machine builders are still making poor use of such opportunities partially because it is sometimes easier to produce than to conserve metal. Furthermore, the necessary conditions for making machine building plants economically interested in this have not yet been provided.

Equally great opportunities exist in cement production, the use of our rich timber facilities and other sectors. For example, a great deal of low-grade cement is being produced because of unjustifiably large quantities of additives. This causes great construction cost overruns. Because of poor cement quality, in a single year the USSR Ministry of Construction alone used an additional 400,000 tons; an additional 190,000 tons of metal were used because of discrepancies between requirements and available armatures.

Some republics and oblasts adopt a dependent attitude toward meeting their needs for timber, preferring to ship it in from a distance of 1,000 km rather than use their own resources. This frequently violates construction deadlines and the work of many important enterprises falls behind schedule.

In our country, the consumption of raw and other materials and fuel virtually doubles every 10 years. However, the consequently inevitable development of new mineral deposits requires increasing capital investments, particularly if we bear in mind that an increasing number of raw material resources come from the newly developed areas

in Siberia and the Far East. "The country's needs for energy and raw materials are increasing steadily," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "and their production is becoming increasingly costly. Consequently, in order to avoid an excessive increase in capital investments, we must insure the more efficient use of resources. Among other things, this means reducing the material intensiveness of output, and using less expensive and more effective materials and their economical utilization."

A sharp turn toward the utilization of material resources must be made in the 1980's. The rational and economical expenditure of raw and other materials and fuel is the most effective means for increasing the country's national wealth. Thus, a 1 percent saving of material resources used in the national economy is the equivalent of the creation of 6 billion rubles' worth of national income; the materials saved would yield additional industrial output worth more than 10 billion rubles.

II

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" emphasize the need for comprehensive conservation of all resources, material above all. The task is to save by 1985, compared with 1980, 160-170 million tons of conventional fuel, to reduce outlays of raw ferrous and nonferrous metals and steel pipes in machine building and metal processing, to save considerable amounts of metals, timber and cement in construction. A major factor in this case is the recirculation of material and fuel and energy resources. Conservation possibilities as a result of the comprehensive use of natural raw materials and the involvement of industrial and residential waste in economic circulation are indeed tremendous.

Particular attention will be paid to the creation and utilization of energy- and resource-saving equipment and technologies and wasteless technological processes, which ensure the comprehensive processing of raw materials, in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

In order to implement the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the ministries and departments must take measures aimed at firmly curtailing all kinds of losses of raw and other materials, particularly during their transportation and storage. It will also be necessary to revise the norms of natural and admissible losses, most of which are quite old and are frequently inconsistent with the new production, transportation and storing conditions.

Increasing savings in production work is a major comprehensive national economic problem, the solution of which will require a new approach. Production material intensiveness is one of the summing-up indicators of the extent of utilization of raw and other materials, fuel, energy and other labor objects.

Unfortunately, the science of economics has still not paid proper attention to the development of a number of topical theoretical problems related to public production material intensiveness and its role in upgrading economic effectiveness. In his report on the occasion marking the 11th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said the following: "The current of life rushes on. New problems awaiting their solutions replace the already resolved ones. Hence the need to note promptly, to detect the new phenomena and processes, to analyze and sum them up, and to provide new theoretical guidelines for practical work." This is fully applicable to the problem of material intensiveness which has still not drawn the suitable attention of economists.

At this point, let us consider the method used in computing the material intensiveness indicator. In our view, it should not be considered only as a percentage of all material outlays in the cost of the gross social product which, as a result of lowering labor outlays (growth of labor productivity) should naturally increase. This approach does not characterize the full effectiveness of material outlays. Material intensiveness is the ratio of material outlays (excluding amortization) to the size of the national income. Hence, with a higher standard of management, intensification in the use of material resources will decline. This must be taken into consideration in production plans.

The considerable reduction of material intensiveness must be contemplated in the formulation of the 11th Five-Year Plan of ministries, associations and enterprises. This is based on both the line of decisively upgrading effectiveness and the extensive opportunities which exist for the conservation of material resources. The experience of the GDR, which was pointed out at the 26th congress, indicates that with properly organized work on intensifying the use of material resources by no more than 1 percent, the annual output may grow by 3 percent. Therefore, more thorough work must be done on the planned assignments on reducing material intensiveness in the most important economic sectors and in physical terms.

The inclusion of the assignment of raising the metal utilization coefficient in the 1981 economic plan is of essential importance. Whereas the annual reports submitted by machine building industries show a lowering of average expenditure norms of rolled metal, their coefficient of metal utilization has not improved for many years. This increases the cost of output.

The November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum approved and the 6th USSR Supreme Soviet session ratified the basic indicators of the plans for the economic and social development for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for 1982.

Currently, the USSR Gosplan and the ministries are completing the formulation of the association and enterprise plans. However, let us point out that some ministries and departments have submitted plans and estimates which call for increased production costs and material intensiveness or else show their minimal reduction. Proper attention is not paid everywhere to the detailed elaboration of such matters. We believe that this represents a serious neglect of existing possibilities.

Actually, we fail to understand why material intensiveness in most machine building ministries is scheduled to change by 2-3 percent over the 5-year period, whereas the "Basic Directions" call for no less than 18-20 percent savings of rolled ferrous metals in machine building and metal processing. Why is it that despite our major losses in material resources and fuel and the existence of major reserves acknowledged by all, in many cases we fail to include in our plans a greater reduction in production costs and material intensiveness? Let us frankly say that by raising the level of such indicators some economic managers are aiming, in our view, to secure for themselves an undisturbed life, to legalize the higher norms of utilization of material resources and to limit themselves exclusively to talking about increasing production effectiveness.

The "Basic Directions" stress the need to achieve the best possible results with the least outlays in the social interest. Economists have estimated that the more efficient and economical utilization of material resources in the 11th Five-Year Plan could lead to considerable reductions in production costs and material intensiveness, which would enable us to save tens of billions of rubles, which would account for a considerable percentage of the growth of the end social product.

In the course of its consideration of the 11th Five-Year Plan the USSR Council of Ministers deemed inadequate the estimates of ministries and departments on lowering production costs and material intensiveness and ordered them to formulate within 3 months for all enterprises, organizations and establishments organizational and technical measures for additional lowering of material outlays per unit of output in terms of work and services averaging no less than 3-5 percent for 1982-1985, compared with 1980, including 1-1.5 percent for 1982. Ministries, departments and councils of ministers of union republics were asked to submit to the USSR Gosplan and USSR Ministry of Finance consolidated data on planned savings from the lowering of material outlays as a result of the implementation of such measures by 1 February 1982.

The rate of turnover of material resources in the social production process is of substantial importance as well. Frequently, enterprises and construction projects stockpile substantial unnecessary amounts of materials and equipment and increase their volume of unfinished construction. Substantial results can be obtained by reducing such stockpiles in the 11th Five-Year Plan. We must take into consideration that the faster turnover of material resources in industry alone and by no more than a single day would enable us to invest in the development of our economy more than 1.5 billion rubles additionally.

III

Because of the particular importance attached to the conservation of material resources, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have passed a number of decrees aimed at the immediate implementation of the resolutions of the 26th party congress on such matters.

This particularly includes the 12 March 1981 decree "On Measures To Upgrade Production Effectiveness and the Utilization of Goods Made of Ferrous Metals in 1981-1985." It stipulates specific assignments on the conservation of metal in economic sectors and formulates organizational measures for their implementation. The decree stipulates that as much as 7 million tons of metal must be saved by 1985 compared with the 1980 level by using economical types of metal goods. The rolled metal utilization coefficient must be improved by 3-5 percent over the 5-year period. As we know, this has not happened for quite some time. The decree calls for the manufacturing of economical types of metal goods and for helping metallurgical plants to acquire equipment and other material resources. It forbids managers of enterprises of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the ministries and departments which consume their output to use less instead of more economical and labor-intensive items.

On 2 April 1981 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Basic Directions and Measures for Upgrading the Effectiveness of the Utilization of Fuel and Energy Resources in the National Economy in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." The document notes that existing fuel and energy conservation possibilities are used unsatisfactorily. The formulation of urgent measures was deemed necessary to eliminate existing shortcomings in the use of fuel and energy resources through the application of contemporary achievements in the field of scientific and technical progress and progressive experience, the use of scientific norms for fuel and electric and thermal power outlays and the elimination of losses there and to direct the efforts of labor collectives to the thrifty utilization of fuel and energy. The decree also includes specific organizational and technical measures for the conservation of fuel and energy resources in all economic sectors and the production of fuel-saving equipment.

On 30 June 1981 the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Intensifying Work on the Saving and Rational Utilization of Raw Material, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources," which enhanced the significance of the matter even further.

The Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers believe that the time has come to improve radically all work related to the economical and rational utilization of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, to make it truly nationwide and to ensure the systematic strengthening of cost effectiveness and the implementation of a strict conservation regimen in all economic sectors, labor collectives and workplaces, emphasizing that this is a most important matter facing the entire party and people.

The USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstroy, USSR Gosstroi, USSR Gosnab, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics were asked to make a decisive turn in all planning and economic activities and in the development of science and technology toward the more effective utilization and conservation of material resources. In particular, the formulated plans must call for improving the structure of the national economy and its sectors in such a way as to encourage the comprehensive reduction in production energy and material intensiveness, ensuring the maximum extraction of minerals from the ground and engaging in the comprehensive and extensive processing of raw materials. Specific measures must be formulated to ensure the rational and economical utilization of material resources in all industrial sectors, agriculture, construction and transportation and with a view to improving economic incentives and increasing the collection, processing and utilization of secondary raw materials, consumer waste and local raw materials.

The decree calls for the introduction of mandatory indicators in the plan for reducing production costs and material intensiveness. Ceilings on material outlays per ruble of output and material intensiveness indicators for most important commodities are introduced.

This tightens requirements related to the activities of the financial-banking system. Essentially, this means that they must make more energetic use of bank credit and financial levers in ensuring the mobilization and fuller utilization of conservation possibilities.

In our view, the strictest possible control over the observance of established norms of outlays of material resources and their quality and substantiated use must be organized. It is no secret that because of lack of control, quite frequently some conscientious managers increase their outlay norms, as a result of which they obtain large quantities of material resources needlessly. This leads to the creation of substantial above-norm material stockpiles and opportunities for squandering or failing to use them according to planned purposes.

In this connection, it has been suggested to improve norming, to enhance the mobilizing importance of norms and standards, and to refine promptly existing and to establish new progressive norms for outlays of raw and other materials and fuel and energy resources in accordance with the applications of scientific and technical achievements and front-ranking enterprise experience.

The economic incentive of associations, enterprises and organizations will be broadened considerably. Bonuses to workers, foremen and other engineering and technical personnel for economizing on specific types of material resources compared with scientific

norms will be increased. At the same time, above-norm use of materials, fuel and energy will be paid for by the enterprises at higher prices and rates.

Under the new conditions the role of the USSR Gosplan as the natural organizer of the implementation of state assignments on the rational utilization and conservation of material resources is enhanced. As we know, the "Basic Directions" stipulate "the strengthening and improvement of the nationwide system of material and technical supplies and enhancing its role and responsibility for the rational utilization and conservation of material resources and uninterrupted supplying of the national economy with raw and other materials, equipment and spare parts. The solution of these problems will accelerate the conversion of the economy to the track of intensive development.

The long practical experience of the nationwide system of material and technical procurements indicates that meeting the requirements for material resources is organically related to the comprehensive efforts of procurement organs, mainly in terms of refining the need for material resources themselves, the application of measures aimed at reducing raw and other materials consumption, ensuring the timely replacement of scarce with less scarce and introduction of new and more effective materials.

Naturally, the efficient utilization and conservation of tremendous material resources is a complex and difficult task. The solution of such problems will involve the USSR Gosplan, State Committee for Science and Technology, sectorial ministries, associations, enterprises and construction projects. It is important to coordinate the forces and facilities of USSR ministries and departments and all design, scientific research, engineering and technological organizations. Full use must be made in this area of the experience and knowledge of specialists working at all economic levels, related to the application of all available scientific achievements.

The organizational system for managing the material conservation process will have to be changed substantially, for the USSR Gosplan assumes special responsibility for the efficient utilization and conservation of material resources. Actually, how can uninterrupted procurements for the national economy be secured unless the consumers apply a strict conservation regimen, use excessively high norms and allow negligence and waste and if industry does not produce sufficient quantities of economical materials? That is why the organ in charge of uninterrupted supply of material resources to the national economy must become the main organizer and controller of their efficient and economical utilization on the scale of the entire national economy.

An interdepartmental commission on the economical and rational utilization of material resources, headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers--the chairman of the USSR Gosplan--has been set up to coordinate the work of ministries and departments and provide systematic control over the implementation of party and government decrees in the area of resource conservation. The councils of ministers of union republics must set up corresponding republic, kray and oblast interdepartmental commissions, while USSR ministries and departments must organize sectorial resource conservation commissions. Subsequently, it would be expedient to formulate a nationwide program with the participation of the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosplan and the sectorial ministries, aimed at lowering public production material intensiveness and ensuring the more efficient utilization of raw and other materials, fuel and energy; it should be based on the sectorial programs formulated by ministries and departments and on territorial programs.

Such programs would cover all matters directly related to reducing production material intensiveness, ensuring the rational utilization of resources, substituting for scarce raw materials and using waste and recycled raw materials. They would reflect the reduced consumption of raw and other materials through formulation of scientific outlay norms for basic materials not only in terms of percentages but specific conservation figures.

The interdepartmental commission and the majority of corresponding commissions set up by ministries, departments and union republics have already undertaken the implementation of this project.

Let us note the importance of the instruction issued to the councils of ministers of union republics and to all executive committees of soviets of people's deputies: improve the level of work among the population on the economical utilization of fuel, electric power, natural gas and water. This requires a significant increase in the use of equipment and instruments for measuring and controlling their individual and collective consumption.

The problems formulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the conservation of resources will be of the highest possible importance for our entire work on the implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan in terms of the content and the scope of the assignments it contains. In this connection, the central committees of the communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms have been asked to discuss the means for improving the saving and efficient utilization of resources at meetings of party organizations and general meetings of working people. Enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, establishments and organizations must formulate practical 5-year measures for considerably reducing outlays of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy, for ensuring the full utilization of recycled resources and for the elimination of the various losses. The decree emphasizes that the task of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations is to develop and support the initiative of the working people and the creative search for conservation means and methods, to develop a thrifty attitude toward the people's property and to ensure the sensible utilization of material resources in daily life.

Stricter requirements face enterprise, association and consumption project managers and specialists concerning the formulation and application of most progressive technological processes and solutions which will ensure high production quality with the efficient utilization and conservation of resources and the elimination of all types of losses.

"Losses do not appear by themselves," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the ceremonies upon the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia. "They have their specific culprits. We do not take them to task severely. On the other hand, we are still insufficiently encouraging those who know how to save raw materials, fuel and energy, who know how to economize the state kopek. However, Comrades, this is absolutely necessary. Our economy is not a national economy for nothing. Its entire development is aimed at ensuring the people's prosperity. We can block all channels of losses if we involve in this all of our party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the entire people. The active involvement of all working people in the struggle against losses is a good method for the participation of the masses in the administration of public affairs."

Improved national economic management, organizational work, and control and supervision of the implementation of party decisions are important elements in accelerating the conversion of the economy to the track of intensive development. Lenin gave priority to actual control over the actual implementation of the decrees of the central authority. "Check on the people and check on the actual implementation of projects--again and again, this is the crux of all work, of all policy today" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 16).

The adoption of the proper decree is only the beginning. Lenin ascribed decisive importance to the practical implementation of party and government stipulations. In his view, successful control means not only exposing those guilty of omission but also exposing shortcomings promptly, eliminating them and improving matters absolutely. It is logical for the Central Committee to have deemed it necessary to pass the 11 August decree "On Further Improving Control and Supervision of Execution in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," which is a central component of all party organizational work and which requires decisive improvements in the style and method of economic management and more effective party management of economic progress.

The working people in our homeland are answering the party's call with actions. The movement for thrift is expanding and the activeness and initiative of production collectives are increasing. A recent CC CPSU decree approves of the initiative of a number of Moscow enterprises which pledged to apply the achievements of science and technology with a view to resource conservation. This initiative has met with a broad response. Everywhere--in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kiev, Minsk, Gor'kiy and Novosibirsk--the labor collectives are reviewing their capacities in order to ensure the practical solution of the problems of resource conservation formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress and to fulfill the new five-year plan more successfully.

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FOOD BASE OF A BIG TOWN

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[Article by Ye. Murav'yev, Kuybyshevskaya Oblast Party Committee first secretary]

[Text] The further development of food production is among the most important socio-economic tasks in upgrading the well-being of the Soviet people. In this connection, the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses have stipulated the need for the formulation of a food program as a structural component of the plan for the development of the country's national economy.

We know that although considerable successes were achieved in agricultural production, not all needs for farm products are being satisfied fully. This is largely related to the fact that the substantial improvement in the well-being of the people increased the purchasing power of the population and the corresponding drastic increase of demand for most valuable food items. Let us point out in this connection that during the last 15 years alone the share of the population with a monthly income of 100 or more rubles per family member has increased by a factor of more than 10 and that today it accounts for almost half of the country's population.

Furthermore, the process of urbanization, of the growth of cities, is continuing its intensive development. The urban population obtains its food only from the stores, public catering establishments and the market and is dependent on the allocation of union-wide and republic stocks. Local reserves for increasing the food potential are still not used to their fullest extent despite existing possibilities, one of which is discussed in the present article.

1

Territorial production specialization and centralization and distribution of agricultural commodities provide the best possible conditions for supplying big towns with durable bulk food products (flour, sugar, vegetable oil, cereals, etc). However, it is not always able to create equally favorable conditions for making early and seasonal vegetables and fruits, fresh milk and other products available. This problems faces mainly the big industrial centers which lack a local farm base for supplying their population with such products and which lack a variety of flexible direct economic relations between town and country. Practical experience has shown that such a base is extremely necessary for the big towns, both for the sake of supplying specific commodities and for the use of the urban, mainly industrial potential.

As is frequently the case, practice outstrips the theoretical interpretation and scientific substantiation of the resolution of the important socioeconomic problem of ensuring the stable supply of seasonal and nondurable foodstuffs to the big towns.

Moscow offers a very original solution. In order to supply its population with some varieties of vegetables, it has organized specialized farms in several parts of the country. Thus, the Yuzhnyy greenhouse combine--the biggest complex in the country for the growing of cucumbers and tomatoes sold in the capital--was set up in Ust'-Dzhegutinskiy Rayon in the Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya Autonomous Oblast. Several collectives participated in its establishment: Moscow construction organizations, the Stavropol'sel'khozmontazh Association and several ministries and departments. However, the Main Capital Construction Administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee is the general customer. It is responsible for equipment deliveries and financing. It is in charge of technical control over construction and the commissioning of the projects. This combine will supply Muscovites annually in winter and spring alone with about 20,000 tons of vegetables starting in 1982-1983.

The basic principle--territorial and interdepartmental organization of output, specializing only in the production of goods needed by the town, the transportation, primary processing and marketing of which are carried out by urban organizations can be traced quite clearly in the creation of such farms. Furthermore, such production is being developed in its most intensive forms. In our example, it is a highly mechanized greenhouse farm.

If such an integration between town and country is possible despite a considerable distance, its implementation in the suburban areas of most big towns in the USSR, taking actual natural-climatic conditions into consideration, would be even more significant. Let us try to prove the possibility of such agroindustrial suburban integration by taking Kuybyshevskaya Oblast as an example.

The beginning of this important process was made with the development of the country's big industrial center--Tol'yatti City. It is a city of more than half a million inhabitants, growing at an exceptionally rapid pace. It includes automotive, chemical and power industry enterprises. This industrial center has been "wedged" into the existing agricultural production system of Stavropol'skiy Rayon in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast. From the agricultural viewpoint, the rayon grows primarily grain crops and special steps had to be taken to supply the Tol'yatti population with milk, vegetables and other products usually grown in suburban areas.

It was to this end that the Zhiguli specialized agricultural association was created with the facilities of existing sovkhozes in 1974. Specialization and orientation toward specific consumers resulted in increased volumes of output such as doubling vegetable production, tripling potato growing and increasing milk production by a 1.5 factor. Economic indicators improved. Labor outlays declined per quintal of vegetables by 20 percent in the open and 14 percent in cold frames; potato growing increased by 54 percent; milk by 23 percent; per quintal of cattle weight increase, by 12 percent, etc. Profitability more than doubled. In the 10th Five-Year Plan it increased by 42 percent while labor productivity improved by 30 percent.

However, difficulties in selling the goods to the urban population became apparent with the increased volume of agricultural output aimed at the local market. The city fruit and vegetable stores were unable to accept the vegetables at sovkhoz sites; the farms themselves lost a great deal of time and effort looking for places where

they could market their goods. Arguments developed in assessing the quality of the produce. Automotive transportation facilities were used ineffectively, etc. Departmental lack of coordination among the individual units within the single process of meeting the needs of the city for agricultural commodities began to be felt.

After making a study of the solution of this problem by the agroindustrial associations in Odesskaya Oblast, Stavropol'skiy Kray and the Moldavian and Georgian SSRs, the Kuybyshevskaya Oblast Party Committee and Oblast Executive Committee and the Tol'yatti City Party Committee and City Executive Committee formulated suggestions on the organization of the Zhiguli Agroindustrial Association, whose functions included not only the production but the procurement, marketing and processing of vegetables and potatoes. It included five truck gardening sovkhozes, an interfarm automotive transportation enterprise, the city fruit and vegetable trade administration with bases for production storage, 19 vegetable stores, 11 store branches and 69 seasonal marketing stations.

Further production specialization and concentration was carried out in the farming and animal husbandry operations of the suburban agroindustrial association. Currently every sovkhoz grows 5 to 6 vegetables rather than 20 before the reorganization. Milk production is concentrated in three sovkhozes; four sovkhozes have specialized in potato growing, etc.

The association will complete the organization of feed production as a separate sector in 1981. This will ensure stable deliveries of the necessary amounts of fodder for the development of animal husbandry.

The new association centralized planning, allocation of material and technical resources, transportation, receipt and delivery of vegetables and potatoes and trade in fruit and vegetables. Regulations were passed within the stipulated norms relating to material incentive, strengthening and expansion of the farms and sociocultural measure funds; a unified reserve fund was created as well. The introduction of a shop-type structure of agricultural production organization and sectorial management method constituted an important development.

As a result of the increased production of agricultural commodities, in 2 years the Tol'yatti City Fruit and Vegetable Trade Administration, which is part of the association, increased its sales by 24 percent. This was helped by the better management of procurements and the development of the technical base (mainly the mechanization of loading and unloading operations) at the city fruit and vegetable trade administration bases. The economic effectiveness of the work of its collective improved correspondingly. Whereas losses of almost half a million rubles were recorded in 1978, profits totaled half a million rubles in 1979 and more than 1 million in 1980.

The creation of the agroindustrial association improved production relations between sovkhozes and trade enterprises and rallied the efforts of rural and urban workers, who became more interested in increasing vegetable and potato production, improving the quality and preservation of the goods and delivering them to the consumer, i.e., the end results of their work. The elimination of departmental barriers allowed better population supplies of vegetables, potatoes, fruits and melon crops. In the future, about 85 percent of all urban needs for such produce will be met from the output of this suburban association. According to our estimates, the balance should come from sales from private auxiliary farms in the same suburban area. We shall have to import from other areas no more than a few thousand tons of vegetables between seasons.

The practical experience of the Zhiguli suburban agroindustrial association inspired the creation of yet another similar enterprise--Kryazh--for the raising, procurement, storage, trade in and industrial processing of vegetables and potatoes. Its purpose is to supply Kuybyshev, a huge city with a population of over 1 million. Thus, two associations only will resolve such a major problem--supplying a number of necessary products to more than 2 million urban residents. Let us particularly point out that all of this was developed in an oblast which had previously not specialized in fruit and vegetable growing.

The present Kuybyshevplodoovoshchkhov Oblast Production Agroindustrial Fruit and Vegetable Growing Association, which was established by decision of government and agricultural ministries of the Russian Federation, is the latest stage in the development of territorial agroindustrial integration in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast. Essentially, this is one of the first big territorial agroindustrial suburban-type complexes in our country.

In addition to the Kryazh and Zhiguli associations we have mentioned, it includes 10 sovkhoses of the reorganized potato-growing and dairy sovkhoses trust, the existing Plodoprom Trust, which consists of 13 sovkhoses and 2 orchard nurseries, the Bol'shevik Sovkhoz of the agricultural production administration of the Syzranskiy Rayon Executive Committee, and the Neprik and Surinskiy sovkhoses of the Rossemovoshch Association of the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture. The total amount of land of this huge enterprise is 310,000 hectares, including 240,000 hectares under cultivation.

The main purpose of the suburban association is to ensure the year-round supply of fresh cabbage, table root crops, spring onions and other products to the urban population. In order to carry out this assignment, by the end of this five-year plan the association's specialized enterprises must increase their vegetable production by 20,000 tons, or 15 percent, compared with the planned volume of 1981 procurements; by 1990 they must increase their output by 50,000 tons, or 34 percent. The output will be increased essentially as a result of higher yields which will reach 230-240 quintals per hectare by 1985.

This will be achieved as a result of the substantial strengthening of the material and technical facilities of the association: vegetable storage facilities for 15,000 tons and potato storing facilities for 21,000 tons will be built; the capacity of winter greenhouse combines will be doubled and will reach 83 hectares by 1990; the mechanized harvesting of vegetable crops will be accomplished. By the end of the five-year plan, carrots, beets and cabbage will be harvested with combines; extensive use will be made of harvesting conveyer belts for cucumbers and tomatoes. Social problems will be resolved as well. Thus, 215,000 square meters of housing will be built for the association's workers.

The oblast party organization has paid particular attention to the selection, placement and training of agricultural cadres, including cadres for the suburban association. Thus, sovkhos managers and chief specialists are being periodically retrained at the Kuybyshev Agricultural Institute; secondary-level workers are trained at the oblast agricultural management school, while livestock complex managers and specialists are trained at the oblast school for upgrading cadre skills for animal husbandry complexes.

The students are trained on the basis of standard curricula. The staff of the Kuybyshev Agricultural and Planning Institutes and Scientific Research Agricultural Institute and the Bezenchuk Sovkhoz-Technical School and the leading practical workers from the best oblast farms are recruited to deliver lectures and hold practical training classes.

The following question may be asked: How will the organization of such farms, which supply the big cities with milk and vegetables, affect the specialization of the area from the union's viewpoint? As we know, agriculture in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast specializes primarily in grain growing. Computations have indicated that the creation of such farms is to the advantage not only of the cities to which they are oriented but also of the country's national economy as a whole, since, firstly, in grain growing, the other union-specialized sovkhozes can concentrate their efforts more fully on the implementation of their basic tasks; secondly, the hauling of farm produce and hauling losses are reduced sharply.

Let us also note in this connection the experience of the suburban Sredets APK [Agro-industrial Combine] in the Bulgarian People's Republic which, without disturbing the existing specialization of a big agricultural area, is supplying the Sofia population with vegetables, flour, etc, on the basis of direct economic relations, marketing 80 to 100 percent of some of its produce in the city.

The territorial agroindustrial organizations, an example of which we have considered, offer a practical solution to one of the most important problems in contemporary economic policy--a rational combination of the sectorial with the territorial management principles. In this case, this applies to agriculture.

The nature of the actually developing relations between town and country is considerably broader and more complex than the "farm production-procurement and storage-city marketing" chain. For quite some time these relations have gone beyond the simple formula of "the village produces and the city consumes."

The modern industrial city and its suburban agricultural zone are linked by a substantial number of direct and indirect ties. Suffice it to say that it is in this area that the auxiliary farms of urban enterprises and organizations are primarily located, together with truck gardening and other associations. With its labor resources, the city actively participates in the development of agriculture in the suburban area and in fruit and vegetable procurements. As a rule, it has a direct influence on the level of rural training of cadres such as mechanizers, engineering and technical personnel, economists, teachers, physicians, etc. The big city substantially contributes to upgrading the cultural standard of the suburban population. In our country, it is provided with the opportunity to use city cultural, sports, and consumer amenities. Therefore, virtually the entire economic, social and labor potential of the city participates in the organization of the "city-suburban zone" system.

Unfortunately, such relations have not as yet acquired an efficient economic shape, and the tremendous opportunities for their utilization, already confirmed through the practical experience of leading oblasts, cities and farms, have not as yet been placed fully in the service of the national economy.

The time has come to provide a clear formulation of organization and economic and legal means and methods which would govern relations between the big town and the agrarian area which surrounds it, and to unite and make purposeful use of the efforts of the town and the agricultural area to ensure the fuller satisfaction of the population's demands for a variety of high-quality food products. The place and functions of each urban economic sector in increasing the production of agricultural commodities (not limited to assigning manpower to the countryside) must be defined more accurately.

The existing farming system in the suburban area must be largely subordinated to supplying with food the population of the town and the adjacent area.

In our view, unlike the traditional APK, the suburban APK has three specific features: first, its direct orientation toward meeting the needs of the urban and suburban populations for specific foodstuffs; second, the inclusion within it, in addition to agricultural and food industry enterprises, of other urban and suburban subunits which contribute to the solution of the food problem of the area directly or indirectly; third, increasing the responsibility of the city for the organization and results of APK activities.

Furthermore, the suburban APK must be considered in terms of an independent economic territorial-sectorial unit operating on the basis of cost effectiveness.

It is natural for the following question to be asked: How can we coordinate the broad requirements for food products of the contemporary urban resident with the relatively narrow specialization of agricultural rayons based on limitations imposed by nature on the production of a broad range of agricultural raw materials? It is a fact that such limitations exist. However, the purpose of the suburban APK is not to replace the existing system of regional agricultural specialization with a system of closed territorial complexes which are entirely self-supporting in agricultural commodities.

It is a question merely of expanding the existing system with the help of the still insufficiently used possibilities of the intensive development of agricultural production in the suburban area, which could be accomplished through integration with urban industry and trade. Let us point out that such possibilities are quite extensive and varied and that they must be made to serve the people.

In this connection, balancing the production of goods based on union specialization with the production of vegetables, milk and meat to meet the needs of the town and the suburban area, while emphasizing the satisfaction of such needs primarily through local produce, should be adopted as one of the leading planning principles governing the suburban agricultural zone.

This view is consistent with the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the period through 1990," which stipulate the following: "Work must be continued on improving the structure and location of agricultural production in the various areas and parts of the country; its specialization and concentration must be enhanced. The role and responsibility of republics, krays, oblasts and rayons in organizing a union-wide food stock and meeting population demands for food products must be enhanced."

In particular, a rational ratio between areas under grain and feed crops must be applied in essentially grain-growing areas. On a country-wide basis, more than one-half of the entire grain supply is used as livestock feed. In some areas, however, in terms of volume and structure of crops, even combined with the production of rough and fresh fodder, the total output is unable to meet animal husbandry requirements. Therefore, the layout of areas under grain crops must be better planned. Let us also point out that developing the production of coarse and fresh fodder in the suburban area is worthy of special consideration as a primary local base for the development of animal husbandry. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, the growth rates of such production lagged behind the production of concentrated fodder by a factor of 2.5. This is one of the reasons for the fact that in domestic mixed feeds the share of grain is 15 to 20 percent higher than in other economically developed countries. All of this requires

the intensive utilization and reproduction of the pasture-meadow facilities of the suburban area to meet the requirements of beef and dairy animal husbandry and the comprehensive utilization of urban food waste--from households, industry and public catering--for such purposes.

3

What should the real economic relations in the suburban APK be?

Agriculture in the suburban area must become partially respecialized in order to ensure the fuller satisfaction of urban requirements. A sufficiently productive local food base must be consistent with the concentration of the population in the big towns. This can be achieved only as a result of primarily using highly intensive ways and means of output in the suburban area, such as greenhouse vegetable growing, hothouse farming, mechanized livestock feeding complexes, broiler poultry farms, etc.

The material and technical base of agriculture in the suburban zone and its industrial and social infrastructure should be developed on the basis of centralized funds and, to a large extent, loans and funds contributed by urban enterprises and organizations and the utilization of construction facilities and urban expenditure ceilings (including outlays for communal housing, cultural projects, etc).

The full opportunities offered by direct economic relations between urban and suburban industry and agriculture must be utilized. For example, thermoelectric power plants and big enterprises could cooperate with hothouse and fish-raising farms on the basis of the use of recycled energy resources (heat waste), steady planned work to enhance the technical standards of agriculture in the suburban zone, the manufacture and repair of one-of-a-kind pieces of agricultural equipment, etc. In our view, in this case the contribution of the town could be repaid with deliveries of milk, meat, poultry, early vegetables, fruits, flour, etc.

Clearly, we should also amend the traditional approach to the use of enterprise and organization manpower in agricultural production. Let us point out that the creation of suburban agroindustrial associations with a high level of mechanization of various processes substantially reduced labor outlays per unit of output. Thus, as a result of the extensive use of machines in truck gardening, potato growing and animal husbandry and their storage and marketing, the Zhiguli association is planning to reduce gradually the number of workers and employees recruited from Tol'yatti. We are planning to reduce the number of such personnel used in harvesting by 60 percent over the next 2 years.

Indeed, the efforts of urban industrial and scientific workers are most effective in agriculture above all in supplying the countryside with the necessary materials and mechanization and chemization facilities and in developing electrification. Obviously, the contribution of Tol'yatti chemical workers in the development of the suburban agricultural zone would have been significantly higher had the respective enterprises produced an additional 15,000 tons of fertilizer (an insignificant percentage of their current output) through internal reserves, by reducing somewhat the number of workers and employees assigned to help farming operations. This would increase the potato crop grown on irrigated land by 20-25 percent.

However, even the direct labor contribution of the urban population to agricultural production would become more substantial if it were made more interested in the work

and confident that such efforts would be compensated by additional produce supplied to cafeterias, Pioneer camps, kindergartens and medical and sanitation facilities of enterprises and organizations. Wide open possibilities exist for building in rural areas rest homes for the urban population where, properly motivated and rewarded, such a population could combine rest with production activities (for a specific period of time) in the farms, the creation of youth labor camps, etc. We should also consider the question of student construction detachments, which go to all parts of the country in the summer to make a greater contribution to the development of the suburban areas of the cities where their schools are located.

The auxiliary farms of urban enterprises and organizations could assume their proper position in the structure of suburban APKs. Whereas today they are developed to a large extent as extraneous, isolated and mostly unprofitable farms, in the course of the development of a suburban APK they could become an organic part of the large-scale agricultural production process on a cooperative basis. This provides yet another opportunity for establishing direct relations between town and country, which would result in the creation of separate sovkhoz livestock farms or fattening complexes serviced by specific enterprises and delivering their products to such enterprises directly.

The food industry sectors play a great role in creating an operating suburban APK.

The food enterprises (whatever their affiliation) in the town and the suburban area located in the suburban (and not only suburban) APK must maintain the closest possible economic relations with agriculture with a view to ensuring the fuller and better utilization of agricultural raw materials. However, the effectiveness of such relations in the suburban APK can be improved as a result of a greater consideration of the requirements of the urban population.

The importance of such relations is enhanced by the fact that in the big and very big cities, in any case food industry sectors assume the nature of local industry and export few other products. Thus, the biggest food enterprises in Moscow, whose scale of output is the biggest in the country, work practically full time only for Moscow's population and visitors. Only part of the margarine, pasta goods, tea and coffee produced in the city is shipped out. The task is to ensure the proper specialization of the food industry in other big cities in order to ensure the complete and full satisfaction of their food requirements. This would also eliminate unnecessary transportation and losses.

Furthermore, it becomes possible for a high percentage of the food to be prepackaged. This reduces store losses and, above all, drastically lowers the need for manpower in this area. Finally, this type of approach enables us to take more completely into consideration the demographic situation of specific towns (for example, in terms of increasing the production of children's foods or dietetic products for the elderly). Naturally, such problems can be resolved most successfully on the basis of direct relations between industrial enterprises and suppliers of agricultural materials within the framework of the suburban APK.

The suburban APK offer favorable conditions for the implementation of the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress on increasing the construction of refrigerated and storage areas, reception and procurement centers, and processing enterprises and shops, above all in the areas where fruit and vegetables are produced. In the absence of coordinated activities of this type between town and country, the huge individual purchases of

fruits and vegetables require the installation of vast storage and vegetable centers in the city, the servicing of which requires a substantial amount of work and leads to considerable raw material losses because of the technical difficulties involved in storing together huge amounts of different products. This problem can be resolved by building relatively small storage areas for specific farm groups at collection centers. Such facilities could be organized wherever needed, and virtually all the fruit and vegetables stored in them could be shipped out. This would reduce not only material losses but the quantity of labor needed for sorting and grading. The experience of associations in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast has confirmed the possibility and high effectiveness of this method in the conditions of suburban agroindustrial integration.

The role of the private plots and truck gardening associations should not be underestimated in the organization of suburban APK. The materials of the 26th CPSU Congress particularly emphasize this form of agricultural production. They call for "increasing the production of meat, milk, potatoes, vegetables and fruits in the auxiliary farms of enterprises, organizations and establishments and the private plots of citizens and truck gardening, market-gardening and rabbit-raising associations (societies) of workers and employees, and helping them to acquire young livestock, feeds, seeds and fertilizers." Presently, this sector accounts for a very substantial share of the overall output of agricultural commodities in the country.

Let us point out that the private plots and gardening and other associations can become a most natural type of suburban APK, for their production is directly oriented toward meeting the needs of the urban and suburban populations and that virtually the entire amount of goods they produce is locally marketed.

Extensive and varied opportunities exist for using integration processes in the intensive development of private plots and gardening associations. Let us stress in the first place the creation and consolidation of their relations with the kolkhoz and state farm sectors. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses give technical assistance to such farms in land cultivation and harvesting, while the cooperative trade system helps them to market their goods.

The experience of the Hungarian People's Republic in including the private farms in the public agricultural production system (livestock and poultry breeding in particular) by assigning to such farms the raising of cattle and poultry, supplying them with young offspring, fodder and, frequently, tools, etc, has been energetically popularized in recent years. Many farms in our country have gained positive experience of this kind.

However, the ties between gardening associations, on the one hand, and industry, transportation and trade, on the other, are considerably weaker. In the majority of cases they are limited to the participation of trade union organizations and enterprise administrations in assigning plots to their workers.

Clearly, the urban enterprises and organizations, particularly the large ones, could involve themselves in the initial preparation of the plots for farm use by granting loans, building the necessary communications facilities and housing and farm premises, etc. The large enterprises and organizations could also hire agronomists for their associations. Some such functions could also be assumed by a special cost effectiveness administration within the city or oblast executive committee system. All of this could greatly reduce the time needed for the development of the plots and the growing of farm produce and could be considered as the real contribution of the town to increasing agricultural output.

In our view, the relationship between the town and the gardening association could be made more effective on the basis of direct, mostly physical forms of repayment of loans; every member of the association would give the enterprise or organization a percentage of the berry, fruit or vegetable crops for use by the plant's kindergarten, Pioneer camp, cafeteria, etc.

In our view, one of the most important tasks of the suburban APK is the efficient utilization of urban food waste in agriculture.

In our estimate, 5-10 percent or more of the annual meat consumption norm could be produced from food waste by the suburban zone of a big town with well-developed public catering and food industry. Food waste in a settlement with a population of 1 million amounts to 35,000-40,000 tons per year, or the equivalent of approximately 7,000-10,000 tons of fodder units. However, naturally this is not all. The problem of agricultural utilization of urban waste is considerably greater. Modern utilization methods make it possible to obtain not only feed but thermal energy which could be used in hothouse farming as well as mixed feed, construction materials and much else. In this article we are drawing attention to the utilization of food waste.

In the case of Tol'yatti, for example, an animal feeding complex using the food waste of public catering institutions and the population alone could produce a minimum of 600 tons of pork meat per year. In this respect, the possibilities of the dairy industry are exceptionally great. It could supply agriculture with whey--a most valuable nutritional raw material--which is used as a supplement in hog fattening rations and as cattle feed. The use of urban and suburban food waste is an intersectorial problem which, as with any other problem of this kind, makes it rather complex. In many big towns, no more than 20 to 30 percent of the food waste is utilized. This requires the solution of many organizational and technical problems, from the prompt and full collection of waste to the creation of specialized processing facilities (let us point out as an example that at the present time there is no centralized production of containers for collecting and storing food waste in the Russian Federation, that there is a shortage of M-30 containers, etc). The organization of cost effectiveness relations in this area would be difficult as well.

Nevertheless, the collection and processing of food waste is a strictly local problem which can be successfully resolved precisely as part of the "big town-suburban zone" system. Given the existence of industrial enterprises specializing in a great variety of goods and large-scale communal and automotive transportation enterprises, no particular effort would be required to develop a corresponding material base (the production of containers) for the collection and processing of waste. Unquestionably, in the final account, this would increase the food production potential. We are taking some steps to combine the still uncoordinated system of the collection, storage, transportation and processing of waste and its utilization in suburban agricultural production.

4

We have already pointed out the need for a unified management of suburban APK as autonomous territorial associations. The study of the individual activities of such an APK indicates the need to plan all aspects of its work strictly. The complex must operate on the basis of a system of directed accountability indicators. In our view, they should be based on planned assignments of the percentage of the overall output and the actual volume of goods produced by agriculture in the suburban zone and the food sectors from local materials for intraterritorial consumption and assignments related to the resources needed to make such output possible.

Such indicators will be determining in the case of sectors and production facilities directly involved in agricultural output (truck gardening, animal husbandry, etc) and organizations and enterprises engaged in primary processing and storage, specialized automotive transportation facilities and food industry sectors and trade organizations. The sectors and production facilities which contribute to the effective work of suburban APK must add them to their basic activity indicators. For example, the public catering system should be assigned to collect food waste; urban institutes and design bureaus should develop mechanization facilities; industrial enterprises should assume the production of above-plan goods needed by agriculture, agricultural equipment repairs, etc. A certain percentage of the funds allocated for such purposes should be provided by ministries and departments with enterprises in the particular towns.

Obviously, urban enterprises, organizations and establishments will continue to help agricultural production with manpower in the immediate future. However, such assignments must become part of their plan instead of being treated as periodical instructions. Basically, every collective must be informed in advance of its participation in the implementation of the food program.

At the present time, the party's agrarian policy and economic construction practice open up new, broad opportunities for improving urban population food supplies. Such opportunities are found in the purposeful utilization of the industrial and social potential of the cities for the development of agriculture in their suburban areas, the partial respecialization of this area in the interest of the big towns and the establishment of extensive economic and social relations between them, i.e., the creation of suburban agroindustrial complexes which will ensure the more extensive self-support of the urban population with individual foods, based on the utilization of essentially local resources.

The actually existing relations between big towns (their industry above all) and suburban agriculture, most extensively manifested of late in terms of sponsorship, the experience of the first territorial agroindustrial associations organized in the USSR for supplying the urban population with some agricultural commodities and the experience of many socialist countries which are actively developing suburban agriculture lead us to consider the creation and development of suburban agroindustrial complexes in our country as entirely realistic and as being of major socioeconomic importance.

Corresponding target programs should be drafted as soon as possible for a number of big towns, whether established or rapidly expanding (Tol'yatti, Naberezhnyye Chelny, Surgut), to provide practical proof of the expediency of the establishment of suburban APK and to clarify a number of organization and financial-economic problems and problems in the economic mechanism of this new territorial form of intersectorial production.

It would also be expedient to consider the inclusion of suburban APK in the all-union food program as one of the possible means for its implementation within the system of the big towns and suburban areas.

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INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Article by A. Kapto, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress, which discussed the most important tasks facing the country in the 11th Five-Year Plan comprehensively and earmarked the specific milestones to be reached in the further building of communism, paid great attention to problems of ideological and political-educational work. The CC CPSU accountability report submitted to the congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, defined its immediate and long-term tasks and emphasized the need to ensure its steady improvement.

The Ukrainian party organization, which welcomed the congress' historical resolutions with tremendous enthusiasm, is engaged in daily efforts to ensure their implementation with the active participation of the army of ideological workers -- propagandists, lecturers, political informants, agitators and journalists, who are trying to make every working person in the republic aware of the full wealth and depth of the ideas formulated at the congress.

The decisions of the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, which constitute the direct and immediate expansion of the ideas of the 26th party congress, met with the unanimous support and full and warm approval of the Ukrainian working people. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's profound, outstanding and meaningful speech at the plenum was adopted as a program for the political, organizational and ideological activity of the republic's party committees.

1

We are guided in our work by the instructions of the CC CPSU, which is closely following the changes which are taking place in the socioeconomic and spiritual life of Soviet society and is detecting them sensitively, and is promptly guiding the party organizations in all their activities, including ideological work.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pays continuing attention to this most important sector. He has repeatedly emphasized the need to adopt a more substantive approach to problems of communist education and to take more fully into consideration the higher cultural standard and comprehensive nature of the requirements of the Soviet people. The requirement of improving ideological work and upgrading its effectiveness was further substantiated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses at the 18th Komsomol

Congress and the November (1978 and 1979) CC CPSU Plenums and at the ceremony at which he was awarded the Lenin Prize.

The task of ensuring overall improvement in communist upbringing and the concept of ideological activities in the period of developed socialism, formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the two-volume work "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoy Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work], was reflected in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." As was pointed out at the 26th party congress, this decree, which sets the basic directions for the reorganization of the education process, is a document for long-term activity.

The republic's party committees are also using the recommendations of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers (October 1979) and the All-Union Seminar-Conference, which was held in Moscow in 1981.

More than 13 million people in the republic are engaged in the study of the congress' documents within the party and Komsomol training and economic education systems. Meetings with delegates, talks, political information reports, public political reading sessions and lecture cycles were sponsored at labor collectives and residential buildings. The press, radio and television are extensively disseminating the congress' materials.

Such purposeful work has made the republic's ideological life richer. The exacting, constructive and critical spirit of the congress' resolutions had a major impact on the content and style of all organizational and ideological work. As early as May 1981, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Committees in Chernigovskaya Oblast on the Propaganda and Organization of the Implementation of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" drew attention to the need for speeding up the transition from the general familiarization stage to the intensified study of the congress' documents and the fuller linking of their interpretation and dissemination with overall political, organizational and economic activity. It directed all republic party organizations to undertake the specific study of the work under way and the implementation of practical measures to ensure a high organizational and ideological standard in propaganda work.

The republic seminar-conference for secretaries of city and rayon party committees, at which the reorganization of a number of sectors and areas of ideological work was discussed and steps were taken to upgrade its effectiveness, played a major role in Ukrainian ideological life. The conference was attended by Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CP of the Ukraine first secretary. He discussed the tasks formulated at the 26th congress and pointed out that the main purpose of the reorganization is for ideological work more completely to reflect the characteristics of the present stage of social development, to be consistent with the high educational, cultural and political standards of the Soviet people and to take into consideration the intensifying ideological offensive mounted by the class enemy. "The reorganization should not be interpreted as breaking down the existing system of ideological work," Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized. "We must preserve and increase everything valuable and positive gained by the party organizations and make it available to all ideological cadres. The most important line in the reorganization calls for enriching and updating propaganda and agitation, strengthening their ties with life, raising their scientific level

and upgrading their aggressiveness. However, the effectiveness of ideological influence is determined not only by the content of the propaganda and the skill with which it is conducted. The congress urgently raised the question of conducting ideological-educational work 'in a lively and interesting fashion, avoiding cliches and standardized sets of ready-made formulas.' Hence the second line in the reorganization: improving work methods, eliminating obsolete and ossified ones and applying new ones consistent with contemporary conditions."

The party committee secretaries who addressed the seminar described their specific experiences in ideological work in their local areas, discussed a number of unresolved problems and criticized obsolete and undereffective work methods.

Being a live and developing system, ideological work cannot fail to react to changes in social life, in the socioeconomic area above all. Our republic's experience clearly shows the tremendous scale of the changes under way. Let us take the most active population category -- the employed people -- as an example. According to the 1979 census, 14.8 of a total of 25.8 million working people in the Ukraine have completed their higher or full secondary education. About one million mechanizers are employed in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises, and 351,000 specialists with completed higher or secondary specialized education work in the public agricultural sector. The rate of rapprochement between the educational standards of workers engaged in mental and physical labor is quite indicative. In 1939, the proportion of people who had completed higher or secondary (full and partial) education among employees was higher by a factor of 5.2 than that among workers and 19.4 higher than that among kolkhoz members. The corresponding figures for 1979 were 1.2 and 1.7. However, our people are not only highly educated. Thanks to the tempestuous development of the mass information and propaganda media, television and radio mainly, they are quite well informed as well. On the one hand, this facilitates the education process, for the audience of the propagandist, lecturer and agitator has acquired a solid stock of knowledge, which helps in selecting the most effective ways and means of work. On the other hand, ideological activity today requires a high cultural standard and professionalism on the part of anyone in charge of the people's education. In order to work exactly as required, we have skilled cadres, bolshevik propaganda traditions tested during decades of work, and Leninist principles governing its organization which are being creatively developed and enriched by the party in accordance with the new conditions.

2

In speaking of the ways and means of upgrading the effectiveness of communist education and the main objective of the reorganization of ideological and political-educational work, let us first consider the improvement of the party education system. The 26th CPSU Congress paid great attention to this problem. Its documents note the creative organization of party training in many production collectives, such as those in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and the Donbass.

Let us emphasize that in Donetskaya Oblast, primary concern is dedicated to the raising of the ideological and theoretical standard of the party members. Here schools and seminars are headed by experienced and well trained propagandists, 95 percent of whom have full or partial higher education. Most heads of schools and seminars have been trained at Marxism-Leninism universities. In addition to professional political education and economic training offices, the oblast has

820 offices staffed by volunteers. All of them are properly equipped with technical propaganda facilities.

The Donbass party committees have organized an efficient information system for the propagandists, covering topical problems of the economic and sociocultural development of the oblast's cities and rayons. This gives them pedagogical skills and the ability to structure their classes accurately, involving the use of logical and practical assignments. The best trained party members become consultants. They study the course and seminar classes and give methodical assistance to their leaders. This has enabled the oblast party organizations to improve the quality of the political training of the party members and has improved their activeness in explaining party theory and policies to the broad toiling masses.

Vinnitskaya and Zaporozhskya Oblasts, Krivoy Rog and other republic cities and rayons have acquired good experience in party education and in strengthening the ties between it and life and the practical problems being resolved by the labor collectives. However, in many areas we still come across formalism, dogmatism and underestimation of active training methods and sociopolitical practice. The conclusion drawn at the republic seminar-conference was that in some cases, party training is not entirely consistent with practical requirements, and its organization does not always take into consideration the higher general-educational and political standards achieved by the party members, as well as their spiritual requirements and professional interests.

Let us also note the profound quantitative and qualitative changes which are taking place in party education of late. The number of students attending party training schools and seminars in the republic has increased by one half over the past 10 years. Currently two thirds of them are attending the superior training course. These changes require a qualitatively new approach to the content of party training.

In a recent decree on such matters, the CC CPSU made it incumbent upon the party committees to draft and implement specific measures aimed at ensuring a profound and thorough study by party members of the structural parts of Marxist-Leninist theory, the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, the party's heroic history, the documents of its 26th congress and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other CPSU leaders.

The CC CP of the Ukraine directed the republic party organizations to shift the CC CPSU recommendations and stipulations to practical grounds, to earmark specific plans and to organize comprehensive study of the decree by secretaries of primary party organizations, their deputies in charge of ideological and educational work, propagandists and the entire ideological aktiv. We demand that party committees analyze last school year's results exactly and self-critically. The system of Marxist-Leninist training is based on the stipulation that its main objective is to teach the party members. Training based on individual plans will be practiced considerably more extensively than in the past (last year, for example, less than 15 percent of party education students were included in this form of training). The independent work of the students with books and prime sources must be the leading training method.

In accordance with the new requirements, the party committees are reviewing the propagandists' structure, and heads of schools and seminars must be approved by

gorkom and raykom bureaus. Each party committee must proceed in staffing the party training facilities on the basis of the already existing nucleus of skilled propagandists and must avoid drawing into such serious work unqualified people who can only lower the training standard.

The organization of schools and seminars based on intershop, sectorial and territorial characteristics has a positive influence on the quality of party member political education. The expediency of this approach is confirmed by the young party-member schools among other things. This school year, more than 130,000 people are attending the gorkom and raykom and territorial party organization schools. This has made more efficient organization of the work and the recruitment of the best trained propagandists and lecturers possible.

Combined schools and seminars are organized above all for party members of territorial and small organizations in construction, services, offices, etc. They make it possible to take the level of education into consideration, along with the type of social and labor activities of the students, more effectively, and to make better use of material and technical training facilities.

The beginning of the school year is preceded by two-week courses based on the new curriculums, taught by the best lecturers, including scientists, party, soviet and economic managers and experienced method workers. We have given the party committees the task of holding seminars for propagandists at the proper time and preparing the information and reference materials they need. Let us note the experience of the Pervomaysk Gorkom in Nikolayevskaya Oblast, Bogodukhovskiy Raykom in Khar'kovskaya Oblast, and Tul'chinskiy Raykom in Vinnitskaya Oblast, where centers for supplies of technical facilities have been established.

Improving the methodological work of the political education offices is an important task. Currently, the worst bottleneck in the activities of many of them is individual work with the propagandists.

The republic's Propagandists' Day, which has been held for the past 3 years, has become an original review of preparedness for the beginning of the school year within the Marxist-Leninist education system and a real holiday for the nearly half a million-strong army of people who disseminate among the masses the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Topic evenings entitled "Ideological Work Enthusiasts," photographic exhibits and book displays are organized for the benefit of the propaganda workers. The best of them are awarded honor certificates, commemorative gifts and sets of political works as encouragement. Meetings, conferences, round-table talks and other events which attest to the tremendous attention paid to the propagandists are sponsored by the oblast party committees, the Ukrainian trade unions, the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, ministries, departments, newspapers and periodicals. They give the heads of schools and seminars an energy boost for the entire school year.

As we know, the Ukrainian propagandists launched the initiative of teaching under the slogan "Let every student acquire communist idea-mindedness and an active life stance. We are encouraging the comprehensive development of this initiative, which has become an important prerequisite for upgrading training effectiveness and increasing its influence on the growth of the conscientiousness and social activeness of the students.

The comprehensive ideological and theoretical training of the party members is needed more than ever today. Our ideological aktiv must be able to apply Marxist-Leninist doctrine creatively and to find its way in the contemporary stream of scientific and political information. The purpose of political education is to arm the people with knowledge of the laws governing social progress and a methodology for the proper assessment of the facts and phenomena in social life.

3

Today, lecture propaganda has become more exacting. The republic has 14,000 professional and voluntary party committee lecturers and 700,000 Knowledge Society members. All of them structure their work in accordance with the CC CPSU decree "On the Status of and Steps To Improve Lecture Propaganda."

The lectures delivered by scientists at the Rostrum of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Central Lecture Office in Kiev have become very popular. Here modern scientific and technical achievements are described and means for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are described. Such meetings have yielded a variety of creative reports submitted by scientists to the public at large. During the past 2 years alone, lecturers have included members of the Institutes of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, Cybernetics, Problems of Material Studies, Microbiology and Virology, Economics, Economic and Social Problems of Foreign Countries, State and the Law, etc. Many such lectures have been delivered at big Kiev enterprises.

Scientists from Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, L'vov, Odessa and Khar'kov, where permanent Rostrum of the Scientist lecture offices have been established, are actively engaged in the dissemination of scientific knowledge. Prime attention is being paid to encouraging the more active dissemination of the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and the comprehensive target scientific and technical programs.

The Plant imeni 60-Letiya Oktyabrya in Vinnitsa has gained interesting experience in lecturing propaganda. A five-year plan with annual breakdowns has been formulated as a basis for 6-month plans adopted at party committee meetings. The 30 permanent lecturing bureaus for scientific and technical and economic knowledge reach more than 80 percent of all enterprise workers.

Practical experience indicates that properly organized lecturing propaganda affects all aspects of labor collective activities: moral-political maturity improves, state assignments are fulfilled better and work becomes more effective.

Unfortunately, the enthusiasm for so-called "gross output" quantitative indicators to the detriment of quality, may still be occasionally found, as a result of which unsuitable people are sometimes employed as lecturers. Furthermore, we still have so-called lecturers who try to dazzle the audience with "hot happenings" or with "information" of doubtful origin and present as truth rumors or facts concocted by bourgeois propaganda for its own political purposes.

Increasing attention is being paid to the coordination of lecture propaganda. Lectures are sponsored by many organizations other than party committees and the Knowledge Society. The absence of coordination in their work frequently results in parallelism, duplication, and the ineffective use of lecturers.

At the republic seminar-conference, the city and rayon party committees were asked to maintain a high scientific and ideological-theoretical standard in lecture propaganda, to coordinate it efficiently among the various organizations if necessary, to review the composition of the lecturing groups and to reinforce them with highly skilled specialists. Thought should be given to the expediency of the establishment of voluntary groups of lecturers by party committees at enterprises which are short of trained cadres; in rural areas, we should give greater encouragement to the organization of territorial Knowledge Society groups and to the consolidation of small society organizations.

The decisions of the 26th party congress also demand of us a qualitatively new approach to the organization of agitation activities. The republic's party organizations are abandoning obsolete methods. They are clearly separating and refining the functions of units engaged in oral political agitation, such as agitation collectives, groups of political informants and speakers. They try to combine mass measures with individual approaches to people and to steadily improve the quality rather than the quantity of agitation cadres.

The practice of holding unified political days has been given a positive rating by the CC CPSU. In the Ukraine, these are being held not only on the village, city and oblast scale, but also in the republic at large. Their value lies in the fact that they make it possible for leading cadres to inform the broad circles of working people on matters of domestic and foreign party policy and economic and cultural construction.

Thus, in the course of the unified political day on the topic of "Socialist Democracy in Action," which was held on the eve of USSR Constitution Day, the labor collectives were addressed by 144 members of the CC CPSU and CC CP of the Ukraine, 517 USSR Supreme Soviet and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies and more than 123,000 heads of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs. Another republic political day was dedicated to the results of the 26th congress: lectures and reports were delivered in 337,000 labor collectives and were heard by 20 million workers, kolkhoz members, intellectuals and students.

By involving managers at all levels in political work among the masses, we try to exert political influence not only on labor collectives but on the various population groups at home, to study and shape public opinion and to react to the citizens' needs and demands more efficiently.

Many party committees -- the Krivoy Rog, Yevpatoriya and Ternopol' Gorkoms, the Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy Raykom in Odesskaya Oblast and others -- are making a close study of the nature of questions, suggestions and remarks received and are undertaking specific measures for their implementation. The organization of information evenings, open-letter days, business meetings between working people and leading cadres, etc. deserves comprehensive support.

The importance of mass political work at places of residence is increasing steadily. This applies mainly to the organization of the recreation of the working people. Many good examples could be cited in this connection, such as the experience of Leningradskiy Raykom in Kiev, which has organized mass political work complexes in residential blocks. Their activities are directed by the public councils of 11 microrayons, headed by deputy directors of big enterprises and associations, and

coordinated by rayon councils, headed by rayon party committee secretaries. The complexes have good material facilities, including 17 agitation areas, 77 play and 87 sports grounds, 17 specialized training movie theaters, 13 shooting galleries, six children's sports grounds, etc.

Leninskiy Rayon in Nikolayev has organized the work of the microrayon political information clubs well. Mass celebrations are regularly organized and annual reviews of mass political work are held. The funds of the city and rayon budgets of enterprises and organizations have been pulled together to develop facilities for ideological work.

Work in dormitories, which house 1.7 million people and in which there are frequent violations of the norms of socialist morality and cases of antisocial behavior, must be improved. We demand that the party committees take economic managers more strictly to task for the state of affairs, insist on the creation of suitable cultural-living conditions and upgrade the level of ideological-educational work.

4

The public education system plays a tremendous role in the further improvement of the education process. The party committees increased their influence on the activities of primary party organizations in educational institutions in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Positive experience was gained in supplying secondary and higher school students with political information. Meetings between party and soviet workers, heads of ministries and departments, enterprises, establishments and VUZs and workers in science and culture, on the one hand, and secondary and higher school students, on the other, have proved their value. Lecture bureaus for students have been organized at the big VUZ centers.

Nevertheless, shortcomings remain in youth upbringing. Many cities and rayons show little concern for improving the content of secondary education and for perfecting the ways and means of implementing the ideological-moral and labor upbringing of adolescents. Steps to prevent dropping out of school are not always taken. Last year, the CC CP of the Ukraine passed a decree on additional steps to improve educational work in courses and to strengthen moral and legal education in vocational-technical schools. This will demand a considerable effort on the part of the party organizations, to some extent already under way.

Errors were made in some rayons in the selection, placement and training of scientific, engineering-educational and teaching cadres, mainly in the appointment of vocational-technical and other school principals. Occasionally, people who cannot always resolve problems competently or who show disrespect for educators and students are appointed to such positions.

Some party committees ignore problems in the organizational and political strengthening of the primary party organizations in schools and increasing their influence on the life of school faculties.

Processes within the family circle, the small number of children in particular, are insufficiently taken into consideration in educational work with the youth. According to the latest population census, there are 13,432,000 families in the Ukrainian SSR. The average family size is 3.3 members (3.5 for the USSR). As

selective studies have indicated, 62.2 percent of workers' and employees' families have a single child, and 33.2 percent have two children. Many young families are breaking down. Work with families must be energized. The system of universal pedagogical training of the various population categories must be improved and the responsibility of party organizations and school faculties for the training of secondary and higher school students must be increased.

The republic's party committees are trying to enhance the role of cultural and educational institutions in the education of the working people. A number of rayon party committees have acquired interesting experience: Mar'inskiy (Donetskaya Oblast), in involving cultural institutions in active participation in the socioeconomic development of villages; Zastavnovskiy (Chernovitskaya Oblast) and Radekhovskiy (L'vovskaya Oblast), in the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the solution of cultural construction problems; and the Zaporozh'ye Gorkom, in sponsoring rural cultural and educational institutions.

However, not by any means all rayons pay the necessary attention to cultural centers. The cultural servicing of villages without fixed cultural and educational institutions demands particular attention.

By decision of the 26th CP of the Ukraine Congress, work is under way in the republic on the development of cultural complexes in the rayon centers. This project is being actively pursued in Dnepropetrovskaya, Khmel'nitskaya, Chernovitskaya and other oblasts. One such complex is in operation in Volochissskiy Rayon, Khmel'nitskaya Oblast. It includes the rayon house of culture, three clubs, 10 libraries, a kray museum, a movie theater, a children's art school, a Pioneer club, a secondary school, the city sports grounds, an art studio and a book store. The complex is staffed by trained cadres and has been equipped with the necessary inventory and technical facilities. It is managed by a voluntary coordination council headed by the raykom secretary in charge of ideological affairs. The complex operates in close contact with the party organizations and the soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs. All ideological measures planned by the coordination council are directly related to the plans for the social development of the enterprises and organizations of the rayon center.

5

The successful implementation of the ideological assignments formulated by the party will largely depend on the organizational activities of the party committees. The CC CP of the Ukraine is supervising all sectors of ideological and educational work steadily. In the period between the last two congresses alone it discussed more than 150 important problems affecting various aspects of the education of the working people.

The CC CP of the Ukraine decrees concentrate mainly on improving ideological work in the labor collectives. It was with this in mind that the reports of the Odesskaya Oblast party committee and the party committee of the Kiev Aerospace Plant on the adoption of a comprehensive approach to communist education, the work of the party organizations in Donetskaya Oblast on the ideological and moral training of the working people, the work in Poltavskaya Oblast on the further improvement of the communist upbringing of rural workers, the efforts in Rovenskaya Oblast to train the population in a spirit of soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, the work

of the city of Chernovtsy on propagandizing the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, political work among the working people in Zakarpatskaya Oblast and the efforts in Donetskaya Oblast on the implementation of the 26 April 1979 CC CPSU decree were discussed. Toward the end of last year, the CC CP of the Ukraine approved measures aimed at improving ideological-educational work in the labor collectives and passed the decree "On Further Improving the Work of the Primary Party Organizations and Intensifying Their Influence on the Life and Activities of the Labor Collectives." This is a leading item in current and comprehensive long-term plans and the organizational and political measures of party committees for the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The work of the party organizations of Belozerskiy Rayon in Khersonskaya Oblast, Novomirgorodskiy Rayon in Kirovogradskaya Oblast, Zvenigorodskiy Rayon in Cherkasskaya Oblast and many towns and rayons in Chernigovskaya, Krymskaya, Poltavskaya and other oblasts was studied recently.

The study showed that major positive changes have taken place in the work style of party gorkoms and raykoms. Their activities are becoming increasingly specific, efficient, analytical and creative.

Some party committees allow omissions in planning their ideological-educational work. They are unable to single out the main features and to ensure the implementation of their plans. Plans are frequently drafted as a formality, ignoring the characteristics of the city or rayon. The content and quality of political education work in collectives and at places of residence are still not being studied profoundly and systematically.

The city and rayon party committees must rely even further on the primary party organizations in their political work. Currently the Ukraine has 67,321 primary party organizations, about 66,000 shop party organizations and more than 119,000 party groups. This is a tremendous force which must be used skillfully. The city and rayon committees must give them better help in planning their work, organizing an efficient system for controlling party and government decisions, the training of cadres and ensuring unity in political education, organizational and economic activities and the kind of blend of words and actions which is the source of success in our propaganda and party work as a whole.

A great deal remains to be accomplished in order to coordinate the efforts of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other organs and organizations on the communist upbringing of the working people. According to a study, there are seventy or even more various social organizations in some rayons. The work of all of them needs to be improved. Let us take the work of the ideological commissions as an example. One of their main shortcomings is their inability to select the main topics and to concentrate on improving the effectiveness of their educational efforts. The ideological commissions include a number of various sections and subsections. Some of them are carried away and hold unnecessary meetings and undertake projects outside their range of competence.

As far as coordination is concerned, attention should be paid to the efficient deployment of forces. What happens in practice? A city or rayon will draw up a long-term action plan the implementation of which will "involve" mainly the gorkom or raykom. Sometimes the party committees themselves are to be blamed for this, as

they fail to display the necessary exigency toward the culture and public education departments, the sports committees or the economic managers.

As the folk saying goes, "everyone must thresh his own heap." Coordination means that each organization must be clearly aware of its role and place in the ideological education process and perform its functions, being directed and controlled by the party committee. This applies mainly to the soviets, the trade unions and the Komsomol.

The work with ideological cadres must be improved further. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the Ukrainian party organization has developed a number of interesting features in the area of cadre selection and training and enhancing the responsibility of managers for specific work sectors. This high rating applies to the republic's ideological front as well. We have trained and ideologically mature cadres. More than 3,500 members of the city and rayon party committees are directly involved in ideological work. All city and rayon party secretaries in charge of ideological affairs have complete higher education; roughly one half have party-political training, and 10 among them are candidates of sciences.

We must also admit, however, that cadre turnover in some oblasts and rayons remains high, particularly among heads of political education offices, lecturers and instructors. It is important to ensure the stability and continuity of cadres. We must always insist on staffing the ideological sectors with knowledgeable, inspired and active people. The rayon newspaper cadres must be strengthened as well. Naturally we cannot accept as normal the fact that people who have no more than secondary school education and some who are no longer continuing with their studies may be found among this personnel.

We must "take an inventory" of our forces and facilities and certify the cadres, mainly in the city and rayon establishments and organizations -- newspapers, radio stations, public education, culture, sports, DOSAAF, motion picture projection, book stores, registry offices, Knowledge Society organizations, book-lovers' circles, historical and cultural monument preservation, etc. We must approach this project with strict measures in mind, and determine precisely whether the comrades in charge of these sectors are able to perform their duties.

The ideological workers must be thoroughly familiar with their work. They must be highly professional people of great spiritual culture, people who know how to listen, understand, persuade and lead the masses. Understandably, these qualities do not come all by themselves. They are the result of persistent and systematic training. That is why today priority is given to improving the system of theoretical and professional training of ideological cadres further.

The party gorkoms and raykoms organize many seminars, conferences and meetings with the ideological aktiv. Are they always effective? They are not. One of the reasons for this is the fact that attention is frequently focused on the formulation of the problems rather than on the search for and finding the necessary methods and means for their solution. We are urging the party committees to approach the organization of studies on a differentiated basis, such as practical training of beginners and consultations with the more experienced and with anyone who may need them.

Ideological education work is a lively and creative matter which constantly creates new means and methods. It must be sensitive, like a barometer, and profoundly imbued with concern for man and for his spiritual, ideological-moral advancement and development of social activeness. Man and the raising of his political level is the tuning fork by which we must tune our entire propaganda.

The republic's party committees are applying new and practically proven methods of communist education. They are improving the existing ones and firmly rejecting those which are obsolete and inconsistent with modern requirements. Our main task is to give priority not to the quantity but the quality of the measures and to ensure unity among ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic activities. Life demands that we work better today than yesterday and considerably better tomorrow than today.

The party documents provide efficient recommendations on the reorganization of ideological work and upgrading its effectiveness, in labor collectives mainly.

The Ukrainian party organization will apply its entire strength to continuing to improve the education process in the main nucleus of our society -- the primary party level -- in accordance with the new tasks of economic and social construction, as defined at the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1981 party Central Committee plenum, taking into consideration the characteristics of the present international situation and the aggravation of the clash of ideas. This approach, backed by efficiency and concrete action, will ensure the further enhancement of the effectiveness of ideological work.

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[Article by A. Metchenko]

[Text] The concept of "developed socialism" or "mature socialism" has become a firm part of our scientific arsenal. The 26th CPSU Congress classified the concept of developed socialism as one of the important theoretical summations and results achieved by Marxist social scientists in recent years. "On the basis of this concept," the CC CPSU accountability report states, "the party refined and concretized the way and time for the implementation of our programmatic objectives and defined the strategy and tactics covering a long historical period."

The concept of developed socialism was adopted by our literary and artistic thinkers. It not only offers the potential for providing an objective analysis and summary of the contemporary status of Soviet literature and the literatures of the members of the socialist comity but provides all the necessary grounds for the accurate evaluation of their place and role in the global literary process. The great prospects for the building of communism, which were included in the resolutions of the 26th party congress, the congress' long-term plans and high assessment of the contribution made by literature and art to the spiritual life of society created the necessary conditions for their new creative upsurge.

The best works of Soviet literature over the past 60 years of establishment and development were inspired by the greatness of the objective of our society--the building of communism. That is why L. I. Brezhnev's words at the congress have a special historical meaning: "In assessing the experience of the development of our society during recent decades, I believe that we may assume that the organization of a classless social structure will take place in its main and essential features within the historical framework of mature socialism."

In terms of Soviet fiction and the literature of socialist realism, which continued and enriched one of the best traditions of the classics of the past--the truthful depiction of the present and thinking of the future--with its rich experience in the depiction of life in its revolutionary development, this means that we can see in mature socialism and in the people who are building it the real features of the communist future. The task is to note such features accurately and describe them in a talented way. Soviet literature offers a number of outstanding examples of such an approach. It was in the people of the 1920's, his contemporaries, that Mayakovskiy already saw the visible image of the future, "the essence and flesh of communism."

Sholokhov's Semen Davydov, Fadeyev's Young Guard, N. Ostrovskiy's Pavel Korchagin and L. Leonov's Ivan Vikhrov became the reliable companions of many generations of builders of socialism. Socialist realism and the ideological and esthetic principles on which it is founded--party-mindedness, nationality, loyalty to the truth of life and historicism--were not only able to withstand the test of time but revealed an inordinate ability to develop and enrich themselves. The high rating which the 26th party congress gave to the successes of the creative workers in the development of the outstanding characters of our contemporaries and to their talented works with their civic pathos, intolerance of shortcomings and active intervention in the solution of topical social problems is also an assessment of the basic principles which guide our literature and art.

Loyal to their ideological and esthetic foundation, helping the artist to detect keenly the main and profound features of a tempestuously changing reality, rather than replacing them with vain fashions occasionally reaching us from the West, these principles defined the truly innovative nature of Soviet literature and art and broadened the range of their influence on artistic thinking and social progress.

The character of Time (frequently spelled with a capital letter) has acquired particular importance in today's fiction. "One must listen to Time!" P. Zagrebel'nyy demanded at the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers. Headings such as "Literature and the Times," "Time. Life. Literature." and "The Artist and the Times" frequently appear on book jackets.

In the poetic perception of the world (which, naturally, is typical of the masters of prose, plays and essays), time plays a particularly important role. All great works were created in a state of interaction with time. Such interaction is either imbued with trust or conflict. However, nothing noteworthy has appeared "outside of time" or "above time." It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that never before has there been such a close and intimate interaction between literature and time as under socialism.

This harmony is the result of a number of causes, the principal one being the humanistic nature of socialism and artistic creativity. Socialism has only one purpose--the happiness of man, the good of man. The task of literature is the study of man. Socialist realism begins with the discovery of this truth, a discovery which marks Gor'kiy's artistic exploit.

Mayakovskiy was the first to proclaim solemnly that history is the ally of those who build a new society. "Other countries are hundreds of years old. History is the opening of the grave. My country, however, is an adolescent which creates, thinks and tries!"

Connection with time, with our time in particular, has become a firm tradition in present-day literature. As socialism strengthens, this tradition will deepen. The concept of "contemporaneity" is also becoming more specific. However, it is also becoming increasingly clear that only the constructive, the creative person, the builder of the new world, can preserve and multiply everything valuable acquired by mankind throughout the centuries.

Above all, the content of the concept of "contemporaneity" has been broadened in our literature. Until quite recently it was interpreted quite narrowly, particularly in criticism, as a demand to respond to immediate, to current events. In an earlier

stage this was necessary. Mayakovskiy, who placed "today" higher than "eternity" ("I will give my life for the sake of today. What a mass!"), accomplished the historical rapprochement between poetry and life in the name of the revolution and its immediate and future development. Years passed. The socialist revolution became Time and History while remaining the always living ferment of contemporaneity.

Looking at the path covered by Soviet literature, we see how the concept of "contemporaneity" is becoming richer and gaining a feeling of historical continuity. In today's literature the image of Time is depicted most frequently as the synthesis of history and contemporaneity. However strange the dynamics of artistic thinking may be, the key to its proper understanding is found in Lenin's principle of historicism: "...We must not forget the basic historical link. We must consider each matter from the viewpoint of how a certain phenomenon appeared in history, the main stages which it covered in its development and, from the viewpoint of this development, consider what it has become today" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 67). The literary expert and critic cannot ignore the new meaning which the character of Time acquires at each new stage.

The critics justifiably note the deepening of historicism in the literature of the last decade. Its manifestations have become specific, bearing the imprint of the changing conditions under which the artist lives and develops his personality. Most frequently historicism becomes a most important feature of the overall humanistic and esthetic perception of the world, which enables us to see not only in the past but in the present--through the lens of history and its perception by the artist--aspects and trends which, given a different approach, may not have been revealed properly.

Historicism in the approach to contemporaneity....We find brilliant examples of that in all of the party's plans and forecasts based on the profound study of the laws governing the universal historical process. That is why the foreign communist parties and all progressive mankind rate so highly the role of CPSU congresses. "Each CPSU congress is a unique milestone, an event of tremendous universal-historical significance," wrote Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general. He relates its significance above all to "the scientific depth and accuracy of analysis of objective processes of global development and its internal laws and with the critical consideration of all accountable subjective factors, on the basis of which necessary conclusions are drawn and lessons learned from acquired experience, for which reason development possibilities are so confidently outlined for the foreseeable future."

All of this cannot fail to influence artistic awareness. The progress of Marxist esthetic thinking becomes particularly obvious if we take into consideration the confusion experienced by some circles of Western philosophizing and estheticizing intelligentsia at the end of the 20th century. Actually, the argument regarding time has assumed an acute ideological nature. It has become an argument between the two worlds on the question of for whom time works and on whose side the future is.

Noting the increased interest shown in the second half of our century in the problem of Time, in her article "Man and the Time" (NOVYY MIR, No 4, 1971), M. Shaginyan writes: "The West is rejecting its 'origins.' It does not want to know about continuity and about the great and leading power of life known as Time....In our country, however, this force of life is the binding breath in everything we are creating today and it breathes life into our look at the past" and, let us add, into the future.

The literature of socialist realism has always faced the future. That is why the concept of time and the related forecasting of the future assume such a profound meaning. The basic directions for the future building of socialism, found in L. I. Brezhnev's report at the congress, offer the broad historical view of the entire 20th century and the beginning of the third millenium of our era and offer new coordinates and new guidelines for artistic thinking and for the scientific study of the literary process.

Soviet literature does not separate itself from Time but is strengthening its links with it. Yu. Bondarev has expressed accurately and concisely the interaction between the writer and his time at the stage of mature socialism: "...Time lives in the writer the way the writer lives in Time." The feeling of Time is a feeling of interaction among people and epochs. The increased interest shown in the problem of time in Soviet literature is related to the growing feeling of responsibility for the past, the present and the future. No, mankind is not a community of individuals alienated from one another living in the expectation of catastrophe. "Everything affects everyone," comments Ch. Aytmatov in his novel "I Dol'she Veka Dlitsya Den'" [A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century], emphasizing, the way Mayakovskiy emphasized in his time, that the writer today has not only the right but the duty to speak of "the time and himself," i.e., of the hopes and concerns of the century. "We ourselves, rather than our descendants, must answer the question of who we are--the people of the 20th century--what the nature of our socialist community was, what our pluses and minuses were in the correlation between individual and society and the state and the individual and what the dynamics of our integrity were under the conditions of the coexistence of two conflicting systems. The duty of literature is to think on a global scale and not to ignore the main feature of its interest, which I conceive of as the study of the individual personality."

One must think in global terms and be concerned with individual destinies. Yes, such is the range of the creative concerns of socialist realism today. That is why the principle of historicism in artistic creativity has assumed a militant yet profoundly humane nature. Memory--the memory of the people and the memory of the artist himself--is frequently its artistic equivalent.

Whereas Time synthesizes history and contemporaneity in a work of art, memory is the past and the lead to the future. This philosophical significance of memory as applicable to art was mentioned at the 26th party congress: "We know well that the artistic word, the transmutation of colors, the expressiveness of stone, the harmony of sound inspire our contemporaries and pass on to our descendants the memory of the hearts and souls of our generation and our time with its emotions and accomplishments."

The theme of memory was sounded with particular strength and depth in the works on the Great Patriotic War. It was sounded as an assertion of the greatness of the exploit in defending the fatherland and as a behest to future generations. The more distant the events of those heroic years become, the more tangible becomes the universal significance of the exploit of the Soviet people and the ever growing role of the remembrance of this exploit.

This remembrance is bitter, proud and binding. Nor could it be otherwise in the poems of the poets of Belorussia, which lost one-quarter of its population in the war. Regardless of how many victories were won in days of peace, we cannot eliminate from the feeling of pride a feeling of sadness for the loss of loved ones, relatives and friends, and the material and spiritual damage caused by the fascist invasion.

Let the voice of war
Cry softly in our hearts
While we stand at electrical equipment
And at our machines.

We may harvest the generous barley
We may praise the azure of summer
Still we take our guests
Again and again to Khatyn'.

We, the truthful and the proud,
Know how to live and love,
But we cannot forget
One out of every four.

(P. Panchenko, "Bitter Pride")

It is memory, even bitter memory, that makes a person stand above Time and which carries within it the guarantee of immortality.

The topic of the memory in art and in the thoughts of cultural workers is a topic of great epic importance, a motive principle for the development of culture.

Meanwhile, life abroad offers daily proof of the mistrust and even hostility with which the ideological troublemakers of imperialism behave toward the memory of nations. It is not astounding, therefore, that until the end of the 1970's the Great Patriotic War, in which the victory won by the Soviet people saved Europe from the brown plague of fascism, remained the "unknown war" to postwar generations of Americans and Western Europeans.

All of this comes to mind as we read Ye. Isayev's poem "The Judgment of Memory," and his Lenin Prize-winning novel "Dan' Pamyati" [Distant Memory], Ch. Aytmatov's "I Dol'she Veka Dlitsya Den'," V. Chivilikhin's novel-essay "Pamyat'" [Memory] and many other epic works written in recent years.

In the poem "The Judgment of Memory," which was completed at the beginning of the 1960's, the memory acts as the supreme judge which must pass sentence on fascism, which has brought so much sorrow and suffering to the peoples of the Soviet Union and Europe and which made those who thoughtlessly obeyed Hitler's delirious and inhuman plans into spiritually devastated, mindless killers. The insight which some of them gained has also been paid for in suffering.

The complex image of the road came to Russian Soviet literature through Radishchev, Pushkin, Gogol' and Nekrasov. This image contains not only a feeling of the infiniteness of the homeland but faith in its happy future (A. Tvardovskiy, "Za Dal'yu-Dan'" [Beyond the Beyond]). In Ye. Isayev, it is a great road of the country going through suffering to blossoming and happiness.

In the novel referred to here, Ch. Aytmatov limits himself to the description of a single day in which he concentrates through artistic memory events which took place (or have taken place) at different historical times. These are arbitrary events. However, we perceive behind them the reality of the distant past and of the present. Some of them have left dark traces in the memory of the people due to the inhumanity contained in the legend of the Zhuan'zhuan' invasion, as a result of which the conquered

nations became obedient and thoughtless slaves through the deprivation of their memory-- that valuable feature which makes man a man and without which culture and civilization could neither appear nor develop. A person without a memory of the past is infinitely alone. He is outside history.

However, the image of the thoughtless slave is not merely a reminder of the past. The colonial policy of imperialism is a continuation of the Zhuan'zhuan' "experimentation" in dehumanizing entire nations. The socialist revolution gives back to the people their historical memory and takes previously forgotten "small" man to the crossroads of universal history. The assertion of this idea is the strong feature of this novel, which is not short of internal contradictions.

A striving for scope is characteristic of the artistic perception of the world today. It is based on the course of history and the conditions in which the two worlds confront each other. Also of some importance is the fact that the ascension of socialism toward new heights historically coincides with the end of the century. "Interviews with the future" are published in the press, articles by scientists on the development of the various scientific and technical sectors in the 21st century and of man at the beginning of the new millenium. This cannot leave the writer indifferent. Whereas the Western futurologists predict sinister images of the "future clash," the Soviet person is excited by a different idea.

So, what shall we leave behind us
To the centuries which will come in our traces?
For very few years
Are left until the end of the millenium,

is the thought expressed by S. Narovchatov in the anthology "Shir'" [Expanse] (1979). A great deal of good and bad has been created by mankind in 2,000 years, but the poet is confident that our descendants will give the Soviet people their due for the main thing--"for opening the road to different, happy times."

The antihistoricism of the bourgeois concepts of time not only expresses fear of the course of history but is a means for the type of "robotization" described by Ch. Aytmatov in his novel. A people without its own history and culture is not a threat to capitalism. The efforts of the defenders of capitalism are focused on forgetting history and falsifying it.

That is why the assessment of the role of the 20th century and the contribution of Russia to social progress offered in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress is of such tremendous importance. The false bourgeois version of the historical process which excludes the influence of the Great October Revolution and the successes of real socialism on the fate of all mankind and the life and reality of the century is confronted by the true role which Russia played and its noble influence on universal history. It is precisely this that L. I. Brezhnev mentioned at the congress: "The 20th century brought with it bigger changes than any other century. And no single country has made a more substantial contribution to these changes than the USSR--the homeland of the Great October, the first country of victorious socialism.... There is no country or group of countries or an ideological or political current which has failed to experience the influence of socialism to one degree or another. Such is the reality of the end of the 20th century."

The need to compare current events against the scale of the century has been felt in artistic creativity for some time. In his poem "Beyond the Beyond," A. Tvardovskiy wrote of the "wind of the century" which "blows into our sails." However, literary thinking is very timidly abandoning the narrow understanding of historicism, frequently restraining the works of the greatest writers and major periods of the literary process within the narrow framework of decades. In the earlier stages, when Soviet literature was just developing, this was natural. Of late, however, such a "time breakdown" has begun to hinder the study of the works of many major writers and the laws of the literary process.

The following question arises naturally: What is it that determines the main trend in artistic searches and discoveries in the 20th century? What will be passed on to the next century? In formulating the plans for the forthcoming decades, the 26th party congress proceeds from the view that our country, entering the 21st century, "must embody the main features and ideals of the new society and be in the vanguard of progress."

What happens in literature and in the science of literature?

The entire development of 20th-century literature and its contemporary condition in particular prove that socialist realism has long been in the vanguard of progress and will unquestionably retain this role. However, we cannot say with full confidence that our theoretical and historical-literary thinking already possesses everything that is necessary for the proper interpretation of this great prospect.

However paradoxical this might sound, the concept of "20th-century literature" covers in the current programs of philosophy departments a small time segment, which does not go beyond 1917. In addition to the unwitting question of why Soviet literature is excluded from the development of the literary process of the 20th century, a false tradition links this century with the domination of modernistic currents. Some researchers have even given priority to such currents in terms of the discovery of new artistic forms. We find this in an article which states that "the 'shape of the 20th century'...was largely developed precisely by the modernists (or, if you wish, the avant guardists) of the period shortly preceding World War I."

The author of this view seems to have "forgotten" Russian literature in terms of its global significance. By the turn of the century it had already assumed a unique feature thanks to the influence of realities such as the fact that the country had entered a new stage in the liberation movement, led by the working class, Lenin and Lenin's party--a stage related to the revolution of 1905, the February revolution and, finally, the Great October Revolution. It was in that kind of atmosphere that the literature of socialist realism appeared as the true discovery of the century. Thanks to Gor'kiy's genius, this discovery began to influence the entire global literary process at the very turn of the 20th century. That is why Russian modernism, which had no less talented representatives than the Western, left the stage quite quickly, whereas in the West it influenced art until just about the final days. In Russia it began to be abandoned even before the October Revolution by people such as Blok, Bryusov and Mayakovskiy, whom we consider with full justification poets of the 20th century.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution created favorable conditions for the further powerful development of the literature and art of socialist realism and their free interaction with progressive artistic thinking throughout the world.

The tested ideological and esthetic criteria of socialist realism--party-mindedness, nationality, and loyalty to the truth of life--are revealing their new dimensions in the stage of mature socialism.

It has been recognized for some time that there is no true artistic creativity without talent supported by true socialist civic-mindedness and that outstanding artistic talent is rare, and that is why we accept as miraculous the masterpieces of art. However, there are equally well-known cases, and quite a number of them, of the destruction of a talent placed at the service of the wrong cause or else a talent for which a proper application is not found in difficult times saturated with social conflicts. In our time, many artists throughout the world see socialist realism as a guideline which helps them to find a solution to conflicting reality and to distinguish between the truth and the lie, which can very skillfully present itself as the truth. The demand of socialist realism that life be depicted truthfully, which means the assertion and defense of the truth of socialism, is inordinately attractive.

At the very dawn of the Soviet system, Lenin told us that "we can counter hypocrisy and lies with the full and open truth" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 76). Today, when the old world has raised the lie, hypocrisy and cynicism to the rank of state policy, in the course of the struggle against the ideas and experience of real socialism, and is trying to promote them on a global scale, the behest of the founder of the Soviet state remains entirely valid, demanding the all-round energizing and development of traditions of party-oriented art, the traditions of Gor'kiy, Mayakovskiy and Sholokhov.

The importance of the truth as a combat weapon is realized particularly clearly by writers who are in the vanguard of the ideological struggle and are dealing with topics of international politics. The passionate addresses by Soviet writers in the defense of truth as one of the basic principles of socialist realism are triggered not only by the actions of our ideological opponents, who ignore all moral norms, but also by the aspiration to raise this principle to the level of our time. Strange though it might seem, some theoreticians oppose the retention in the formulation of the method of socialist realism of the demand for truthfulness, asking that it be replaced with the stipulation of "loyalty to reality." However honest the motivations of such theoreticians may be, and regardless of the concern for the "scientific nature" of any theoretical postulates this might trigger, such a reemphasis conflicts with reality and artistic practice. This ignores the fact that the truth of life is the truth of socialism, which the supporters of the new society throughout the world also describe as the truth of the century. The criterion of the truth of life includes not only the strict accuracy of a reproduction (whenever necessary in the struggle for truth) but the sociomoral assessment of what is depicted. This difference assumes a fundamentally important significance today. It is a matter not only of the fact that the accuracy of depiction may be achieved by a naturalist as well but also of the fact that the requirement of trueness to nature does not mean the adoption of a civic, a moral position by the artist. However, responsiveness to moral problems and civic activity are particularly typical today of artists and readers. The word "conscience" sometimes is the synonym of "truth," which is a reflection of "the growing attention which our society pay to problems of morality" (L. I. Brezhnev).

Conscience, as a synonym of truth and as its moral aspect, is one of the necessary facets of socialist realism. This has been emphasized by many of our artists. V. Shukshin's aphorism "morality means truth" has become popular.

In thinking of how to present in the theater the nature of the Russian Soviet character, and justifiably believing that the Soviet character is not the "mean arithmetical total of the national customs of all the peoples of our homeland," I. Gorbachev, people's actor of the USSR, describes conscience in his article "To Live According to One's Conscience" as the very foundation of the Russian Soviet character. This tradition stems from the distant past. "The Russian person found it easier to abandon life than his conscience." This feature does not separate but, on the contrary, brings the Russian character closer to the moral awareness of other nations, for conscience and open convictions are the basis of internationalism. It is no accident that the best features of the Russian character, combined with the best features of other fraternal peoples, have become the foundation, the essence of the Soviet character.

When an artist is engaged in writing a novel, painting a picture or composing a symphony, he shares what is close to his heart. As a rule, this does not mean that the role of the world outlook is underestimated. On the contrary, while acknowledging the decisive importance of the great ideas of the century, the ideas of the communist party, the great artist is concerned with making such ideas become part of his heart and feelings, part of himself. At the same time, while noting and welcoming the increased contribution of the individual to contemporary art, many artists are concerned with preventing the truth they and their fellow workers assert from conflicting with objective truth. That is precisely what M. Sholokhov demanded in his conversations with young writers. At the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers, V. Bykov criticized some memoir writers for deviating from the truth for the sake of fiction. When S. Zalygin describes realism, which asserts the moral law of the socialist society, as "the realism of experience," he merely points out that in his creativity the artist relies above all on his personal first-hand knowledge of life and his moral feeling of the truth. That is why the artist must share only that which "agrees with the voice of his soul," in the words of Ye. Moiseyenko, people's artist of the USSR, who emphasized that art means "the ability to see the world and to be always amazed by it and to feel the insurmountable need to share one's perceptions with others."

Truth which has been sifted through the heart becomes a powerful force of spiritual construction. This enthusiasm imbues the literature of socialist realism. Today, at the stage of maturity, this is no longer a slogan but the result of the great work done to raise the new man, the new type of artist under socialist conditions.

While justifiably considering conceptual outlook to be of tremendous importance in artistic creativity, we do not always properly assess the entire range of its sources, particularly the fact that the outlook of the artist practicing socialist realism, particularly at the present stage, is shaped not only (and sometimes not exclusively) by the school, the VUZ or the influence of books he has read, but by the influence of extensive interaction with life and with the socialist way of life.

As A. N. Tolstoy said, the artist "reads the book of life" above all. It is pertinent to recall at this point the story told by Ye. Isayev in his answer to the question of what he means by party-mindedness of literature, which he was asked during a trip to Britain. "To us Soviet writers," the poet said, "party-mindedness in literature means above all party-mindedness in life itself. And, as we know, the realm of activities of our party is virtually boundless."

In the stage of developed socialism, party-mindedness in life is an exceptionally important facet of the great Leninist principle. The CC CPSU accountability report

to the 26th congress clearly defines this historical gain: "To live with the interests of the people, to share with them happiness and sorrow, to assert the truth of life and our humanist ideals and to be an active participant in the building of communism is what true nationality and true party-mindedness of art means."

However, the circumstance that the socialist way of life not only confirms the effectiveness of the ideological and esthetic principles of the literature of socialist realism but also contributes to the development of the creative thinking of the artist along the path of truth, party-mindedness and nationality does not mean any decline in the significance of the struggle for the improvement and energizing of ideological positions. Henceforth, all of this has been assumed by life itself and all the artist has to do is to record its manifestations honestly.

It is precisely life, its tempestuous dynamics and its aspiration toward the implementation of the broad tasks set by the party, progress along the main directions of the building of communism and the aggravation of the ideological struggle which demand of the writer ideological depth and philosophical breadth in the analysis and summation of the facts. This is adequately understood by the majority of such writers. It is no accident that their current addresses so frequently include the words "search for the truth" and "discovery."

Today the literature and art of socialist realism are improving their discoveries in the study of contemporary life and of the moral and artistic features of the distant and near past. The requirement of protecting the sources has never been so emphatic. "Every time that we lose an outstanding creation of the human spirit we become spiritually impoverished." This warning issued by Academician B. Rybakov could be used as the epigraph to the novels "Pamyat'" by V. Chivilikhin and "Vladimir Ivanovich" by D. Zhukov, as well as V. Belov's works. Whereas the excitement of the works by the first two is found in the resurrection of the good reputation of people and events undeservedly forgotten by careless descendants (largely under the influence of tendentious concepts expressed by Western historiographers), V. Belov's works promote in a talented and passionate manner the idea of not forgetting or ignoring the most valuable riches of our national culture, which are still alive in the mind and life of the people, for they could disappear as a result of their negligent treatment.

For a while, V. Belov's works were considered by the critics from the viewpoint of the false concept of the existence and almost leading role of the "rural writers" in our contemporary literature. However, this talented writer, who was perfectly familiar with life in the northern countryside and who presented to the reader a number of new, outstanding and very lucidly described human characters (the characters in "Privychnoye Delo" [A Customary Matter] and "Plotnitskiye Rasskazy" [Carpenters' Tales]), followed a different road. Every time he published a new work it became increasingly clear that he was excited by the great problems of the people's life, by the fate of the spiritual values created by the people, by folk esthetics and ethics, and that he was actively fighting for the advancement and happiness of his contemporaries.

Our literature pays close attention to the moral values created in the course of many centuries and carefully preserved by the people. A close investigation of their universal significance and the right to pass them on to the communist future is underway. Naturally, errors are possible in such a complex matter. However, the very fact that we are turning to the universal for the sake of the present and the future is a sign of the times. Here again, the Leninist principle of party-mindedness can be the only reliable compass.

...Goodness, love, conscience, honor and the right to life are universal categories which only recently were considered by some critics as abstract-humanistic and, let us admit, in many cases could be given such an interpretation. Under contemporary conditions, however, they proved to be in the center of the ideological struggle, being discussed not only by artists but by state leaders at international meetings. Addressing the 35th United Nations General Assembly, A. A. Gromyko pointed out that "in the wide spectrum of present concerns, problems of a universal nature remind us of their existence ever more persistently."

Our literary studies and literary criticism in the socialist countries point out that one of the essential features in contemporary world literature is its politicization. This trend is appearing particularly sharply in the addresses of those who previously called themselves supporters of the total independence of art from politics. However, the investigation of this fact revealed that anticommunism and its obedient "Sovietologists" demand the depoliticizing not of socialist literature alone. Today this demand has taken the guise of a sympathetic assessment of those who are allegedly writing not about people raised by socialism, the builders of communism, but simply human beings, an "eternal" principle without a specific sociopolitical meaning. The hope is expressed that Soviet literature will continue to develop in that direction.

Such forecasts are built on sand. However, some writers who occasionally gallantly proclaim that they approach life "from the eternal positions of good and evil" (as though the content of these concepts has never changed throughout the centuries) should consider what type of "universal feature" in Soviet literature would please the opponents of socialism.

In a situation marked by the confrontation between the two global systems--socialism and capitalism--the protection of the priceless treasures accumulated by mankind could not fail to become the target of a most sharp ideological struggle or to assume a universal scale.

However complex the sociopolitical picture of the world may be today, the peoples fighting for their independence and the cultural workers concerned for the fate of civilization and life on our planet are becoming increasingly convinced of the fact that socialism alone can carefully preserve and multiply the values created by mankind and give them new life. Such was precisely the assessment of the Soviet peace initiative given by progressive Western personalities at the Helsinki international meeting. The spirit of Helsinki, said the writer Herve Bazin (France), "means a reverence for the 3 million years which turned the primate into a thinking being, our planet into a treasury and space into the infinite area for human daring."

Never before have problems of artistic creativity blended so much with political tasks on a global scale. The problem of safeguarding the world from a thermonuclear catastrophe, threatened by imperialism, has become the most burning, the most urgent problem, a universal problem in the full meaning of the term. That is why the Soviet writers responded so warmly to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," which states that "peace is the common property of mankind and, in our time, the prime condition for its existence." The defense of universal values has become a civic, a party task of socialist literature. Those were the positions from which the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers addressed itself to the writers and cultural workers of the world: "The Soviet writers call upon the writers and cultural workers of our planet, regardless of their views, to do everything possible to save mankind from nuclear self-destruction, assert peace and ensure the triumph of harmony and cooperation among nations."

The aggravation of the ideological struggle at the present stage proves quite clearly that the gains of mankind can be defended only from the position of socialism. It is a class position, the position held by the society of working people. It is united and monolithic both socially and in terms of international relations. This position is dictated by the general internationalist interest in the development of culture in the socialist countries. As K. Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary writes, the process of reciprocal enrichment among nations and cultures "has gone so far ahead that the outlines of the future universal communist commonwealth are becoming apparent in the interaction among socialist countries."

The national literatures of the European socialist countries have entered a new stage of international development, the stage of shaping a system of literatures representing a dialectical unity. Let us recall that socialist literatures are alive and developing in many non-European countries as well (Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba). Hence the conclusion that literary studies include the study of socialist literature as a worldwide phenomenon. This also means, however, that the development of literature, as it reflects the leading objective trends in world history, confirms the appearance of a new civilization whose esthetic manifestation is socialist realism and the assertion and protection of which is the duty of the artist standing on Marxist-Leninist positions.

Socialism's entry into the stage of maturity confirmed the perspicaciousness and accuracy of Gor'kiy's statement, made at the beginning of the 1930's, on the birth of a new civilization which selected the best achievements of mankind from its age-old history, while firmly opposing the civilization dominating Europe and America. The civilization of socialism under construction was based on a scientific outlook. It asserted social and ethical ideas different from those held by the bourgeois society. Its objective was the education of the new collectivist and internationalist. It has progressed a great deal in its implementation.

In defining the distinguishing features of the socialist civilization, the writer proceeded from the conviction that "real civilization and the rapid growth of culture are possible only if the political power is entirely in the hands of the working people rather than in the hands of parasites living at the expense of someone else's toil." This criterion enabled Gor'kiy to condemn firmly American civilization which, in his words, "has monstrously inflated the entire range of shameful distortions of European civilization."

The founder of socialist realism reached the conclusion that the old civilization is hostile to man on the basis of his entire practical and literary experience. Actually, Gor'kiy's entire work is a passionate rejection of capitalist civilization and of all its institutions, ideals and principles.

The concept of "socialist civilization" is now beginning to circulate. True, literary experts and critics are handling it very cautiously, for the concept of civilization as being universal is still widespread. However, it has already become clear that just as in any class society there are two cultures--progressive and democratic and a culture serving the exploiting classes--in the contemporary world there are two clearly defined and mutually exclusive spiritual systems, two different civilizations. The first protects everything valuable which has been and is being created, above all man and mankind with their progressive culture, from the threat of a thermonuclear death, protecting our planet itself and reliably guaranteeing historical development on the path of progress. This is what socialism does. The second civilization follows the path of self-destruction. A society without a future and a "civilization" without

culture are definitions formulated by soberly thinking people in capitalist society itself. The existence of a socialist way of life, radically different from the bourgeois way of life, and the fact that within a relatively short historical period socialism was able to shape a new man with his high moral convictions and to create a new literature which is actively participating in the education of this man means that socialist civilization is no longer hypothesis but reality. We can note its physical manifestation in the literary process of developed socialism.

It was natural that the themes of the addresses by V. Kozhevnikov, Ye. Isayev, Yu. Bondarev, A. Chakovskiy and A. Prokhanov at the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers consisted of concerned, sarcastic or angry but always negative assessments of capitalist "civilization," which promises to mark its exit from the stage of history by converting our unique planet into a range for testing thermonuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is entirely natural that works of art which discuss the problems of civilization pay particular attention to debunking capitalist "civilization," which is hostile to socialism and which threatens all mankind. The political aspect which Gor'kiy and Mayakovskiy emphasized is just as valid today. A. Chakovskiy described the genre of his book "Pobeda" [Victory] as "political novel." It must be said that he has achieved great success in the development of this genre.

The idea of the contrast between the old capitalist and new socialist civilizations determines the excitement and structure of another novel--"Tvoya Zarya" [Your Dawn]--by O. Gonchar. On the surface, this is a description of a trip in a comfortable car along a modern Japanese superhighway. However, we are immediately struck by the contrast: this most perfect highway goes through swamps and cesspools in which flows the sewage of a gigantic city, a megalopolis, and in which Mafia gangs drown their victims. We find along the way people suffering from the disease of alienation and seeking their salvation through escape from culture.

This is also a trip into the past--in the remembrances of Kirill Zabolotnyy, the main character, and his friend, who is narrating the story. The novel's genre--travel and reminiscence --contributes to the truthful presentation of impressions created by the destructive consequences of capitalist industrialization, when the awakened demoniacal forces of technological progress become hostile to nature and man. Remembrances of steppes, gullies and gardens in the Ternopol' area and of people who live in harmony with nature, embellished by the romantic perception of a child, slowly stand out against the joyless hurricane speed of the highway, as though cautioning against any thoughtless duplication of examples of capitalist progress.

Socialist civilization, the author says, was born in the stressed atmosphere of labor and class struggle. It was precisely this civilization that raised people such as Kirill Zabolotnyy and changed people such as the anarchic-spirited Omel'kov.

Another consistently followed contrast--the contrast between beauty and ugliness--is also worthy of note in this novel. The modern superhighway going across cesspools overwhelms but creates no feeling of beauty. Beauty has no place in this kind of "civilization" suffering from degradation.

The idea of beauty as a universal value and a mandatory attribute of the new civilization has been entering literature with increasing firmness in recent years. However, together with moral values, beauty must be defended. It is the struggle for beauty

as a condition of the spiritual wealth of the Soviet person that is the excitement in the novel "Kartina" [Picture] by D. Granin. The power of the influence exerted by what is truly beautiful is that it develops selflessness in relations among people. The people who won the struggle for the Zhmurkin Plant, which drew attention for its talented depiction by the artist, do not derive any personal benefit. However, it was in the course of this struggle that their best human qualities became apparent.

It would be strange if the literature of a socialist civilization did not set itself the task of creating the image of the new man, the hero with positive qualities. It is noteworthy that at the stage of developed socialism, the problem of the positive characters confronts the writers in all its magnitude. Doubts as to the legitimacy of the problem itself which foreign "well-wishers" tried to create in the Soviet writers and the evasive efforts of some theoreticians and critics to streamline this concept are already forgotten (although this happened quite recently). The criterion of the positive character--"one of the basic criteria"--was emphasized at the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers by G. Markov. This concept "embodies the totality of the features of this character which are consistent with the historical experience of the people and with the loftiest ideological and artistic requirements of our party."

We can easily understand why the contemporary Western writer cannot undertake to create the character of a positive hero as the central hero of his time and why he is even "afraid" of the hero, as D. Forte, the West German playwright, acknowledged. The bourgeois way of life leads to the development of the antihero, who was described concisely but completely by U.S. director A. Schneider: "...Increasing ordinariness, diffidence and sexuality profoundly permeate many of his actions."

Loyal to the truth of life, Soviet literature has rejected the appeal to develop artificially a character possessing abstract virtues, preferring to depict the real Soviet person in his development as a new, communist individual.

However, the problem of the positive character in the literature of developed socialism must naturally be resolved on a broader basis than was necessary at its initial stages. Here we already feel the influence of the new historical comity and the purposeful party efforts to promote the rapprochement among all nations, classes and social groups in Soviet society and to convert it into a classless society of working people. This has broadened the democratic sources of the heroic principle which was manifested in the Great Patriotic War and was vividly reflected in works about it (let us remember the immortal character of Terkin).

The tempestuous dynamics of socialist growth also raised the demand to depict the character of man in its development and establishment. Naturally, this process was artistically represented by the individual writers through different means and with different degrees of success. It is symptomatic, however, that despite all differences in characterization and outcome we find similar characteristics of the contemporary hero in the miner Mikhail Sveshnev ("Shakhta" [Mine] by A. Pletnev), Vasiliy Potapov, head of a construction brigade ("Protokol Odnogo Zasedaniya" [Minutes of a Meeting] by A. Gel'man), railroad worker Yedigei ("I Dol'she Veka Dlitsya Den'," by Ch. Aytmatov), Fenya Ugryumova ("Ivushka Neplakuchaya" [Nonweeping Willow] by M. Alekseyev), Mikhail Pryanin (The Epic of F. Abramov), Zakhar Deryugin ("Sud'ba" [Fate] and "Imya Tvoe" [Your Name] by P. Proskurin), Kirill Zabolotnyy ("Tvoya Zarya" by O. Gonchar), Vladimir Ivanovich ("Vladimir Ivanovich" by D. Zhukov) and Karnal' ("Razgon" [Dispersal] by P. Zagrebel'nyy).

Miner and railroad worker, leader in the kolkhoz countryside and diplomat, cyberneticist and scientist dedicated to reviving the knowledge of the distant past for the sake of future generations--how different the accomplishments of these people are! However, the words of the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress fit every one of them: "The Soviet person is a conscientious worker, a person with high political culture, a patriot and internationalist. He has been raised by the party, the heroic history of the country, our entire system. He lives the rich life of the builder of the new world."

The range of manifestations of the positive qualities of the contemporary character is essentially infinite. Although we are still not satisfied with the solution of the problem of the positive character, we must not forget that the problem itself and the possibility of resolving it have become far more complex. The mass nature of the growth of personalities and changes taking place in socialist typology (such as the industrialization of agricultural production, which is influencing the appearance and future of the countryside, and the appearance of new skills under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution) cannot fail to manifest themselves in the dialectics of the typical and the unique or to complicate it. Although as yet literature is making attempts, not yet always successful, to record such complex processes, this is no reason to abandon the task of depicting the positive character and giving the national character priority as suggested by some critics. They ignore the fact that the problem of the national character is one of the features of the contemporary hero and that a positive hero cannot fail to have features of the national character. This is the law of socialist democracy--the democracy of developed socialism.

That is why, in our assessment of the contemporary hero, whatever his status in life may be--a high position or the modest duties of trackman at a small railroad station--particular importance is ascribed to his spiritual qualities, responsiveness to world events and involvement with human destinies. The main feature of this trend was aptly described by N. Dumbadze in the novel "Zakon Vechnosti" [The Law of Eternity] in describing the character of the writer Bachany Ramishvili. "The human soul," the character says, "weighs 100 times more than his body....It has become so heavy that no single person can carry it....That is why we, as long as we live, must try to help one another and to make our respective souls immortal: yours, mine, that of someone else, and so on, ad infinitum...." A person caring for others, or others concerned with the happiness of one person is beautiful. Such is the dialectics of the depiction of the hero in today's literature.

Like the Soviet way of life, socialist civilization is in a stage of development and advancement. This applies to the person who is creating this civilization and to the circumstances he creates. Everything is in a state of dynamism, creative tension and searching. Under such circumstances arguments are inevitable and necessary. They yield to the truth the sooner the more intensively the artist, the critic, looks at the processes of life and checks his observations and conclusions against the course of history.

"It can be said that in this case the main character is the new socialist civilization itself, with its origins, with the Great October Revolution, in its heroic confrontation with the capitalist system which debases man," said V. Kozhevnikov at the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers.

Such are the grounds for the historical optimism in Soviet literature and the sources of the unanimity with which the congress of Soviet writers appealed to the creative intelligentsia of the world, reiterating the question which Gor'kiy asked half a century ago: "Whom are you with, 'masters of culture?'"

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FACING THE PRESENT

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[Article by Feodosiy Vidrashku]

[Text]

1

In their birchbark letters, the people of the ancient Novgorod Republic frequently turned to one another with the request: "Send me something good to read." Time has brought to us the deep wisdom of these words. As a person who has been most directly involved with the printed word for many decades, I know and have firmly mastered the insurmountable truth that reading must be good. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences] is distinguished above all by its goodness, the roots of which are in Russian nature and land, in the soul of the Russian people. How important it is, after reading a book, seeing a play or a motion picture, visiting an art exhibit or spending an evening at the opera, for a person to become spiritually richer and wiser and for "good feelings" to be awakened in his soul. In my view, this is the noblest purpose of a true creation. In the opposite case, it is a waste of time.

The monument to Pushkin, of worldwide fame, stands next to the editorial premises of NOVYY MIR, where I work. Every day, as I go by, I seem to hear from afar the poet's instruction: find for the people something good to read, find those whose words will fire the hearts of the people. And how happy I am when, entering the premises, I find on my desk a talented, a good book. Tvardovskiy said that when editors receive a real work of literature the day becomes a holiday and the premises become brighter.

We, the editors, are lucky people: we are the first to come across a talented book, to become its first readers.

When it became known that Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was submitting his manuscript to the journal, we already firmly knew that a good book was coming to us, that it would be a holiday. The NOVYY MIR editors had been the first to read "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniya" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. And now we had "Vospominaniya." Unquestionably, with the very first line this exceptional work forces the reader to think about his own life, to compare it with the outstanding life of a good, warm and wise man who traveled the road from a young boy in a plant to the head of a great country.

"I was lucky to have been born, grow up and receive my labor training in a family of workers, in a big workers' settlement. The plant's whistle has remained one of the

earliest and strongest impressions of my childhood. I remember: dawn was just breaking while my father was already in his work clothes and my mother was seeing him off. It seemed to me that the low-pitched whistle was audible around the earth."

The extreme simplicity of the style sounds like the unhurried story of a comrade's childhood. However, if we look deeper into the words, our minds become captivated and excited. The dawn is breaking, the father in work clothes, the mother seeing him off to work, the din of the plant's whistle...What an amazingly accurate image! How many millions of people will be touched as they read these lines! They contain the essence of the lives of an entire generation which established Lenin's ideas over one-sixth of the globe, and of many subsequent generations.

I was born and grew up in the countryside--there was no industry at all for 100 versts around me--and I was aware of the existence of factories and plants only from the stories of my elders who had visited Kishinev. However, every summer, from somewhere there came to the countryside a Russian mechanic, thickset, in an oil-stained jacket and a pair of drooping wheat-colored moustaches. We all knew that when Uncle Vasya, the mechanic, appeared, the steam engine would be turned on and the thrashing would begin at the master's estate. We youngsters waited for the miracle of the big fly-wheel's to start turning and for strands of steam, long, like Uncle Vasya's moustaches, to come out of the pipes, and to hear the prolonged whistle. Our entire village waited for this whistle, the people came to life as they heard it. It was the harbinger of change to come.

Now, reading about Leonid Il'ich's "low-pitched whistle," which invaded his soul, I immediately recalled that isolated representative of the working class I met in my childhood.

The plant's whistle is related to the appearance of machines, the birth of the new. In a way the whistle is like the alarm bell, although the alarm bell has a different purpose. It has always announced trouble, or called to battle and to the defense of the fatherland, while the plant whistle has called the people to work and has played a tremendous role in the unification of the universal labor army. Naturally, the plant whistle marks the hours not only in Kamenskoye, which had a population of 25,000 at that time. The entire life of the country's working class was based on the plant whistle. The first was at 5:30 am; the second was at 6, for the shift to begin; the next was at 5:30--the warning--and the final work bell rang at 6 pm.

Let us imagine a 5-year-old child noticing thousands of workers walking to the plant gate, watching his father's peaked cap disappearing among many other peaked caps, caps and felt hats, and let us imagine later this same boy on his way to the plant, carrying his father's lunch.

"The plant worked in two 12-hour shifts. There were days (when the shift changed) when workers worked 18 hours at a stretch. There was no canteen and no lunch break. The workers hastily ate what they had brought from home."

Today the 5-day work week and clearly regulated 8-, 7- or even 6-hour work days are natural, taken for granted. More work means overtime paid at a higher rate, gratitude and bonuses for something deserving special encouragement. All of this has become possible thanks to the work and struggle of the working class in Russia.

"I saw him clearly: he was tense, his tongue ready at all times. The moment the white-hot hissing, evil serpent came out of the cage he would tame it immediately and with a broad movement would shift it to other rollers. At that moment this man looked like a fabulous giant. And this was my father."

At that time, millions of such fathers were in the ranks of the Russian working class, which was about to make the greatest and most just revolution on earth. The tremendous mass of people which the rumbling whistle called to work became the clarifying force in which Lenin saw the future transformer of Russia. Leonid Il'ich's father, as depicted in his memoirs, was a quite ordinary person, with nothing to make him stand out from the working mass. But how great this power, consisting of such ordinary people!

Worker unity grew and strengthened day after day. The workers neither could nor wanted to tolerate inhuman living and working conditions. An "upper colony" ruled Kamenskoye. It was inhabited by "another breed of people--well fed, well groomed and arrogant. An engineer wearing a regulation cap and a coat with a velvet collar would not think of shaking the hand of a worker who, approaching the engineer or foreman, had to take his hat off. We, the children of the workers, could look at the strolling 'clean public' listening to a band, only from the other side of the grill of the city park." This picture, so convincingly depicted by the author of the recollections, and which left such a painful memory for this Kamenskoye adolescent, resurrected in my memory a scene from my own native village, somewhat reminiscent of the attitude of the "upper colony" to the simple people. When the authorities representing the kingdom of Romania, which had taken Bessarabia away from the Soviet homeland, had to announce something to the population, they sent two police constables to the village: one was a drummer, while the other shouted the orders. Once the police chief, a master sergeant, ordered that all residents were to take their hats off when they met him. In order to train the population to do so, for several days running the master sergeant's cap was carried along the streets and people were asked to pay their respects.

Wherever they may be, the oppressors are all the same.

"In order to understand and value the present properly," Leonid Il'ich writes, "a person must see the past in its true colors."

The author of "Vospominaniya" not only shares with the readers his personal impressions of the past and the observations he remembers, but backs his statements with previously unknown documents. For example, here are quite noteworthy excerpts from two pamphlets which were disseminated in the Kamenskoye plant before the revolution.

"Where does it say that we must work the year around without days off?...Where does it say that workers must pay for the repair of buildings, machines and instruments? Obviously, our bloodsuckers find insufficient the profits they earn from our toil and they fine us whenever possible....We live in dirt, working endlessly, so that the bags of the bosses may be full while our stomachs remain empty."

In its 4 July 1912 issue, PRAVDA reported the following: "Yesterday, the police arrested 22 people at the Kamenskoye plant, accused of an attempt to organize a political meeting." Detentions were constant, but the militant spirit of the working class was not broken.

Here is yet another Bolshevik leaflet, this time dated 1916: "Only by mounting a general armed uprising from one end to the other, and only by destroying once and for

all the obsolete despotism of Nicholas II and mounting a democratic republic on its wreckage shall we be able to protect ourselves from a repetition of the horrors of this human slaughter....Let our struggle be united and general, for in unity there is strength!"

Here again, with his typical frankness, Leonid Il'ich makes a memorable acknowledgment: "Naturally, at that time I did not read these pamphlets. Kids did not go to May Day meetings and, generally speaking, we hardly understood any of this."

This admission is an important feature of the character of the author, who has never tried to emphasize that his fate was exceptional or to claim some particular qualities. He is a particle of the toiling people from which he came. He closely understood the hopes and expectations of the workers, for he saw these people every day, from the very moment that he heard the first whistle blast, watching how his father called on Uncle Arkadiy or Luka, his neighbor, or any other worker to take over, how he washed his hands and face and went outside to sit in the sun and eat on the grass. He ate silently, occasionally putting his rough hand on the head of his son who had brought him his meal.

Already then the author of the reminiscences had noted the best features of the working person: the great worker is infinitely patient. He knows his work and knows how to do it well. Even under czarist rules and even when workers were exploited he did good work, for he always valued skill and respected his own labor.

Let us consider how important this is in terms of the present!

2

The working environment in which Leonid Il'ich spent his childhood was the fertile ground for his development as a future fighter for the communist party. This environment was characterized by great industriousness, honesty, boldness, a never-ending yearning for justice, loyalty in friendship, and readiness to help one's comrade at all times. "The plant's whistle summoned to work, but it also united the workers, creating a high feeling of unity, of community of interests, the type of proletarian solidarity which made millions of people of different ages, experience, customs and nationalities a powerful monolithic and truly revolutionary class."

This was at the plant. However, there was another environment as well--at home. There was strictness, restraint, straightforwardness and the firmness of the father. He did not differentiate among working people and classified people not according to their nationality but their class, hence his profound internationalism. Here, in Kamenskoye, in a worker's family, there were frequent visitors. There were songs and talks until midnight. In this home, where the mother "would let no one go until she fed him," was cemented the character of the person who was to become one of the outstanding internationalists of our century. He preserved his loyalty to his family's traditions and always remembered his father's admonition: "If you have promised, keep your word. If you doubt, tell the truth; if you are scared, abstain, but once you have done something, do not fear. If you know you are right, never give up."

We, the contemporaries of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the witnesses of his work in the high positions entrusted to him by the party and the people, have had the frequent opportunity to see the firmness and faith in the justice of the common cause with

which he follows his father's advice as a descendant of the proletariat. At the same time, in everything which the general secretary of our party's Central Committee says or does, in his actions and his daily activities and, finally, in his books, we invariably feel an unquestionable goodness. This comes from his mother--a simple Russian woman, Nataliya Denisovna. In his reminiscences Leonid Il'ich speaks of his mother's legacy, such as communicativeness, interest in people, ability to face difficulties with a smile and a joke and hard work. "She spent her lifetime working, raising us, feeding us, washing us, taking care of us when we were sick and, recalling all this, I have always respected the heavy, unseen and endless but noble work of women and mothers."

Leonid Il'ich writes about his mother with touching tenderness. He emphasizes her intelligence, tactfulness, extreme modesty and unwillingness to burden her son with any kind of requests, although some people tried to use their acquaintance with Brezhnev's mother for selfish purposes. On those occasions, she would raise her wiry, worn-out old hands and tell them:

"Here are my hands. I am ready to help you all I can, but I cannot tell my son what to do. So, forgive me if you can."

What a high lesson in morality we find in these words!

3

The goodness and faith in the people the author of the reminiscences inherited from his parents and worker's environment enabled him to walk the glorious road of worker, land controller, soldier and Komsomol, soviet and party worker. I well remember the time when L. I. Brezhnev was working in Moldavia. This was 30 years ago, but everything good he accomplished in the republic is still remembered by the people and passed on to the young generation. I clearly remember two events involving my personal impressions of meetings with Leonid Il'ich at the beginning of the 1950's.

By decree of the VKP(b), political departments were created in machine-tractor stations on the right-bank Moldavian rayons in 1950. Many positions became available--head of political department, deputy, women's organizer and editor of press political sections. By that time I was already being published, and I was summoned to the propaganda department of the republic's party committee. Vasilii Ivanovich Ovchinnikov, a former Komsomol member from the civil war, a person enjoying universal respect, was in charge of press matters. At the end of our talk, he told me that "we shall submit your name to the Central Committee Buro. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally is choosing workers for the political departments."

I did not have to wait long in the reception room. When the tall white door opened, I found myself facing a long table behind which sat the buro members. A man I recognized from his picture in the republic press side by side with the information on the Communist Party of Moldavia (Bolshevik) Central Committee Plenum, which decreed that Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was appointed first secretary, sat at the head of the table, writing something. V. I. Ovchinnikov stood up, holding my file. He began to read. Leonid Il'ich asked: "Was he rayon Komsomol committee secretary at the age of 15?" After the affirmative answer, he said "read on." The next question was: "Did he join the party at the age of 18? A member of the VKP(b) since 1938?" He stood up, pushed a paper aside, laid down the pen and looked at the buro members. I saw his face brighten. His eyes were burning. "Look, comrades, at the type of cadres growing in our country! Shall we approve?" After the vote, he turned to me

again: "We appoint you editor of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKOYE SELO." He looked somewhere in the distance, silently, obviously thinking of something else, then suddenly said: "I shall take you to Moscow, to the Kremlin...."

I am giving this example to show how carefully the first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee addressed himself to the choice of cadres during such a difficult period for the republic. He met with hundreds of people, he followed their growth and promoted to responsible positions those who deserved it. Many of them he knew by name, talked to them and was interested in their lives. When he scolded someone, he did it without harassment and threats, without rash demands. To this day, Leonid Il'ich is remembered in Moldavia with a great feeling of warmth for his responsiveness and attentiveness to the people, to his fellow workers.

Spring came early in Moldavia in 1951. This was the time of the first sowing campaign after the collectivization of private farms. At the beginning of March, the political department of the Kotovskaya Machine-Tractor Station and the station's management convened an expanded machine-tractor station meeting which was attended by kolkhoz chairmen, brigade leaders, secretaries of party and Komsomol organizations and heads of party-Komsomol groups (such groups were formed in kolkhozes with less than three party members). In the midst of the conference the guard who stood outside rushed in: "Some kind of big chief is coming!" he said. Leonid Il'ich entered, looked at those assembled, requested a break and summoned to the director's office the raykom first secretary, who was attending the conference, and the political department personnel. "Look at the beautiful day outside! The sun is shining, the time to sow has come, the water in the ground must be preserved from evaporation! Meanwhile, you are sitting here at a meeting...." He was pacing energetically and it was obvious that he was angry. However, he was restraining himself and only scolded us like a father: "The Soviet system should indeed be praised for not permitting flogging... because flogging wouldn't be a bad idea in this case...with people being taken away from the fields on such a hot day...Go to the fields, all of you, and protect the moisture for the crops! Report this evening how many hectares of land you disked...."

Those are things I remember in connection with the thoughts expressed by the author of the reminiscences on his feelings for the homeland.

Leonid Il'ich began to discover his homeland at the beginning of the 1920's. He covered thousands of kilometers, traveling by train or riverboat, sometimes on horseback and a great deal on foot, as he traveled in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Russia, Moldavia and Kazakhstan. The conclusion he drew was extremely short but profoundly philosophical: "In all of us the feeling of homeland is very strong. This is a splendid feeling! Naturally, it is nurtured not only by looking at the beauty of our land. As they say, one must sink roots in it, and when one works this land, grows grain, builds a city or a new road, or else digs a trench to defend it, he begins really to understand what homeland means."

The USSR is beginning its 60th year. There are almost 270 million of us! And every one of us has his small homeland, the place where he was born, where he grew up and went to school or, briefly stated, where he began to acquire that which will be referred to after a while as his practical experience. However, this is far from everything we have. The struggle which the communists of the senior generation waged, the socialist system, the Soviet system has given to all of us a tremendous and great homeland, which was given the name of the USSR while Lenin was still alive. In 1940, when I became a citizen of the USSR in Bessarabia, along with those who lived between

the Dnestr and the Prut, a big red-colored map was hung on the wall in our school. This red country stretched from our Prut to Sakhalin, and the red flag glowing at the north pole. "This is our homeland!" we said proudly. Our geography teacher, a formerly clandestine Komsomol member, talked to us about the great homeland. It was she who told us that the Moldavians have their Prut, Volga, Kishinev and Moscow, their gardens and their tayga, their hills and their Caucasian mountains, their dairy herds and their epic poems. We had acquired great space and great rights but, naturally, together with them we had also assumed great responsibilities.

As though concluding his thoughts on the homeland, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, the head of our party and state reminds us that "in every one of us the feeling of homeland begins with childhood, with our home, street, town or village. At the same time, we are keenly aware of the big, the great homeland which, in days of danger and severe trials, suddenly becomes painfully close and precious from one end to the other." We inherited our native land from our fathers and must leave it to our children "even richer and more prosperous."

4

Leave to our children a homeland inherited from our fathers even richer and more prosperous! Could a communist have a nobler and loftier goal! "In 1931, Leonid Il'ich recalls, "I was accepted into the party in the plant where I worked....This was on 24 October."

To history, half a century is a moment. To man it is a tremendously long life. Membership in the communist party means daily struggle for the ideals which the party member has undertaken to pursue following the call of his own heart. Any work assigned to you by the party must be done honestly, with dedication, always thinking not of one's personal destiny but of the destiny of the country, the entire homeland.

Fifty years in the ranks of the CPSU! This gives us yet another reason to consider the qualities which the party fighters had to have, when they willingly linked their lives with the difficult struggle for the transformation of the world. In the days which preceded the storming of the Winter Palace, in October 1917, the Bolshevik Party had about 350,000 members. The number on the party card Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev received in October 1931 was 1,713,187. By then the VKP(b) had about 2 million members and candidate members. Those fighters had assumed responsibility for the fulfillment of the five-year plans and the making of the cultural revolution and for preparing the country for future combat on the battlefield. The experience of Leonid Il'ich and of the party veterans, now honored by the badge "50 Years in the CPSU," is our tremendous wealth.

I have visited Naberezhnyye Chelny on numerous occasions and have seen the famous KamAZ--one of the most important construction projects of our century. Rais Kiyanovich Beryayev, first secretary of the party's gorkom, was 36 years old when he was appointed to that position in 1969. "Our strength," he says "lies in the fact that we have always relied not only on the economic power of our state and not only on what the previous generations of builders of socialism have done. What helps us is the struggle, the work, the experience of our seniors. The main features of our veterans are their spiritual generosity, readiness to share their knowledge and everything they have learned from past experience. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's "Vospominaniya" is an example of this. Every single line and word here is turned to the present. His books, "Vozrozhdeniye" in particular, helped us to build the KamAZ."

L. I. Brezhnev's books face the present. I have heard this meaningful definition expressed by many of my collocutors in Naberezhnyye Chelny. The same is also confirmed by letters to the editors.

The reader is bound to notice that, while discussing events from our history in which he was directly involved, the author of "Vospominaniya" always bears in mind the present, with its anxieties and concerns. He reminds us that the building of socialism is taking place under circumstances of unabated ideological confrontation between the two systems. He emphasizes the importance of increasing the requirement concerning the ideological-political education of cadres and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses as much today as before the war. We are aware of how topical he sounds when he says "...During the period I am discussing...active and aggressive propaganda work was necessary. Hostile ideology had to be rebuffed promptly. We had to strengthen in the Soviet people a high political consciousness and educate them in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in a spirit of loyalty to the ideals of communism. Every leader, every party member must develop a taste for this...."

Leonid Il'ich speaks of yet another exceptionally important aspect of our ideological activities--truth.

Let us be honest about it, some workers on the ideological front believe that it is only those who draw attention to shortcomings and errors, which are still encountered in our daily life, who write and tell the truth. Actually, such "truth" is one-sided. Unquestionably, we must mention our shortcomings, but we must also loudly mention our successes, achievements and gains. Only then can the picture be complete and reflect the variety of colors in our life. If every single time we weigh everything on the scale of our own conscience, we will easily see how much of our reality is lofty, outstanding and beautiful, and how much we workers on the cultural front owe to those who build cities and enterprises, grow the grain and smelt the steel. "Nothing is more sterile," emphasizes Leonid Il'ich, "than propaganda without direction or interest for the audience and alienated from the needs of the present."

Because of its optimism and confidence in the triumph of the ideas of communism, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's "Vospominaniya," which faces the present, serves the future as well. The leader of the communist party and the Soviet state dedicates every day and every hour of his tireless efforts to the future of his native country.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has just returned from a visit to the FRG. This visit was a true mission of peace, made for the sake of the present and the future of the planet. "There are situations in politics," Leonid Brezhnev said, "in which a single wrong step may be fatal." It is not particularly easy to do everything possible to prevent such an erroneous step. The search for means for the solution of the most difficult problems of our time, being persistent, and finding convincing arguments in discussions with representatives of countries with a different ideology and holding different viewpoints on the contemporary development of world events for the sake of the main purpose--the preservation of peace on earth--means tireless efforts and struggle. We hear from across the years the advice which the Kamenskoye worker gave to his son: "If you are convinced that you are right, hold on to it to the end."

At the beginning of this article we mentioned the predilection of the Russian people for good reading. Millions of copies of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's "Vospominaniya"

have been distributed throughout the country. The content of the book was broadcast and presented on television. It was translated and published in the union republics and in many foreign countries. Good writing always finds good and responsive readers.

Work for the good of one's people and for one's brothers in class and ideals, and work for securing the right to life of everything existing on earth--these needs impose themselves on reading this new book by a man who is a communist and leader of our party and state.

In the days when we are celebrating the 75th birthday of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the working people of our country and all honest people on earth address to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman and author of the outstanding books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniya," "Tselina" and "Vospominaniya," which have become real textbooks of life, their warm congratulations, wishes for good health and a long life for the good of the people and the implementation of the brightest ideals of mankind--the victory and assertion of peace and justice on earth.

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EXAMPLE OF SELFLESS SERVICE TO THE PARTY, THE HOMELAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 81 pp 83-96

[Review of the book "Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Kratkij Biograficheskiy Oчерk" [Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Short Biographical Outline]. Third expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 224 pages with illustrations]

[Text] As it implements the brilliant plans of the great Lenin, the Soviet people is confidently marching to its high objective--the building of a communist society. The power of our socialist homeland is increasing steadily and steadfastly and its influence on the entire course of world history is intensifying.

The great Leninist party, its Central Committee, and the CC CPSU Politburo, headed by the outstanding political and state leader of our time, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, over the past 17 years, are ably directing the tremendous constructive work of the multimillion-strong toiling masses. As the loyal son of his people and a communist in the Leninist mold, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has always set the example of dedicated service to the party, the homeland and the ideals of communism, and the ability to live and work like Lenin. His high qualities as a man and leader--unbreakable ties with the people, high party principle-mindedness and exigency, combined with well-wishingness toward people, unabated revolutionary optimism and inflexible faith in the working class and in the inexhaustible creative forces of the broad popular masses--have deep roots. They have been vividly manifested in the universally famous trilogy by L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniya" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] and the recently published "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences], which are true chronicles of the life of the Soviet people, chronicles the author of which himself comes from the midst of the people, who acquired strong labor and practical training, for which reason he perfectly understands the hopes and expectations of the working man, of all working people building a new world. These roots can be clearly seen in the recently published biography prepared by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The main characteristic of the work, as of the books by L. I. Brezhnev himself, is its organic blend of the personal biography of the man whose name has become to the communists and to millions and millions of people on all continents the embodiment of dedicated struggle for peace and social progress, with our common biography--the biography of the country and its working class and the entire Soviet people who, under the leadership of the Leninist party, are erecting the grandiose edifice of communism.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was born and grew up in a united family of workers who lived and worked in Kamenskoye, a big workers' settlement (today Dneprodzerzhinsk). The foundations of his character and attitude toward life are found precisely here and, later on, in the thousands-strong plant collective of metallurgical workers with their rich labor and revolutionary traditions. The youngster joined the ranks of the working

class--the creator and builder of everything best on earth--at the age of 15. As Leonid Il'ich himself has pointed out, he always remembers his instructors and other comrades with whom he worked at the Dneprovsk plant and who gave him his first skill, taught him the complex science of life and showed him the great power and spiritual beauty of the working man. These were true universities of life which cannot be forgotten and which leave ineradicable marks.

Like millions of his contemporaries, Leonid Brezhnev grew up and was tempered in the struggle with the difficulties of the first years of the building of socialism and the heroic days of the builders of a new life, whose efforts laid the foundations of a powerful socialist industry and engaged in the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the making of a cultural revolution. It was a time of fierce class battles, a time of highly intensive struggle for socialism and for the general line of the party and its Leninist Central Committee. The firmness and courage of the participants in this struggle and their infinite loyalty to the cause of the party and socialism, L. I. Brezhnev was to say later, are to this day an inspiring example which lives in the valorous deeds of the working class and the entire Soviet people who are building new plants and electric power stations, developing the vastness of Siberia and the Far East, making stunning scientific discoveries and continuing with their toil the great traditions of the first five-year plans.

L. I. Brezhnev himself was invariably in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism, in its most active lines of advance and sectors. At the age of 17, carried away by the excitement of that heroic period, he joined the Komsomol. He was accepted as candidate party member in 1929 and as member of the VKP(b) in 1931. His entire life has been inseparably linked with the comprehensive and active efforts of the Leninist party since that time.

Fate decided that L. I. Brezhnev was to develop an exceptionally respectful attitude toward plant and rural work, an attitude he acquired in childhood from his parents and in Kamenskoye and its surroundings. His work as land surveyor (after graduating from the land surveying-reclamation technical school in his father's birthplace), and then as head of the rayon land department, deputy chairman of the rayon executive committee and deputy head of the Ural'skiy Okrug land administration led him into the thick of events of the greatest social revolution in the countryside. He became thoroughly familiar with rural life and for the first time gained the feeling that he was the representative of the Soviet system in the eyes of hundreds of people. "I am grateful to fate," he writes in "Vospominaniya," "for teaching me the lessons of life in the fields and the plants."

L. I. Brezhnev returned to his native city in 1931. He entered the metallurgical institute while working as a fitter at the plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy. Soon afterwards, he was elected faculty party organizer, then trade union committee chairman and, finally, secretary of the institute's party committee.

Leonid Il'ich was appointed director of the evening metallurgical workers faculty, subsequently reorganized into a technical school, in 1933. Naturally, combining work with a heavy study load was not easy. However, L. I. Brezhnev was always distinguished by his tremendous industriousness and ability to make rational use of time and to pack it to the limit.

After graduating from the institute with excellent marks in 1935, for a while L. I. Brezhnev worked at the plant as chief of shift of the shop where he had worked as a fitter. Soon afterward, he was drafted into the army. He took his military training in the Zabaykal'skiy Military District, initially as a student at the armor school and subsequently as political instructor of a tank company--one of the best in the regiment; he returned to his native city after his army service.

Soon after his discharge from the army, L. I. Brezhnev was elected deputy chairman of the Dneprodzerzhinsk City Soviet Executive Committee. He earned the great and deserving respect of the city's working people through his energy, creative approach to the work and concerned attitude toward the people and their needs and requirements as holder of this position. One year later he was promoted to important party work. He began as department head and, in February 1939, was elected secretary in charge of propaganda of the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Together with the other heads of the oblast party organization, L. I. Brezhnev engaged in extensive political and organizational work in mobilizing the party members and all working people for the successful implementation of the party tasks. He dedicated a great deal of effort to the upbringing of the party members, the working people of town and country and the youth in a spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and infinite loyalty to the socialist homeland.

The international situation at that time was extremely difficult and the threat of imperialist aggression was always present. Under the conditions of a hostile capitalist encirclement of the USSR, the party was taking measures to strengthen the country's defense capability and to develop the defense industry.

In 1940 the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Party Committee was given an important assignment by the VKP(b) Central Committee: to convert some oblast enterprises to the production of military equipment. The position of oblast party committee secretary in charge of defense industry was instituted to head the new sector. This required not only a competent and technically trained specialist but a talented organizer who could lead the people into dedicated work. The choice fell on Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. As always, he dedicated all his forces, knowledge and capability to the implementation of these important obligations.

When the piratical attack launched by fascist Germany faced our country with a terrible mortal danger, from the very first days of the Great Patriotic War L. I. Brezhnev was in the ranks of the soldiers valorously defending the socialist homeland and fighting to complete victory. The battle for the Caucasus, the legendary Malaya Zemlya, the expulsion of the Hitlerite occupationists from the Crimea and the Ukraine, and the liberation of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary was the glorious road of the armed forces in whose battles the military exploits and great personal courage of L. I. Brezhnev and his inordinate talent and ability as a military commissar and sensitive political instructor of the Soviet troops were noted.

As the book points out, traveling the hard roads of the war, L. I. Brezhnev honorably fulfilled his party and soldierly duties. His name may be found in many of the glorious pages of the Great Patriotic War. L. I. Brezhnev marched in the victory parade on Red Square in Moscow as commissar of the combined regiment of the Fourth Ukrainian Front. "If a person," he said subsequently, "happens to be a direct participant in any outstanding event in his time, an event marking an important milestone in world history, he remembers this throughout his life. To the senior generation of our

party, such events included the Great October Socialist Revolution and the civil war. To us, to my generation, it was the Great Patriotic War. The inhuman stress of our efforts and total dedication were our common status, the status of the participants in the biggest war in history. The reason was that we defended what was most precious--our Soviet socialist homeland. We are happy to have won a great victory over the enemy, and are happy that our participation has had a share in this victory."

The volleys of the ceremonious victory salute have been fired. The price the Soviet people paid for them was high. More than 20 million Soviet people lost their lives on the fronts, in the struggle against the enemy in the temporarily occupied territory and in fascist exile. A total of 1,710 cities and settlements and 70,000 villages and hamlets lay in ruins and ashes. There were 25 million people without a roof. The country had lost one-third of its national resources. No other country has ever suffered such losses and dislocations in war.

The CPSU led the people to a new great exploit--the fastest possible elimination of the consequences of the war and the restoration and further development of the national economy. The party directed its best cadres to the solution of this most important economic-political problem.

During that period, as first secretary of the Zaporozhskaya and subsequently Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Party Committee, L. I. Brezhnev headed the restoration efforts in these major industrial centers and the rebuilding of the famous Dneproges and Zaporozhstal', the metallurgical giant. He combined his talent as a political leader, his knowledge of the people, ability to deploy cadres properly, efficiency and practicality, and respect for and trust in people with high exigency and an innate feeling of justice, which earned him a high and deserved reputation among the party members and working people. The book extensively describes L. I. Brezhnev's fruitful activities in Moldavia and Kazakhstan. It shows the great deal of effort, initiative and persistence he invested in heading the party organizations of these republics and the development of their industry, agriculture and culture. The development of the virgin lands was a particularly important task. The conversion of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan into a major granary of the country is one of the most outstanding pages in the labor chronicles of our homeland. L. I. Brezhnev made a truly outstanding contribution to the implementation of this great task. He displayed bolshevik persistence and principle-mindedness, purposefulness and efficiency, and the ability to assess soberly the circumstances and organize the work in such a way as to unite the efforts of thousands of people who had come from all parts of the country for the development of the virgin lands.

Subsequently, as Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, dealing with problems of the heavy and defense industries and capital construction, L. I. Brezhnev played a tremendous role in enhancing the industrial and scientific and technical potential of the country, strengthening its defense power and resolving problems related to the conquest of outer space.

L. I. Brezhnev was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in May 1960. In this high position he dedicated a great deal of effort to ensuring the further advancement of the state apparatus, the development of Soviet socialist democracy, the consolidation of legality and the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy. In covering the distance from rayon soviet deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the authors state, L. I. Brezhnev made a profound and comprehensive study of the activities of the people's organs. He was involved in the drafting and adoption of laws governing the activities of soviets, the broadening of rights of deputies and the enhancement of their role at all levels of state and public life.

However, L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding and comprehensive qualities and inordinate talent as party and political leader of the Leninist type were manifested with particular clarity in his position as first secretary and subsequently CC CPSU general secretary. The October 1964 Central Committee Plenum, which proved the inflexible loyalty of our party and its Central Committee to Marxism-Leninism and to the Leninist norms of party life and principles of party management, was a true milestone. It passed historic resolutions aimed at making the levels of party and state management consistent with the inordinately increased and more complex problems of social development and the elimination of the then existing manifestations of subjectivism, which hindered the country's progress toward communism and the creative activity of the party and the people.

The plenum's unanimous election of L. I. Brezhnev to the position of CC CPSU first secretary was a high-level acknowledgment by the party and the Soviet people of his tremendous prestige and the fact that because of all his previous activities he was ready to implement such responsible duties successfully. Since then, all major events in our country's life and the successes of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU have been closely related to the tireless, inspired and fruitful activities of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, who also assumed the duties of USSR Supreme Soviet chairman in June 1977. This is extensively discussed in the work.

With his very rich practical experience and profound knowledge of the theory and practice of the building of communism, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has made a tremendous contribution to the formulation and implementation of the Leninist general course of the CPSU, the creative enrichment of the theory of Marxism-Leninism by the party and the assertion of the Leninist norms of party and state life. He has focused his attention on the main problems of party and state activities, upgrading the economic potential of the USSR and the living standard of the working people, strengthening the country's defensive power and the world socialist system, ensuring the unification of the entire international communist and workers movement and strengthening the peace and security of the nations.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism was developed further in the party's documents and L. I. Brezhnev's works. They bring to light the laws governing the building of socialism as the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system; they define the nature and ways of development of mature socialism, the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, the growth of socialist social relations into communist social relations, the molding of the new man and the advancement of socialist democracy. They comprehensively substantiate the most important features of the socialist way of life and elaborate the principles of improving economic management and social processes at the present stage.

The gigantic activities of our party, CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, are founded on a profound analysis of sociohistorical practice and are characterized by a Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of economic, sociopolitical and ideological problems. Actually, the party gives priority to problems of the country's economic development, for the economy is the main area of social activity, the successes of which determine its progress toward communism to a decisive extent. The all-round enhancement of the level of economic management has assumed particular importance also in connection with the expanded scale of social production and the new processes in the country's socioeconomic life.

Taking all of this into consideration, on the initiative of the Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee general secretary, the party formulated and is implementing an overall profoundly scientific approach to managing the developed socialist society and is pursuing an economic policy consistent with contemporary requirements; it defined the means to improve the economic mechanism and the forms of organization and management of the production process.

The elaboration of this economic strategy and corresponding economic management methods and the improved organization and management of the production process were initiated by the party with the agrarian sector in the mid-1960's. The serious measures needed to ensure the agricultural production upsurge were dictated by the need for a planned balanced development of all economic sectors in the country and the steady enhancement of the prosperity of the working people. The party also took into consideration that major errors and shortcomings in agricultural management have taken place in the past. In March 1965, L. I. Brezhnev addressed the CC CPSU Plenum with the report "On Urgent Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the USSR." "We realize," he emphasized, "that agricultural upsurge is what we vitally need for the successful building of communism. In order to resolve this nationwide problem, we must lay firm economic foundations on which to build agriculture."

The comprehensive program for the steady upsurge of agriculture, the foundations of which were laid at the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum and which were further developed in the resolutions of party congresses and subsequent Central Committee plenums, was a structural component of the party's general course. It is being systematically implemented. The party and the people set a high value to the great personal contribution made by L. I. Brezhnev to the elaboration and implementation of agrarian policy at the present stage.

The level of maturity reached by socialism also required a new approach to problems of development and organization of industrial output. The September 1965 Central Committee Plenum considered the problem of improving industrial management, advancing planning and strengthening economic incentive in industrial output. Measures were formulated aimed at coordinating the ripe tasks of the building of communism with methods for the planning and management of industry under circumstances in which its scale, volume of capital investments and size of productive capital had expanded tremendously and economic relations had broadened and intensified considerably. A course was charted toward upgrading production effectiveness and obtaining maximum industrial output of the best possible quality with the lowest possible outlays and the fastest possible application of the achievements of science and technology and ensuring the comprehensive strengthening of labor economic incentives.

In implementing the plenum's resolutions, the CC CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, focused the efforts of the party and the people on the all-round strengthening of the USSR's economic and defense power and on the systematic enhancement of labor productivity on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Proceeding from the fact that all elements of economic management must be consistent with the contemporary stage of development of Soviet society, the Central Committee mounted purposeful efforts aimed at improving national economic management methods.

Following the Leninist course, the party is creatively resolving the economic and sociopolitical problems of building a communist society. The 23d, 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses became important milestones along this way.

The book describes the tremendous organizing, ideological-political and theoretical activities of the party and its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, for the implementation of the decisions of congresses and Central Committee plenums and of the Leninist general course of the CPSU, the accuracy and justice of which have been confirmed by the entire course of development of our country and the global historical process. The past period is characterized by the steady and powerful upsurge of the constructive energy of the people's masses which, under the party's guidance, are engaged in tremendous and profound socioeconomic changes in the building of a developed socialist society. The alliance among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia is becoming increasingly monolithic; the fraternal friendship among the peoples is becoming increasingly unbreakable. The great power of the historical revolutionary creativity of the masses is manifested in the consistent and increasingly more profound development of socialist democracy and our entire social system. The new constitution of the first socialist state of the whole people, the initiator of and active participant in which L. I. Brezhnev has been, provides a powerful impetus for the further expansion and intensification of socialist democracy and for our progress toward communism.

The USSR Constitution legislatively codifies the leading role of the Communist Party as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society and state and social organizations. It is precisely the party which defines the general future development and the line followed in the country's domestic and foreign policy and which heads the great constructive activity of the Soviet people and gives a planned and scientifically substantiated nature to its struggle for the victory of communism.

In his 5 October 1976 interview on French television, L. I. Brezhnev said: "The nature of my activities and of the entire Central Committee Politburo is defined above all by the role which the Communist Party plays in our country. In our country, the party rallies the progressive and most conscious and active segment of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. It bases its policy on a scientific approach and on the profound study of the real needs of life and of the people. It rallies all social strata and nationalities. It arms the people with the will, readiness and skill to fight for the ideals of the most progressive and just society--communism."

The systematic growth of the Communist Party's leading role is one of the most important laws governing the building of socialism and communism. This law is manifested particularly profoundly and comprehensively under the conditions of mature socialism. As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress, the essentially important conclusion which was drawn at the 25th congress to the effect that in the period of developed socialism the role of the party grows in the life of society is unquestionably true. This conclusion is based on the objective processes of social development. It has become a central and very important component of the concept of mature socialism. The Leninist formulation that the party is the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch is being accepted ever more profoundly in our time. The Leninist Communist Party is growing, strengthening and maturing as Soviet society develops.

The dynamism of societal development, the depth and scale of economic and social change and the increased complexity of management tasks under contemporary conditions insistently demand of the party steady and comprehensive improvements in the level of management of various areas of social life and the continuing improvement of its work style and methods. The activities of the party organizations and organs, the party's Central Committee, its Politburo and the CC CPSU general secretary are imbued with this concern. Such activities are characterized by a profound realism, a scientific approach

to the solution of ripe economic and political problems and organizational and ideological work; collective management and practicality, close ties with local organizations and readiness to give them effective aid at all times; persistent application of everything new born of the collective creativity of the masses; and daring and firmness, a broad view of reality and Leninist principle-mindedness.

The local party organizations are improving their style and method of work on the example of the Central Committee. Their activities are characterized by increased efficiency, accuracy, creative approach to the solution of the complex problems of sociopolitical life, persistence, purposefulness, steadily increasing exactingness toward cadres and all party members, and increased organizational and ideological-educational work. The local party organizations have begun to deal more profoundly with economic and cultural problems. They pay daily attention to the solution of key economic-political problems, to the enhancement of all public production sectors and to the upgrading of their effectiveness. As political management organs, the party committees deserve a great deal of credit for the fact that, compared with the past, in recent years they have formulated a considerably larger number of specific suggestions of national importance.

The party and its Central Committee are particularly concerned with the primary party organizations, which are the base of the CPSU. This is natural, for as L. I. Brezhnev has said, the level of party management directly depends on the militant and initiative-minded way in which they work. The primary party organizations are in the front lines of economic and cultural construction and operate in the very thick of the people. All of their activities are aimed at actively contributing to combining the policy of the party with the live creativity of the masses and to the successful solution of economic-political and ideological-educational problems.

As the party of scientific communism, the CPSU bases all of its activities on the fact that the people's masses play the decisive role in history. As L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, the strength of the party lies in its unity with the people, while the strength of the people lies in its unity with the party and in its leadership.

The party itself is of both a class and a truly national nature. While remaining the party of the working class under developed socialism as well, it has also become the party of the whole people.

The increased role of the CPSU in the building of communism is indivisible from its increased responsibility to the people. The trust of the working people in the party is infinite but is also exacting. The CPSU will continue to do everything possible to strengthen even further the unity between party and people, so that the trust of the people in their vanguard may remain inflexible in the future as well.

The party's leading role is far from being automatic. "From past and current experience," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "we know quite well that the role of leading force in society does not come by itself. It must be earned, it must be gained in the course of the steady and tireless struggle for the interests of the working people. This role is strengthened by the fact that the party is steadily intensifying its ties with the people's masses and is living with their needs and concerns."

The systematic development of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of party management, the further intensification of socialist democracy, the strengthening

of law and order, the broadening of the rights of union republics in economic and cultural construction and the increased role of the public organizations along with many other measures implemented by the party and its Central Committee in recent years have played a tremendous role in broadening the ties between the party and the masses and upgrading the political and production activeness of the working people.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Communist Party, its Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and L. I. Brezhnev personally, an atmosphere of true collectivism, comradely trust and respect, accompanied by exactingness and principle-mindedness, has developed in Soviet society. This contributes to the blossoming of all the creative forces of the builder of communism.

The main and most decisive of all the factors which define the vitality and strength of the CPSU and account for its successful revolutionary-transformation activity are the firm ties between the party and the masses and its infinite faith in the strength of the working class and all working people. In all its current and long-term projects it relies on the inexhaustible source of popular initiative and on the boundless support of the broadest possible popular masses. The Soviet people remember the inspired words of Leonid Il'ich in his address to the 25th CPSU Congress: "...Every morning, dozens of millions of people start their most ordinary working day...They probably do not think of the greatness of their accomplishments. However, it is precisely they who, implementing the party's plans, are taking the land of the soviets to increasingly higher levels of progress."

The Soviet people know that the communists will be the first to go wherever things are most difficult and that whatever may happen, the communists will not let them down. Wherever the party may be, there are successes and victories. The people trust the party and entirely support its domestic and foreign policy. This makes the party 10 times stronger and is the source of its inexhaustible energy.

In many of his speeches, L. I. Brezhnev has exposed the total groundlessness of the assertions of bourgeois ideologues and right- and left-wing revisionists to the effect that the Marxist-Leninist concept of the growing leading role of the party contradicts democracy and violates the rights and functions of other social organizations and the interests of the working people. In reality, the ruling Marxist-Leninist party involves all citizens in the administration of the socialist state. The party does not take over the functions of state and various social organizations in the least but encourages and supports their activities, channeling their efforts into the building of the new society. The party's most important task is precisely to energize all units within the socialist political system, to improve their work and to upgrade their responsibility for matters within their area of competence.

The increased leading role of the party and influence of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and all mass organizations of the working people is an interrelated and interdependent process which reflects the profoundly democratic nature of the socialist system. As the role of the party grows under mature socialist conditions, the rights of state and public organizations increase. Such is the dialectics of the development of the political system of the socialist society.

The activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, is a model for all party organs of a truly Leninist approach to the management of state and public organizations. The Central Committee comprehensively supports and develops their initiative. It creates all the necessary conditions which enable them to perform their functions and accomplish their noble purpose of serving the people successfully.

Through its dedicated service to the cause of communism, our party, headed by its Leninist Central Committee, is steadily enhancing its reputation as the universally accepted and tested collective leader of the Soviet people. It considers this reputation its most valuable gain. It represents, L. I. Brezhnev has said, not only a just reward for the dedication with which the party has always served the people. It is also our powerful, our invincible weapon which helps us to rally the broadest possible masses and to mobilize them for the solution of the problems facing the country.

The party and its Central Committee teach us to be aware of achievements as well as omissions. They are doing everything possible to promote steady progress while eliminating underachievements. As the skill and complexity of the problems to be resolved increase, a self-critical approach to all matters becomes particularly important. The CPSU is tirelessly developing criticism and self-criticism, which is a tried method for surmounting subjective difficulties and ensuring the proper upbringing of cadres.

A creative approach to the work and the ability to identify and correct shortcomings promptly are among the characteristic features of the activities of the Central Committee, its Politburo and L. I. Brezhnev personally. The party has always openly criticized errors and shortcomings. It has opposed any kind of subjectivism and dogmatism in theory and practice. It proceeds from the fact that the thorough and self-critical analysis of accomplishments, with all its positive and negative features, is a necessary prerequisite for social progress. The CPSU ascribes essential importance to the development of healthy criticism of manifestations of bureaucracy, red tape, parochialism and attachment to obsolete ways and means of work, of anything which hinders our progress.

Each of L. I. Brezhnev's addresses, particularly his reports and speeches at party congresses and Central Committee plenums, and all of his comprehensive activities provide convincing examples of the skillful use of the tried weapons of criticism and self-criticism. They are a model of intolerance of shortcomings and complacency and an example of the unity of word and action.

Problems of ideological-moral upbringing and of molding the new man play an important role in Communist Party activities. "...The party," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "considers the development of communist consciousness, readiness, will and ability to build communism its permanent concern." The party's decisions and the addresses of the CC CPSU general secretary offer a broad program for the communist upbringing of the working people and upgrading the people's cultural standard. The core of this program is the shaping of a communist outlook and high ideological and moral qualities in the Soviet people and the development in them of patriotism, socialist internationalism, high responsibility and creative attitudes toward assignments and intolerance of any manifestation of bourgeois ideology.

L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that the main purpose and objective of ideological activity is for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to become the inner convictions of every Soviet person and to encourage him to active efforts in pursuit of our great common cause. The Communist Party can be justifiably proud of the successes it has achieved in its ideological work aimed at shaping the new man and communist relations among people, and educating the broad toiling masses in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideals. At the same time, however, it also points out the shortcomings and weaknesses which still remain in this area.

Specific accomplishments have always been the yardstick of success in ideological work and in the effective ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the people. Communist idea-mindedness is a blend of knowledge, convictions and practical actions. The higher the ideological-moral and cultural standard of the working people is, the more significant is their contribution to the implementation of the party's plans and to the building of communism.

Man, his work, life and spiritual world, are the center of the party's organizational and ideological work. The CPSU is concerned with making the propaganda of the ideas of communism closer and more understandable to the working people, to reach the minds and hearts of every Soviet person and to awaken in him the brightest and most noble thoughts and feelings.

The CPSU builds its entire revolutionary-transforming activities on the firm foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. This enables it not only to resolve current problems successfully but to predict the future with accuracy. "The strength of Marxism-Leninism," L. I. Brezhnev says, "lies in its steady creative development. This is what Marx and Lenin taught us. Our party will always remain loyal to their behests!"

The CPSU's comprehensive ideological and theoretical efforts are reflected in its documents and in the works of L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders. They offer a profound analysis of topical problems of social development and sum up practical experience creatively. They are imbued with the spirit of Leninism and Leninist methodology and enrich Marxist-Leninist doctrine with new important conclusions and concepts. As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism stands out among them. On the basis of this concept, the party refined and concretized the ways and means for reaching our programmatic objectives and defined its long-term strategy and tactics.

The multiple-volume edition of L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and articles published under the overall title "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course], a title which defines quite accurately the main idea which runs through its content, represents the concentrated expression of collective theoretical thinking and basic directions followed in the Communist Party's practical activities. These works, which sum up the tremendous experience of the CPSU, also bear the vivid imprint of the personal qualities of the Central Committee's general secretary as the leader of our party and the entire Soviet people, the outstanding personality in the international communist movement and the selfless fighter for communism and peace. These qualities are revolutionary optimism and realism, high party principle-mindedness and humaneness. L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and articles include suitably weighed and profoundly thought out views on topical contemporary problems and warm words of greetings and support of workers, scientists, kolkhoz members, cosmonauts and all people engaged in creative thinking and action--the active builders of the new life.

By decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, L. I. Brezhnev was awarded the Gold Medal imeni Karl Marx for his outstanding contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, scientific development of topical problems of developed socialism and the universal-historical struggle for communist ideals and for lasting peace on earth. This is the highest award of the USSR Academy of Sciences granted for outstanding accomplishments in the social sciences.

As they develop the theory of scientific communism creatively, the party and its Central Committee, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, are formulating the strategy and tactics of the country's economic and sociopolitical development. They are profoundly analyzing the processes in domestic and international life and achieving more and more successes in the building of communism.

The achievements in CPSU domestic policy, the growing economic and scientific and technical potential of the Soviet Union, the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the developed socialist society, the dedicated work of the people and the purposeful foreign policy of the CPSU are contributing to the further strengthening of the international positions of the USSR and of the entire world socialist community and to successes in promoting the cause of peace and the social progress of mankind.

As pointed out in the book, ever since L. I. Brezhnev became head of the CPSU Central Committee by the will of the party, the realm of its foreign policy has broadened considerably. As Central Committee general secretary, L. I. Brezhnev has been making an outstanding personal contribution to the formulation and execution of the foreign policy of the party and the state at the present stage.

The increased role and scale of CPSU international activities are based on a number of objective factors such as the creation of a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union, the building of socialism in several other countries and the ripe need for enhancing the level of cooperation among fraternal socialist countries further. In this case the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the increased influence of liberated countries on international life and the radical changes in the ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of peace, democracy and socialism have played a tremendous role. However, imperialism is trying to seek revenge for the defeats it has suffered by creating a dangerous situation in many areas on earth. This increases the need to fight imperialist reaction, bourgeois ideology and right and left opportunism. It increases the historical responsibility of progressive forces for the preservation of peace on earth and for defeating reactionary plans.

Problems of foreign policy and its formulation and execution have always played an important role in CPSU activities. Under contemporary conditions, however, they have become particularly important in ensuring successful building of socialism and communism in the USSR and the other members of the socialist community, and in preserving peace and social progress on earth.

The principles governing the strategy and the most important specific actions in foreign policy are formulated by the party and its Central Committee, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, on the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist study of trends in international life and comprehensive consideration of the ratio of forces in the world arena.

The addresses of the CC CPSU general secretary develop the Leninist ideas of the class and peaceful nature of Soviet foreign policy, which expresses the essence of the socialist system, further. They show the way the constructive activity of the Soviet people, headed by the party, is organically interwoven with the global revolutionary process, emphasizing that the interests of the Soviet people, who are building a communist society, are indivisible from peace and social progress. "The foreign policy of the CPSU and our Central Committee," L. I. Brezhnev points out, "is permeated with a profound concern for the good of the Soviet people. It is also a policy entirely consistent with the interests of all revolutionary forces and the profound expectations of all nations. It is a class-oriented, socialist and truly internationalist course."

The CPSU is resolving the most important theoretical problems related to the development of international relations, the strengthening of the socialist community and the growth of strength, political influence and international cohesiveness together with the communist and workers parties of the fraternal socialist countries. The CC CPSU, its Politburo and L. I. Brezhnev personally are making tremendously broad and important efforts along this direction.

In the field of foreign policy, these activities are characterized by a truly scientific and creative approach and profound study of the essence of the basic problems of global development. They are characterized by Leninist principle-mindedness and party-mindedness in defending the class interests of the working people, the ability to single out the main, the determining aspects among the totality of complex and contradictory phenomena, to be guided accurately in most complex and confused international circumstances and to define and apply the most effective ways and means in pursuit of a peaceful foreign policy course.

Inherent in L. I. Brezhnev, as a leader of the Leninist type, are class principle-mindedness in the assessment of basic problems of world politics, an objective and accurate understanding of new phenomena in international life and prospects of social progress, realism in the formulation and resolution of foreign policy problems, consistent democracy, revolutionariness, sincere love for the working people and close ties with them.

The awarding of the Leninist prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Nations" to L. I. Brezhnev was welcomed with approval within our party and country and abroad. Many democratic public figures unanimously emphasize that Leonid Il'ich acts in the world arena not only on behalf of his country and people but actually on behalf of millions of peace-loving people on earth. The constructive, farsighted and consistent policy purposefully implemented by the CPSU, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, is accented by the warm and heartfelt statements by people of different nationalities, political views and convictions.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the world communist movement proved that the broader the scope of the historical creativity of the people and the more complex the revolutionary changes become, the greater becomes the role of the leaders and organizers of the masses.

The experienced and tempered leaders of the masses, promoted by the party and the people in the course of the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of society and communism, leaders who are profoundly aware of the vital needs of social development, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science, and who can find means for their satisfaction and organize and lead the masses to the solution of new problems boldly, play an important part in society's successful progress. These requirements are entirely consistent with the personal qualities and comprehensive activities of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, based on the all-round scientific study of reality in its current trends and on the systematic implementation of the principle of collective party leadership.

L. I. Brezhnev traveled the road from rank-and-file communist to CC CPSU general secretary and from metallurgical worker to head of the Soviet state. He has always honorably justified the great title of member of the Leninist party and its high trust. He has selflessly struggled for its noble cause and for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

L. I. Brezhnev dedicates his entire tremendous experience, knowledge and ability to serving the people, to the successful solution of the problems of communist construction and to the cause of peace and social progress on earth. Concern for the individual and for the good of the people imbues all activities of the CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee, and Central Committee Politburo headed by L. I. Brezhnev.

L. I. Brezhnev is the recipient of the highest awards of the homeland for outstanding services to the Leninist party and the Soviet state in the building of communism,

strengthening the economic and defense power of our country and tireless work in the struggle for peace. He is also the recipient of high awards presented by fraternal socialist countries and other countries throughout the world.

The Communist Party is implementing its Leninist course in domestic and foreign policy with Leninist wisdom, broadly, specifically and efficiently. It is fulfilling its historical mission which, as Lenin taught, is to guide and organize the new system, to be the leader and guide of all working people and to lead the people to communism. The monolithic unity of party and people is the source of the invincible strength of the Soviet society. The CPSU rates the trust of the working people higher than anything else, preserving it and comprehensively strengthening its ties with the masses.

The 26th CPSU Congress became an event of universal-historical significance and the embodiment and development of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine. From the high rostrum of the congress, the solemn words of the CC CPSU general secretary were heard: "We intend to concentrate all our efforts in two interrelated directions. One of them is the building of communism; the second is the consolidation of the peace....We do not simply believe but are firmly convinced that our supreme objective...will be reached and that a communist society will be built!"

All Soviet people are legitimately proud of their communist party, its powerful and bright collective mind and the fact that it acts in everything the way it was taught by Lenin. The hearts, thoughts, expectations and actions of the Soviet people belong to their native party. They express their profound respect and gratitude to the battle staff of the CPSU--the Central Committee headed by L. I. Brezhnev, the loyal and firm Leninist and dedicated fighter for peace and communism.

The Soviet people see in the party their tested leader, manager and organizer of all victories. They have seen for themselves and are seeing with every passing day that the party's policy is a Leninist policy and that the CPSU is leading the Soviet people confidently along the only true Leninist road to communism.

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NEOCOLONIALISM OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

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[Article by N. Yermoshkin]

[Text] The elimination of the imperialist colonial system and the increased political role of dozens of young countries in the world arena are essentially important phenomena in international life. The liberated countries present a rather variegated sociopolitical picture. Some of them are pursuing a truly independent policy, while others are following the fairway of imperialist policy. In noting this fact, the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that strengthening the independence of the liberated countries does not suit imperialism which is trying to tie them to itself, using thousands of methods and means, in order to have freer access to their natural resources and to use their territories for its strategic plans.

The breakdown of the colonial empires, which took 3 centuries to develop, a tempestuous process from the historical viewpoint, faced the imperialist centers with the task of formulating a new strategy and tactics for the exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and for replacing direct political rule and methods of economic coercion, which were characteristic of imperial times, with new and seemingly more proper methods of plundering the former colonial peripheries. The search for such forms was considerably facilitated by the economic weakness of the young politically independent states, which inherited from the past an economy oriented toward meeting the requirements of the mother country and which depended on productive capital imports. Only a few among them, mainly those in which the national liberation revolution was headed by the communist parties which were established at that time, which gave it a purposeful social content from the very start, firmly rejected the imperialist economic yoke and undertook to build a new society. The majority became officially independent within the framework of neocolonialist relations which tied them to the imperialist countries as before, thus merging into a single mother country and a variety of joint colonizers. The influence of the latter is based on subordinating the economy of the capitalist periphery through capital investments and trade, credit and technology. Essentially, this allows these nations forcefully to impose their order and in practical terms leads to the plundering of the human and natural resources of the liberated countries and worsens their relative and sometimes absolute backwardness. The West has used the biggest imperialist monopolies, particularly the so-called multinational corporations, as an increasingly important tool for such plunder. Today, the concept of neocolonialism is most closely associated precisely with their activities.

The liberated countries remain as the main raw material base for contemporary imperialism. Raw materials extracted in Asia, Africa and Latin America account for 90 percent of Japan's raw material needs and 75 percent of Western Europe's. Thus, an interruption in manganese supplies from Gabon, India or Brazil would trigger "most profound upheavals in the Western economy," states a British government paper. According to the West German government, a 3-month shortage of imported chromium would doom 1.5 million people in the FRG to unemployment. Even the United States, which has the most abundant supplies of mineral raw materials, is increasing its imports totalling more than half of the 24 different minerals considered of the utmost importance to that country's economy.

Meanwhile, with a population three times the size of that in the Western capitalist countries, the young states' industrial output is lower by a factor of six, while in terms of per capita output it is lower by a factor of 15-16. At the beginning of 1981, the total foreign debt of the liberated countries had reached \$500 billion, having actually tripled during the last 5 years. In order to pay off such debts in full, they would have to surrender their total earnings from exports of agricultural, raw material, food and industrial commodities (excluding petroleum) over a 2-year period. Their annual payments and interest on loans alone today total \$88 billion. Therefore, the West, which presents itself as the source of financial support for the young countries, is in fact, to begin with, receiving considerably more money from older debts and, secondly, is only offering to return them the funds they have paid for the purchase of increasingly expensive industrial commodities and products of petroleum refining.

It is indeed the poor who are being robbed. According to the ILO, there are 300 million unemployed in the developing countries, and more than 1 billion, i.e., more than one third of the population in Asia, Africa and Latin America, lives under circumstances of horrifying poverty, suffering from chronic malnutrition and deprived of basic medical aid. One out of every three newborn children dies before the age of five. In Bangladesh, for example, there is one physician per 50,000 population. One out of every four residents of the former colonies is illiterate.

The monstrous social consequences of colonial and neocolonial superexploitation are aggravated under the conditions of the "demographic explosion" (i.e., rapid population growth). The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are facing the most acute problems of eliminating hunger, improving health care and education and surmounting economic dependence which, in the final account, means preserving the lives of hundreds of millions of people. Behind the lulling noises of innumerable discussions and endless talks regarding a new economic order, skillfully increasing nonequivalent trade using economic levers, credit, patents, technology and managerial experience, the American, Western European and Japanese ruling circles have blocked the progress of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and have even increased the scope of the previously existing inequality.

The Western aspiration to consolidate neocolonialist relations with the developing countries is combined with attempts to facilitate penetration by multinational corporations -- the most greedy monopolies of the contemporary capitalist world and their assault troops on the economic front -- into Asia, Africa and Latin America. All in all, the number of such corporations is small -- not exceeding 619. However, with the help of their numerous foreign branches (which, in the definition of UN

experts classifies them as multinational), the MNC have ensnared the entire capitalist economy in their invisible web. They are a major enemy of the 123 developing Asian, African and Latin American countries. The MNC enterprises abroad employ 13-14 million people, or more than the entire working class in the FRG. The income, ranging into the billions, of General Motors, Dunlopp-Pirelli, Chrysler, Royal Dutch-Shell, ITT, IBM, British Petroleum, Phillips, Mitsubishi, Fiat-Citroen and many others exceeds the national income of most young countries.

Although at the present stage the MNC are concentrating their investment, production and marketing activities essentially in the developed capitalist countries, while the young states are kept as bases (no more than one quarter of the MNC's capital investments are channeled into the young countries), they nevertheless feel that they are the real masters of the majority of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Their investments enable them literally to plunder the peoples of these continents. The annual monopoly revenue extracted from such countries has reached \$100 billion, i.e., it exceeds Western aid and the total capital investments of Western countries by a considerable amount. In exchange for their natural resources, the Asians, Africans and Latin Americans receive from one sixth to one tenth of the actual market value, while the balance goes into the bank accounts of the monopolies. According to the UN Center for the Study of MNC Activities, the Western monopolies received \$200 billion (excluding petroleum), from consumers of raw materials imported from the developing countries, in 1978, not counting taxes, whereas the young countries were paid only \$30 billion.

Naturally, this imperialist "expeditionary corps" has earned a bad reputation among the young countries. Even TIME, the American journal, was forced eventually to point out that "With the exception of the CIA, no American invention has triggered such suspicions, mistrust and censure as has the multinational corporation."

This is no accident. Today, it is precisely the MNC which are the bulwark of the colonial and racist regimes and of all the most reactionary phenomena encountered in current global political practices. As V. I. Lenin said, in politics the monopolies gravitate toward "everything that is backward, dying and medieval," allying themselves with "all the obsolescent and withering forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 166). They are participating most actively in raising counterrevolutionary detachments, financing their invasion of the territory of the young progressive states, the commission of other aggressive actions against them, and in the struggle against the national liberation movement (as was the case, for example, in Angola, Mozambique and Benin); they directly involve themselves in preparing coups d'etat (as was the case in Guatemala, Iran, Congo and Chile, and not so long ago in Bolivia). They engage in subversive activities against governments they consider unsuitable, for which purpose the biggest corporations maintain a powerful apparatus which includes their own police and intelligence. Thus, the budget of General Motors' intelligence service equals that of the French security service. The fanning of conflicts on our planet, the organization of conspiracies and the establishment of puppet regimes are standard daily MNC practices.

In their efforts to conceal their reactionary thieving activities, the U. S., Japanese and Western European monopolies try to make it seem that their policy of capital investments is virtually dictated by the ideas of humanism and their desire to help the liberated countries to industrialize. In fact, however, in the developing countries, the MNC are creating only the kind of production sectors they

want, and only in places where they find this to be economically expedient and profitable. This is confirmed by the fact that the MNC are investing primarily in the more developed young countries with big domestic markets, rich natural resources, convenient geographic locations and favorable investment policies. At the same time, they prefer to bypass the least developed countries, particularly those without outlets to the sea, i. e., to inexpensive transport arteries.

It is also typical that, as a rule, the MNC seem to be following the old colonial system of strengthening the former dependence of these countries on the mother country. Similar to the time when the colonial powers opened trade offices and posts, built ports, warehouses and bridgeheads in their possessions, today new capitalist enclaves are being formed in Asia and Africa, described as "duty-free," "free-trade," "free-enterprise" or "export-item processing" zones. The names may vary but they are essentially the same: areas, frequently quite extensive, usually located in the vicinity of a port or big airport, in which the multinationals or mixed companies in which they participate enjoy a number of privileges, ranging from virtual freedom from taxation to the right to import raw or semi-finished goods freely. They are given land, water, electric power and various infrastructural elements free of charge. Their various services and sometimes their manpower training programs are subsidized. Entrepreneurs in countries in which MNC feel at home pay no social security quotas or minimum wages. In most cases unions are forbidden. "Regardless of the problems, needs and requirements of the host country, such capitalist enclaves ruled by foreign investors in accordance with the interests of the MNC are real states within a state, with laws frequently differing from the laws governing the rest of the country. Sometimes they have their own police forces, and the workers are searched when they check out," wrote French researchers M. Boran and L. Carry in a recent issue of LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. In Asia and Africa such enclaves are known as "duty-free poverty zones." It is precisely to such areas that, at the present stage of their activities, the MNC are "shifting" the most labor- and material-intensive and "polluting" operations, which are harmful to the environment.

In addition to the extraction, processing and procurement of raw materials, the development of import-substituting industries working essentially for the domestic market has become an important aspect of MNC activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Essentially individual shops are built in one or another country, while their operations are coordinated by the corporate headquarters, whether in London, Paris, Chicago or Rotterdam. This is insurance against nationalization, for an enterprise with a partial production cycle and technology, if nationalized, will be totally dependent on the international market, which remains under the control of the previous owners.

The merciless exploitation of inexpensive manpower in the young countries remains a permanent source of high profits for foreign capital. The existence of unemployment, which reaches a tremendously high level here and is the result of the lengthy stagnation during the colonial period, lowers labor costs. The managers of Volkswagen, the West German concern, frankly admit, for example, that there are 120 applicants for every job opening they have in their plants in Brazil.

The wage level, which is below international standards, although it may be somewhat higher than the local average, involving a longer work day, is a comprehensive

phenomenon in foreign enterprises employing local manpower. Last year, FRANCE NOUVELLE cited interesting data on French monopolies: "Currently, the hourly cost of assembling electronic components is 60 centimes in Malaysia and South Korea, 1 franc in Taiwan and 3.7 francs in Singapore, compared with 30 and even 40 francs in France, Spain and the FRG." The average wage of a worker in Asia is one tenth that of an American worker with equal skill. Furthermore, the working day is longer by a half, while enterprise social costs are one quarter of those in America. However, the output is sold on the domestic or Western market at the same price set for similar goods produced in the United States.

The political and economic influence of the MNC is increasing along with their greater economic power and the wider geographic spread of their operations. The very functioning of these monopoly associations in one country or another makes them channels of Western, mainly U. S., influence, the more so since they have never been satisfied with the role of passive observers of events. In their economic relations with the young liberated countries, the MNC make wide use of monopoly methods for the seizure and retention of control over markets and the suppression and restraint of competing companies, including monopoly price setting, the covert transfer of profits and various intracompany machinations. A considerable share of international trade is converted into trade among MNC departments. The heads of corporations operating in several dozen countries simultaneously have the facilities for shifting vast capital instantaneously, thus undermining the ability of the countries to maintain the stability of their currency. Having ensured a favorable climate for themselves, they can make access to credit and loans on the world market difficult for one country or another, and they can coordinate their actions with other multinational corporations.

The strategic objective of contemporary imperialism in the developing world is to strengthen capitalism in the former colonies and to retain them in a "peripheral" position as a source of scarce raw materials. In order to achieve this, it is using the most powerful and best organized detachment of monopoly capital -- the multinational corporations.

Contemporary imperialism is backing its economic domination over the majority of developing countries with its military presence in their areas, as well as political influence. Wherever a "hot spot" breaks out in the world, we may be confident that it is related to one extent or another to the struggle waged by MNC for sources of raw materials, markets, capital investments and exploitation of the working people. Lenin himself exposed the criminal nature of the international activities of the monopolies by proving that the bourgeois states act precisely in their own interests.

In its effort to turn the course of history back and to obstruct the national liberation movement, world reaction has of late noticeably increased its political and military pressure on the liberated countries. It is countering the sociopolitical changes which are taking place in the national liberation zone with naval armadas, tanks and airplanes. It has raised a "rapid deployment force" of 200,000 and proclaimed huge areas thousands of miles from the imperialist centers to be areas of "vitally important interests."

In their effort to shift blame and to juggle concepts, the imperialist circles are trying to pin the "international terrorism" label on the national liberation

movement. The objective of this campaign is to compromise and undermine the very widespread anti-imperialist movement, to depict cooperation by the countries of real socialism with that movement as support of "terrorism," and to compromise the fighters for national liberation.

The widespread network of political support centers and military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America also serves their expansionistic aims. The collective nature of neocolonialist strategy, which is becoming more clearly expressed, and its coordinated nature, with a division of duties and "burdens of responsibility," are distinguishing features of the political and military activities of the West regarding the young countries.

The concept of "privileged partnership" between Western and developing countries, according to which the "principal" allies are the countries with the most reactionary pro-Western systems, such as Israel in the Middle and Near East, Pakistan and South Korea in Asia, Guatemala in Central America, and Chile, Paraguay and Bolivia in Latin America, is an organic part of this strategy.

Arming its "privileged" partners to the teeth, the West imposes an expensive arms race on other young countries as well, tying the former colonial outlying areas to its military machine to one extent or another. Virtually all the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have become involved in intensified militarization and increased armament outlays. Currently three quarters of all world armament exports go to the liberated countries, whose armament expenditures are increasing with every passing year, particularly in the case of countries with reactionary regimes. Thus over the last 15 years they have increased by a factor of 23 in Israel, 10 in Egypt, eight in Iran under the Shah, and four in Thailand and Pakistan. Naturally, fearing aggression on the part of the imperialist puppets, their neighbors have been forced to increase their own armed forces. Of late, armament exports have acquired substantial economic importance. They help the United States and Western Europe to get rid of obsolete weapons, on the one hand, and to earn additional funds with which to pay for their increased petroleum imports, on the other.

Armament exports considerably help the neocolonizers in the implementation of their "divide et impera" policy they have borrowed from the past. According to Western sources, there have been 100-150 local armed clashes and conflicts since World War II, facilitated by the fact that the former owners had left behind them "delayed-action mines," including numerous national, religious, territorial, border and other acute problems. Virtually all conflicts took place in the zone of the developing countries. As a rule, moreover, the United States or its allies have been involved in them (politically or through the financing or supplying of armaments). For example, the West is willingly supporting Somalia's expansionistic aspirations toward Ethiopia, doing everything possible to prevent the normalizing of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan, encouraging tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border, urging the Iran-Irak conflict on and fanning border disputes between Latin American countries.

Attempts to retain under the Western aegis some of the old and to establish new regional associations and "commonwealths" of countries which would thus be attached in one way or another to the capitalist countries may be considered in the same light. The obvious intent here is to dilute and weaken the unity among developing countries supporting nonalignment, to prevent rapprochement between the young

countries and world socialism, to split their united front and to tie them to the capitalist countries themselves.

Thus, attempts are being made, on the initiative of the United States, Japan and Australia, to create a new "Pacific Commonwealth" which would also include Canada, New Zealand and five ASEAN countries -- Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia -- i.e., developing countries with a so-called "market" economy. Actually, one can easily detect behind such plans a new maneuver of the neocolonizers: to answer the demand for a new international order with the creation of yet another regional economic association adapted to the requirements of the multinational concerns.

Contemporary neocolonialism is characterized by a more or less systematic combination of the use -- or threatened use -- of force with political pressure in order to destabilize progressive regimes and to promote armed conflicts among developing countries. Other typical features include supporting reactionary systems with which it can interact in opposing the national liberation movement, and granting advantages in economic aid to countries with a clearly expressed capitalist orientation, i.e., countries which offer a broad field of activity to the MNC.

The last decade has been marked by the drastic increase in the ideological and cultural offensive of the West against the young Asian, African and Latin American countries. The state propaganda machinery and the multinational corporations, with their extensive financial and technical facilities for such activities, are engaged in this offensive on a methodical and coordinated basis. They use in their ideological indoctrination of the masses in the liberated countries the motion pictures, the theater, advertising, general-educational institutions, cultural and scientific exchanges, churches, various philanthropic societies, cooperation in cadre training, etc. These facilities can be used for large population groups and for applying pressure not only on the ruling upper crust but on the broad population strata as well. The increased resourcefulness of imperialist propaganda, its fast conversion from one method to another, indiscriminate use of means and coordinated actions between the state propaganda machine and the private sector are worth noting. Gross trickery, hypocrisy, demagogy and slander are used every day and every hour.

The expansion of Western information media in the developing countries is greatly facilitated by their dependence on the MNC, which manufacture printing equipment, newsprint and radio and television equipment and have a monopoly on advertising.

Suffice it to say that, as a rule, a developing country obtains its foreign information from the biggest news agencies, such as United Press International (United States), Associated Press (United States), Reuter (Great Britain) and France Presse (France). By analogy with the "sisters" in the family of petroleum monopolies, these agencies are known as the four "sisters" in the information field. Eighty percent of all news printed, broadcast or telecast in the capitalist world, which amounts to 45 million words daily, originates from these information MNC. Typically, any effort to throw off such dependence, particularly by establishing their own information centers or strengthening their national news services, is immediately interpreted by the "sisters" and depicted by the Western governments as a scandalous encroachment on the so-called freedom of information and a violation of

the rights of those who themselves are always encroaching on the rights and freedoms of the liberated states.

The news agencies are only one feature. An equal if not greater power is vested in the electronics industry's multinational giants, which have monopolized the production of the means constituting the worldwide network of communications among the MNC, state-monopoly institutions, organizations and governments. Today communications plays a tremendous role not only in ideology but in industry, management, marketing, manpower distribution and the social, military and political areas. It gives the MNC certain political, economic and military advantages in competing with their rivals. Seventy-five percent of all information systems and facilities in the capitalist world are controlled by only a few MNC. Leading among them in terms of annual sales are IBM, General Electric, ITT, Western Electric, Westinghouse (United States), Phillips (The Netherlands) and AEG-Telefunken and Siemens (FRG).

The concentration in their hands of unlimited information transmission facilities occasionally results in paradoxical situations. Thus, Zaire and the Ivory Coast -- two neighboring countries -- communicate by telephone via Paris. Kenya and Tanzania are linked via London, while Bolivia and Paraguay have to go through New York. Many more such examples can be cited.

Western domination of radio and television in the young countries, which, in recent years, have become one of the main targets of Western propaganda, has a sinister aspect. Frequently, a radio in Bamako, Beirut, Manila, Singapore, Caracas or Dakar may broadcast for hours on end programs relayed from Paris, Munich or London. As much as 90 percent of the programs in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is imported. To this day, these countries are experiencing severe shortages of funds, personnel and television and radio equipment which they are forced to import, thus becoming targets for political and ideological expansion.

It has been estimated that the annual sales and distribution of television programs abroad by American television companies total 250,000 hours; French and British television companies sell 20,000 hours each and FRG television companies sell 6,000 hours of television programs. Income from foreign sales by private U. S. and other companies comes to as much as \$100 million annually, although it may be said that sometimes purely symbolic prices are charged. Thus, an hour-long film for television which may cost Hollywood \$400,000-500,000 is sold for \$400-500 to Egypt and \$170-250 to Lebanon, although the price may even be as low as \$70-100. Such low prices for Western productions encourage television companies in the young national states to neglect the creation of their own programs. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that in the final account this leads to their increased dependence on Western "dream merchants."

The international markets have been literally flooded by Western television productions. They include crime serials and musical and educational programs. Neatly packaged bourgeois ideology and morality are propagandized, consumerist views are insinuated and false social criteria are imposed via Asian, African and Latin American screens.

Agencies engaged in the production of documentaries also enjoy a monopoly. The largest among them -- the British Visnews, the Anglo-American UPI-TN and the

American CBS News -- are parts of the largest news agencies or television companies, which can offer a great variety of programs and powerful technical facilities. As a rule, the developing countries depend on foreign documentaries entirely.

In the Western ideological offensive, a special position is assigned to the movie industry. American and British motion picture companies have retained a strong position even in India, which is the leading movie maker in the world. Need we mention the situation of some African countries which have no domestic film industry?

According to the American Walt Disney Productions Company, every week 100 million people watch a Disney movie, 800 million read a Disney book or magazine, 50 million listen to a Disney record or dance to Disney music, and 150 million follow Disney comic strips. "Look at a world free of social conflicts" is an idea insistently instilled through this widespread network, which has encompassed virtually the entire capitalist world and is directed from the United States. The activities of this cultural MNC are a textbook case of the way business, ideology and entertainment can be interwoven. This huge conglomerate has united big companies, research centers, publishing houses and distribution systems engaged in the production of films, records, books and television programs, i.e., the full set of Western "canned goods" with their spiritual poison in which the motion picture is used as a kind of battering ram.

The liberated countries are equally dependent in the publishing area. As a rule, two out of every three books sold in the local stores are of foreign origin. The monopolies in the leading capitalist countries involved in the publication and distribution of printed matter in Asia, Africa and Latin America flood them with their publications (including textbooks), which praise bourgeois culture and standard bourgeois social values. Many serious researchers insist that the pro-Western elite among the intelligentsia in the developing countries is largely created, made dependent in the field of knowledge and nurtured in this way.

Partial data show that annual book sales by American publishers in Asia and Africa bring them earnings of some \$300 million. A few groups of U. S. publishers, such as Western Publishers, The Reader's Digest and the Hearst Corporation, have subdivided Latin America into their personal estates. The Hearst Corporation, for example, distributes more than 15 million copies of textbooks, fiction, books on politics, comics, all kinds of self-teaching works and others every month.

Foreign entrepreneurs equally dominate the African book market. Although there are 320 local publishing houses in Africa, they account for no more than 10 percent of the printed output, while 10 foreign publishers produce the remaining 90 percent. Many African intellectuals, scientists, writers and government experts are finding out that in order to establish contacts with their colleagues abroad they must publish their books outside Africa. The multinational publishing houses, which enjoy technical superiority and have the possibility of using inexpensive printing facilities in Hong Kong, Spain and elsewhere, can produce textbooks for Africa faster and at a lower cost than local publishers, which perpetuates the dependence.

"Philanthropic foundations," created through MNC donations, are another form of Western ideological penetration in the liberated countries. Some 30 American foundations operate in Africa alone. They sponsor exhibits, draft curriculums for

schools and colleges, offer student and teacher scholarships, exchange publications and issue information bulletins which present the activities of monopoly capital and private enterprise in a suitable light.

As a result of increased direct investments and the opening of branches in Africa and Asia, the MNC appear to have begun to integrate these continents into their economic structure, training elite cadres and imparting to them their customs, way of thinking, behavior and consumption style. This is achieved through advertising, which has a noticeable impact on culture and information. Advertising posters, signs and announcements -- the elements of a consumerist culture -- influence not only the prosperous but also the lowest social strata in the liberated countries, the more so since the MNC spare no expense in advertising. In many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America advertising costs average 30 percent of the national education, science and culture budgets. Because of financial considerations, even the local progressive press is forced to publish full pages of advertising by Western companies which, as Tanzania's DAILY NEWS has pointed out, "from the ethical viewpoint have an overwhelming antisocial and anti-African content." Progressive public figures on the continent have frequently pointed out that such advertising encourages the rejection of traditional cultural values and imposes on Africa the consumer habits of Western society.

Western capital seems to have penetrated virtually all areas of the spiritual and cultural life of most of its former colonies. However, even such large-scale penetration does not seem to satisfy contemporary imperialism, for which reason the state propaganda machinery with its experienced cadres and adequate funds is being sent to the aid of the MNC. The official agency of the U. S. government -- the International Relations Administration (IRA) -- has an annual budget of some \$560 million and more than 8,500 employees.

The U. S. special services as well are making a substantial contribution to the ideological expansion of American imperialism. It is a little known fact that one third of the huge budget of the CIA -- more than \$2 billion -- is spent on the "dissemination of information" abroad, i. e., for propaganda diversions and "psychological warfare" against countries whose sociopolitical systems or policies do not suit official Washington for one reason or another. The Pentagon spends \$300 million on propaganda. In their efforts to influence public opinion, the CIA and the Defense Department make use of the radio, television and a widespread network of newspapers, periodicals, news agencies and publishing houses, with which they flood the world with "black propaganda." Roughly, this is accomplished as follows: a news item is planted in a small CIA-supported newspaper, let us say in Bangkok. It is picked-up by Reuters or the American information service, makes the front page in the world press, and becomes radio and television news. That is how canards on the involvement of the Soviet Union with "international terrorism", the supply of arms by the socialist countries to the fighters for national liberation in El Salvador and others have been fabricated recently.

Actually, today U. S. intelligence has become one of the largest organizations in the world for the fabrication and dissemination of ideological "commodities" beneficial to imperialism -- such as printed, broadcast and a variety of other information-propaganda output -- produced by 2,000 full-time propagandists and about 1,000 contractors. The CIA also finances subversive radio stations such as the "Voice of Free Asia" and the "Voice of Free Africa," and is planning the opening of

a similar station on Antigua, a small island country in the Caribbean, for purposes of waging "psychological warfare" on the countries in the area.

The concept of "free flow of information," i.e., disinformation, to judge from its very name, for there can be no question of any kind of freedom in it, is the basis of all imperialist "cultural" activities. A study of this concept indicates that the basic objectives of imperialist propaganda in African, Asian and Latin American countries can be defined as follows: economic -- to popularize private enterprise and to justify the preservation of the economic dependence of the liberated countries on the imperialist states; political -- to undermine the prestige of the socialist countries and to try to isolate them from the developing states; and ideological -- to promote bourgeois ideology and to neutralize the ideas of scientific socialism. Every day and every hour the myths of the "Soviet military threat" and "the aggressive intentions" of the socialist countries are instilled in the minds of the peoples of the young states which have rejected the colonial yoke. The principles of communist doctrine are being misrepresented and distorted and aspersions are cast on socialist reality and the peace initiatives of the world socialist comity.

Anticommunism has become the principal means of implementing the neocolonialist tactics used for the purpose of influencing all areas of social life in the liberated countries and as the foundations of all the "theoretical" elaborations of neocolonialism and a platform on which imperialist ideology can join the ideology of the feudal elements and reactionary bourgeois groups in the young countries. The new propaganda line is being increasingly promoted with a view to the formulation of a "constructive alternative" to socialist-oriented ideas. The supporters of this concept try to prove that the national liberation movement, including revolutionary democracy and its ideology, is not part of the world revolutionary process and has nothing in common with scientific socialism, i.e., they pit these two progressive forces against each other. They depict the struggle of the peoples for independence as the extension of Western bourgeois revolutions, and look for the roots of revolutionary-democratic ideology exclusively in local -- African and Asian -- traditions and the "positive" influence of Western European bourgeois philosophy. This and similar theories are being used to win over to their side nationalistic political currents and to interpret local nationalism and religion on the basis of anticommunist positions, as well as to use the numerous non-Marxist utopian socialist concepts which have appeared in recent years in their own interest.

Once again particular reliance is being placed on various theories of "modernization," "industrialization," economic "aid" and "economic growth" in order to conceal the continuing economic exploitation of the developing countries and to suggest to their peoples that the capitalist countries play a key role in the solution of the socioeconomic problems of the liberated world. In the course of their efforts to broaden their social support in the young countries, the neocolonialists are also promoting anticommunist theories of "elites," "the new middle class" and "rich and poor nations." It is precisely the state-monopoly propaganda complex, which is implementing the social order of the monopolies, that is engaged in the elaboration of all such theories and neocolonialist tactics in the imperialist countries.

Today, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the political independence they have gained does not automatically

lead to the elimination of imperialist diktat, monstrous exploitation and the spiritual sway of alien bourgeois culture and does not guarantee the young countries peace and social progress. Furthermore, economic oppression has increased greatly under the conditions of the new collective colonialism. In the 30 years following the breakdown of the Western colonial system, the West has extracted from the liberated countries more actual value than the old mother countries did from their colonies in 300 years. Neocolonialism has resulted in the creation of an even broader gap in their development levels. Nevertheless, the neocolonialists have been unable to reach their long-term strategic objectives: they have suffered a series of serious political and military defeats in the international arena and have been unable to prevent many liberated countries from taking the path of noncapitalist development. They are also failing in their attempts to undermine the alliance between the forces of national liberation and world socialism.

Such is the historical law of our time. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th party congress, "The CPSU will continue the systematic pursuit of its course of developing the cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement." Objectively, the broadening cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity strengthens the positions of the common anti-imperialist front and serves the cause of peace and social progress.

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MOST IMPORTANT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN 1981

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[Article by Yu. Molchanov and V. Nekrasov]

[Text] Last year's political calendar was filled with a number of events of varied significance, nature and degree of influence on the international situation. They reflected the current stage of global social developments, the historical confrontation between the two systems and the liberation struggle of the peoples. They confirmed the invincibility of the global revolutionary process and once again revealed the great mission of the pioneers of social progress and the fighters for the peaceful and happy future of mankind honorably carried out by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity.

The 26th CPSU Congress was the most important milestone in the life of not only the Soviet Union but all progressive mankind. In summing up the results of the 5 previous years, it formulated a new great program for economic and social development and the building of communism. Gigantic activities developed throughout the land of the soviets aimed at the implementation of the Leninist party plans.

The November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, which approved the draft 11th Five Year-Plan and the 1982 plan and budget, and which gave a new charge to the creative energy of the Soviet people in the struggle for upgrading economic effectiveness and intensification, was the direct extension of the congress' work. Addressing the plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, gave a profound analysis of the central problems of the country's economic and social development and comprehensively illumined the path leading to the further implementation of the congress' resolutions. The Soviet people entered the new five-year plan with a feeling of optimism and confidence in their powers. They are profoundly convinced that the major and broad tasks set by the congress will be implemented successfully.

The past year was rather complex in international affairs. It was saturated by the sharp and tense confrontation between the two polarized forces and two directions in global politics. The forces of socialism and the national and social liberation of the peoples were on the one side. Their course was one of improving international relations, restraining the arms race, strengthening peace and detente and preserving the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples. On the other side were the forces of aggressive imperialism and global reaction. The wedge of their policy was aimed at undermining detente, intensifying the arms race, interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and suppressing the liberation struggle. The development of international relations in the foreseeable future was greatly determined by the confrontation between these two trends in 1981.

However, the main trends of international development and its essential and characteristic features which developed in recent months can be singled out in the panorama of world events and complex, dynamic and unexpected changes.

The past year convincingly proved yet once again that socialism and peace are indivisible and that the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the most important factor in countering aggressive imperialist aspirations and improving international relations. It is faithfully serving the interests of peace, detente and cooperation among countries and peoples. Its principled and consistently peaceful nature stood out even more clearly against the background of the dangerous foreign political course pursued by U.S. imperialism.

The stipulations, assessments and concepts expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress reflected the depth of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the global revolutionary process and the contemporary stage in international developments. They clearly revealed an understanding of the importance of this period and the need for taking immediate and decisive steps to save mankind from the rising threat of nuclear war.

The thoughtless and criminal actions of the rulers on the other side of the ocean and of NATO's military, and expatiations on the subject of the alleged admissibility and almost desirability of some kind of "limited" "local" nuclear war which, as any sensibly thinking person realizes, would turn into a global catastrophe, was countered by the congress of the Soviet communists with the formulation of a clear and unequivocal conclusion that a real possibility exists of preventing war and eliminating the threat of war. This conclusion was not paying lip service to optimism. It proceeds from the objective fact that the overall ratio of socioeconomic forces in the world has not changed in favor of capitalism in recent years. Furthermore, the area of imperialist rule is continuing to diminish whereas the strength, political weight and influence of socialism are increasing.

The congress' documents were an appeal to anyone who cares for peace and life itself to rise to the struggle so that, while there is still time, the arms race may be stopped and the threat of war eliminated. This appeal met with the most lively response, approval and support of the broad strata of peace-loving people in different countries.

From the rostrum of the supreme forum of the most prestigious, experienced and tempered communist party, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated that "in defending the peace we are working not only for the people of today and not only for our children and grandchildren; we are working for the happiness of dozens of future generations....The clue to the future lies not in preparations for war, which would doom the people to the senseless waste of material and spiritual resources, but in the consolidation of the peace."

Contrary to the extremely dangerous plans for the feverish increase in military preparations and the development of new and even more monstrous and refined systems of mass destruction weapons, described as "further arming" and "rearmament" by Washington and the NATO staffs, the 26th CPSU Congress formulated a broad and carefully planned program for specific practical steps and initiatives aimed at improving the international situation, restricting and terminating the arms race and preserving and intensifying detente.

The malicious anti-Soviet propaganda campaign mounted overseas, which promotes hostility and mistrust in relations among countries, and the line of breaking inter-governmental contacts were countered by the Soviet communists with restraint and cool-headedness and by appeals to reason and common sense for the continuation and broadening of the political dialogue.

The foreign policy program of the 26th CPSU Congress, which became widely known as the peace program for the 1980's, is distinguished by its scope and realism. It includes proposals of a political and military nature and covers the situation in Europe and in the Near, Middle and Far East. The entire set of the new major initiatives formulated by the congress is imbued with the single aspiration to do everything possible to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and prevent the sliding of the world toward the brink of a dangerous confrontation.

The tremendous political and ideological potential of the peace program became the most important factor in contemporary international life. It has a positive influence on the overall circumstances in the world. Its significance and influence are greatly multiplying thanks to the active and systematic efforts of our party and Soviet state toward the implementation of the new foreign policy initiatives. Unquestionably, without this the situation in the world today would have been even more difficult and explosive.

The 26th CPSU Congress laid the beginning of a new powerful, peaceful diplomatic offensive in which persistence in the implementation of decisions was combined with a steady search for practical ways and approaches to the settlement of ripe international problems. This was specifically manifested in a number of exceptionally valuable proposals, additions and refinements made by the Soviet Union after the congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally deserves particular credit for the role he played in their promulgation. His speeches, public statements, talks, interviews and greeting addresses contain many new constructive ideas. They offer a profound and thorough study of the foreign policy course of the USSR and firmly rebuff anti-Soviet fabrications. They actively contribute to the development of the struggle against the threat of war, the criminal plans of aggressive imperialist circles and the arms race, and call for strengthening peace and detente and the development of a political dialogue and mutually profitable international cooperation. The answers given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to questions asked by the West German journal DER SPIEGEL triggered a broad response throughout the world. The head of our party and state presented the position of the Soviet Union on the most important foreign policy problems and indicated the way to defuse the developing dangerous international situation with exceptional clarity.

The 23 June 1981 USSR Supreme Soviet appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," which called for firmly opposing the arms race and the intensification of international tension and for honest and equal talks, was an act of great human significance, dictated by an awareness of the seriousness of the circumstances and concern for the future of civilization on earth. Reminding everyone that time does not stand still and that the threat of a nuclear conflict increases with every day wasted in regard to talks, the Soviet parliamentarians solemnly proclaimed that "the Soviet Union threatens no one. It does not aspire to confrontation with a single Western or Eastern country. The Soviet Union has never aspired to gain military superiority. It has not been and will not be the initiator of new rounds in the arms race."

It is important to emphasize that the position of the Soviet state is dictated not by weakness but by intelligence and responsibility for the fate of mankind. Our country's leaders have repeatedly stated on the highest and most authoritative level

that any hope nurtured overseas of disturbing the military-strategic balance and gaining superiority over us is doomed to failure. The Soviet Union has never aspired to military superiority. However, neither will it allow anyone to gain such superiority over it. This is required for the safety of our state and the protection of the peaceful toil of the peoples of the entire socialist comity.

"The struggle for abating the threat of war and restraining the arms race," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "was and remains the pivotal direction in the foreign political activities of the party and the state." Today this task has become particularly important and urgent because of the threat created by aggressive imperialist circles. Guided by the congress' stipulations, the Soviet Union calls for extending the SALT process and other talks on limiting and terminating the arms race. It tries to move further along without losing anything valuable which has already been achieved and to reach practical accords which would lower the level of military confrontation.

Attention is focused on maintaining peace and security in Europe, particularly in the light of the dangerous plans of NATO's military to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries and the decision of the U.S. administration to undertake the production of a neutron bomb. Of late the Soviet Union has submitted a number of proposals and refinements on problems of military detente and broadening trust in Europe, particularly in connection with the Madrid meeting of representatives of the countries which participated in the European conference in Helsinki. Our country supports the idea of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and the Balkans. L. I. Brezhnev formulated specific proposals aimed at making the Mediterranean an area of durable peace and cooperation.

The strength of peace and detente in Europe largely depends on the condition and scale of comprehensive and mutually profitable cooperation among countries with different social systems. The Soviet Union is steadily maintaining and developing business relations with France, Italy, Finland, Austria and other Western European countries. Further progress was reached in relations between the USSR and the FRG last year. Today the FRG is one of our leading trade partners among the Western countries. Compared to 1970, the volume of Soviet-West German trade has increased more than tenfold, reaching 5.8 billion rubles in 1980. Soviet-West German political contacts are developing fruitfully as well. Regular visits are exchanged among noted political and social leaders and talks and consultations are held.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG and his talks with Chancellor H. Schmidt and other West German government and political leaders developed into major political actions. Thorough discussions were held on bilateral relations between our countries, and prospects for their further development were formulated. The new mutually profitable "natural gas-pipes" agreement, concluded despite U.S. opposition, was given a high rating. However, the importance of this visit by far exceeds the framework of strictly Soviet-West German relations, for such summit meetings are important in the entire process of European detente and in terms of the political dialogue between East and West. For this reason, the results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG are a valuable contribution to the preservation of peace and strengthening of detente in Europe and throughout the world and in the struggle for limiting and terminating the arms race and developing international cooperation.

In the FRG, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated new far-reaching proposals the sole purpose of which is to reach mutually acceptable accords and to preserve Europe from the threat of a nuclear conflagration. These proposals are addressed not only to

the FRG and the other Western European countries but to the United States as well.

First. In order to create a favorable atmosphere for talks, the Soviet Union suggested that for as long as the dialogue is pursued, both parties refrain from modernizing existing and developing new nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe. Furthermore, as the head of the Soviet state declared, "as an act of good will we could reduce unilaterally a certain percentage of our medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the European part of the USSR. This would be in anticipation of their reduction to a lower level which the USSR and the United States could agree upon at the outcome of the talks."

Second. The Soviet Union firmly supports a radical reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear weapons in each European country. It is ready to reduce the amount of such armaments on a reciprocal basis in terms of dozens and even hundreds of units.

Third. The Soviet state is ready to reach an agreement on the total elimination of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe providing that its Western partners are interested in this.

Furthermore, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, "generally speaking, we would like to see in the final account a Europe free from nuclear weapons, whether medium range or tactical. This would be a real 'zero solution' fair to all parties."

The suggestions formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are consistent with the expectations of all nations and the demands of the broad masses which oppose the threat of nuclear war.

As the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers document emphasizes, "the Soviet people have all the proper reasons for feeling a profound satisfaction with the results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG. The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, executed in close coordination with the fraternal socialist countries, proved yet once again its peaceful nature, scale and initiative-mindedness, convincingly influencing the minds and hearts of the people."

The new proposals formulated by the Soviet Union laid a constructive base for talks with the United States on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe, which were initiated in Geneva on 30 November. "The Soviet Union," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "is ready to pursue these talks seriously, honestly and constructively, strictly on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security between the parties."

However, as one may judge from the statements of highly placed officials, the United States intends to limit the talks to just the dismantling of Soviet missiles "in exchange" for dropping the plans for the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, without affecting U.S. theater-based weapons already deployed here and targeted on Soviet territory. Therefore, as in the past, the hope is to gain military advantage and actually to achieve the one-sided disarming of the Soviet Union. Naturally, this kind of approach cannot ensure the success of the talks. Further contacts will make clear the extent to which the American leadership is willing to take objective reality and the legitimate interests of the other side into consideration and to reach an agreement on limiting the level of military confrontation on the European continent.

The 36th UN General Assembly was marked by new valuable Soviet peace initiatives. The First Committee (on political and security problems) approved by majority vote

the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union according to which countries and state leaders who would dare to be the first to resort to the use of nuclear weapons would be guilty of the most severe crime against mankind. The profound meaning of the new Soviet proposal is to create yet another protection from the threat of nuclear war and to prepare prerequisites for a universal rejection and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons.

The United Nations General Assembly First Committee supported another important Soviet initiative: the conclusion of a treaty banning the deployment of any kind of weapon in outer space. The purpose of this initiative is to prevent the militarization of outer space and to defeat the plans of the imperialist military, which is trying to convert outer space into an arena of competition in the arms race and a source of mortal danger to mankind. On the suggestion of a group of socialist countries, including the USSR, the First Committee also passed a resolution which calls for banning the neutron bomb.

In accordance with the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union continued with its comprehensive and persistent efforts aimed at reaching a just, peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Talks were held in Moscow with political leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Algeria, Libya, Jordan, the Yemen Arab Republic, the PLO and Kuwait. These countries rated highly the support which the Soviet Union is giving the Arab peoples in their just struggle and spoke out in favor of the Soviet initiative of convening a new international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested countries and with a view to resolving through joint efforts the problems which have developed here. Along with the condemnation of ceaseless Israeli aggression and its policy of separate deals, the particular importance of achieving unity of action among the Arabs under the existing circumstances, based on the common platform of the struggle for the defense of their national interests, the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of a just and durable peace in this area, was emphasized.

In a word, the development of international relations in 1981 took place under the growing influence of Soviet foreign policy activities. Many bourgeois mass information media, which could hardly be suspected of sympathy for the USSR, were forced to concede the effectiveness of Soviet diplomacy. "An amazingly successful campaign in the defense of peace" was the way Soviet initiatives were described in THE WASHINGTON POST. The Soviet Union is profoundly convinced that the real possibility exists of preserving peace and defeating the plans of imperialism and international reaction by setting up a broad antiwar coalition and mobilizing the forces of all peace-loving countries and peoples.

In 1981 the socialist comity once again presented to the entire world a picture of construction and peace, proving the historical advantages of the new social system over capitalism, an image of strengthening relations of fraternal friendship, true equality, mutually profitable cooperation and comradely mutual aid among countries and peoples and the effectiveness of a coordinated policy of peace.

Socialism is a dynamic society. It is in a state of continuing development. The fraternal members of the comity, guided by the resolutions of the congresses of their communist and workers parties, are engaged in fruitful efforts, resolving the new and far more complex problems of the contemporary stage in the building of socialism and communism.

The working people in most CEMA-member countries have successfully undertaken the implementation of the new five-year plans and have achieved initial positive results in their constructive work. The importance of this fact is enhanced by the fact that the socialist countries have faced a number of adverse factors related to the aggravated problems of energy and raw materials, price increases in the world market, weather conditions and, finally, the general worsening of the international situation.

The economy of the GDR is developing confidently. Over the past 9 months its national income rose by 5 percent compared with the same period in 1980, while commodity output increased by 5.6 percent. In socialist Bulgaria workers and farmers improved public production effectiveness and overfulfilled their plans for the growth of labor productivity, industrial output and application of scientific and technical achievements. The Mongolian People's Republic reached the 60th anniversary of its founding with good results. The Vietnamese people are working hard on rebuilding and developing their national economy, as they celebrate the first anniversary of their socialist constitution. Mass competition has developed among the working people in the republic in honor of the Fifth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress, which will be held in March 1982. The peoples of Hungary, Cuba, Romania and Czechoslovakia engaged in persistent selfless work and marked the year with new accomplishments.

At the present stage of development, most socialist countries have made the comprehensive intensification of the national economy the cornerstone of their economic policy. Naturally, this problem will be resolved above all through the domestic, the national efforts of each country. However, the role and significance of the international socialist division of labor and the use of industrial production cooperation or, in a word, the all-round intensification and improvement of the comprehensive cooperation among fraternal countries, which is an important reserve for achieving economic upsurge and upgrading the well-being of the working people, will become far greater.

These were the main problems discussed at the already traditional Crimea meetings held between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of fraternal parties and states. As was pointed out during the 1981 meetings, the comity of socialist countries has all the necessary resources, forces and means for effectively resolving major national economic problems, such as increasing energy capacities, reaching a qualitatively new level in machine building and fully satisfying the growing demand for consumer goods. The skillful utilization of these opportunities depends on the development of socialist economic integration and the scale and depth of the process of cooperation and specialization in socialist production. Agreement was reached on the further expansion of cooperation, particularly on the participation of the socialist countries in the building of gas pipelines and other major projects on USSR territory and the reconstruction and modernization of Soviet light and food industries.

The results of the Crimea meetings and of the 25th CEMA session, which was held in Sofia, open new possibilities to the members of the socialist comity in improving mutually profitable cooperation. As the CC CPSU Politburo emphasized, the encounters "became yet another convincing proof of the inflexible attachment of the fraternal parties and their peoples to the cause of the defense of peace and the rights of nations to free and independent development."

The imperialist line of heating up international tensions is jointly countered by the members of the socialist comity with a clear and systematic line of strengthening the peace, restraining and terminating the arms race and ensuring the equitable settlement of crisis situations through talks. The fraternal socialist countries support

the peace program for the 1980's which was formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. They are actively participating in the pursuit of the common peaceful course and are submitting valuable constructive suggestions. For example, Bulgaria's initiative on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and Mongolia's call for a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among countries in Asia and the area of the Pacific Ocean drew widespread international attention.

The foreign policy of the members of the socialist comity was coordinated in the course of the Crimea meetings. Unquestionably, this will contribute to the formulation of peaceful initiatives by the socialist states, covering all most important complex and explosive problems related to contemporary world politics.

The meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the parties and governments of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, in the course of which further cooperation and problems of the international situation including the strengthening of peace and good neighborly relations in Southeast Asia were discussed, were a major contribution to the strengthening and intensification of the interaction among fraternal countries. The joint proposal formulated by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on holding a regional conference on problems of Southeast Asia and concluding between them and the members of ASEAN a peace and stability treaty lays the proper foundation for this.

The development of events confirms that the forces of imperialism and international reaction have not abandoned their hope of achieving the erosion of socialism in one country or another, restoring the capitalist order, weakening the socialist comity and undermining its strength and unity. The grave crisis in Poland continued throughout all of 1981. Here the foreign and domestic enemies of socialism are trying to prevent the normalizing of the situation. They are encouraging nationalistic and anti-Soviet feelings, trying to discredit the socialist system and are aiming at seizing the power.

The events in Poland proved even more clearly the importance to a ruling communist party of pursuing a realistic and thoroughly weighed economic policy, not delaying the solution of ripe problems, strictly observing the Leninist norms of party life, tirelessly strengthening ties with the masses, developing socialist democracy, steadily improving ideological work, developing in the working people feelings of civic responsibility and internationalism, displaying revolutionary vigilance and promptly giving a firm rebuff to the attempts of imperialism and antisocialist forces.

In this difficult and important time for the destiny of Poland, the CPSU, the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are giving the Polish communists and all patriots who are opposing the pressure of the hostile forces and are firmly and systematically defending the cause of socialism extensive aid and support. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the Polish communists and the Polish working class and working people in the country can firmly rely on their friends and allies; we shall not leave socialist Poland, fraternal Poland, in trouble, nor will we let it fend for itself!"

However, the Polish events emphasize even more strongly the prime significance of strengthening the unity and cohesion among fraternal countries in order to ensure the successful solution of the problems which arise in the course of the building of socialism and protecting the revolutionary gains of the working people from the subversive actions of the forces of imperialism and reaction. This conclusion was

supported in the course of the conferences held in Moscow among secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of socialist countries on international and ideological problems. All participants clearly expressed their resolve to continue to broaden their interaction in the struggle against anticommunism, reactionary bourgeois ideology, hostile propaganda and the defaming of socialism, and to work firmly for the triumph of the ideas of communism and peace.

The regular meeting of the committee of ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact members, held in December in Bucharest, substantially enhanced the intensification of cooperation and interaction among fraternal socialist countries in the field of international politics.

The attempts of imperialist and reactionary forces to frighten or provoke the socialist countries are doomed to inevitable defeat, as are their hopes of stopping the global liberation process and turning it back.

The line taken by the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO countries of a turn to increasing the tension, intensifying the arms race and confrontation with the socialist world and fierce struggle against the national liberation movement, which became apparent at the beginning of the 1980's, assumed a new dangerous development with the advent of the Reagan administration in Washington. The threat of war increased sharply and international relations worsened substantially.

The reasons for this turn in imperialist policy were fully exposed at the 26th CPSU Congress, which indicated that they consist of a reaction on the part of the most aggressive forces of big capitalism to the growing difficulties encountered by the obsolete social system, the further narrowing of the sphere of imperialist domination and the aggravation of internal contradictions in the capitalist countries and the rivalry among them. Hence the increased aggressiveness of reactionary imperialist forces, their adventurism and their readiness to gamble with the interests of all mankind for the sake of their own selfish purposes.

The hope of undermining the global revolutionary process, nurtured by imperialism in the past, was not justified. At the same time, the course of events made even clearer the internal economic and political instability of the capitalist world and the absence in it of forces which could help it to surmount its deepening general crisis and to block the way to further progressive changes on earth.

Under such circumstances, unable to stop the progress of human society, the bosses of the imperialist world deliberately charted a course of using armed force and nuclear blackmail for purposes of "social revenge," hoping to turn the course of global developments to their own advantage. The aggressive imperialist circles in the United States, whose efforts to increase the tension have created a serious threat to the cause of peace on earth, assumed the role of shock force of imperialism in the struggle against major changes in the global circumstances.

The main directions of the foreign political strategy of Reagan's Republican administration have been manifested quite fully and clearly in recent months. This is a global strategy which raises to the rank of state policy the ambitious claims of American imperialists to the "right" to command and issue orders throughout the world. Ever more frequently, statements on the "American leadership" of the world are being heard out of Washington, although no one has assigned such leadership to the United States. Diktat and coercion are the cornerstones of American foreign policy. The demagogic thesis of "vital American interests" has been given an interpretation

according to which the United States has allegedly "the right" to proclaim any part of the world to be in the sphere of its interests and to take any step, including the use of force, in such an area.

As the policy of the Reagan administration proves, the United States has chosen the disturbance of the military-strategic balance in the world and the changing in its favor of the global ratio of military power between the Soviet Union and the United States and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact as the principal method for the implementation of its intentions. It is assumed in the American capital that the implementation of these plans would provide the United States with the possibility of returning to the notorious policy "from a position of strength," to the almost unconcealed encroachments on the historical gains of socialism and to attempts at forcing the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity "to mend their ways" and to abandon internationalism in their foreign policy.

These are the purposes for which the Reagan cabinet turned the tap of military budgets wide open, appropriating astronomical funds for military preparations. A complete list of the steps it has taken, which could fall under the heading of "arms race," would take several pages. Let us merely mention the main ones: the new program for the development of U.S. strategic forces, which was approved in October, and which calls for the "modernizing" of ground, sea and air weaponry; special reliance on the implementation of the plans inherited from the Carter administration of deploying some 600 new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western European NATO countries; and the decision to produce the neutron bomb, a weapon which is not only inhuman but is exceptionally dangerous, for it makes the outbreak of a nuclear war more likely.

The administration overseas is showing its total scorn for the fate of Europe. It is ready to sacrifice millions of European lives and the results of Europe's centuries-old civilization. The thoughtless and cynical statements made by White House representatives on the possibility of waging a "local" nuclear war, mainly on European soil, created great concern. At the same time, there is increasing proof that the Pentagon is adopting the concept of a preventive nuclear strike. Obviously, this is the primary reason for the unwillingness of the United States to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union on reciprocal renunciation of being the first to use nuclear weapons.

Throughout the year the United States and its NATO allies erected all possible obstacles to the successful completion of the Madrid meeting of countries who were signatories to the Helsinki Final Act. The main objective of this meeting, as we know, is the passing of a resolution on holding a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

Consequently, the following question arises most urgently: in what direction will events on the European continent develop--toward strengthening the foundations of peace or toward their destruction? Unfortunately, the position taken by some U.S. NATO allies, guided by considerations of class solidarity among the monopoly bourgeoisie, does not contribute in the least to strengthening peace on the continent

In formulating such a program aimed at frightening the peoples, American imperialism set for itself the immediate target of "wearing out" the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and exhausting their economy in the course of an unrestrained arms race. However, toward the end of 1981 facts began to show up confirming the dead end in which the American economy itself finds itself, undermined by huge military expenditures.

At the same time, with its typical overestimation of its own forces and possibilities, imperialism assumed that it had unquestionable technological superiority over the socialist countries and that, on the basis of its potential, it would be able to achieve clear military superiority. It also relied on the possibility of mobilizing the resources of U.S. allies in the military and technological rivalry with the USSR and the other countries of real socialism, for the sake of which the NATO countries were forced into the accelerated increase in military expenditures. It was also hoped that imperialism would be able to tie to its military policy a number of Western-oriented developing countries.

Along with increasing its military power, Washington made attempts to surround the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity with all possible "hot spots" and hotbeds of tension. Political and economic pressure on the socialist states was applied, ceaseless hostile intrigues against Cuba were promoted and armed sallies mounted by the Beijing hegemonists against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were comprehensively encouraged.

One of the characteristic features of U.S. imperialist foreign political activities in 1981 was the overt demonstration of its aspiration to export counterrevolution and, essentially, to proclaim a "crusade" against the national liberation movements and progressive regimes in Asian, African and Latin American countries. There was no end to open threats made against one or another country or movement. At the same time, generous aid was given to dictatorial systems. The U.S. ruling circles were particularly active in the petroleum-rich area of the Near and Middle East. While continuing to give comprehensive support to their main bulwark here--Israeli expansionism--they tried, above all, through displays of force and military procurements, to strengthen their positions in Europe and to dig in in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan and some other countries. In Central America, Washington is concocting alliances among ruling reactionary groups with a view to the armed suppression of the liberation struggle waged by the people of El Salvador and other national liberation movements and to prepare an intervention in Nicaragua.

The intention of the United States of increasing its direct military presence wherever American monopoly capital is formulating its claims is quite visible. The U.S. militarists are organizing mass demonstrations of military power in various parts of the world and aggravating conflict situations in the Middle East, the Caribbean, southern Africa and Indochina. After "exercises" in the vicinity of Cuba, the November "Bright Star" maneuvers by American armed forces in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman represented such a major provocatory display. Showing its power, the U.S. navy is continuing to cruise in the area of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Everyone remembers the deliberate attack launched by American fighter planes on two Libyan airplanes.

Washington encourages systems which it considers as its local support to engage in similar activities. Let us mention in this connection the active role played by the rulers of Pakistan in the continuing undeclared war against Afghanistan, South Africa's aggression mounted against Angola and the bandit actions of the Israeli military in Lebanon and Iraq.

The efforts of the U.S. ruling circles to broaden the realm of action of existing aggressive blocs and alliances, NATO above all, are closely related to the plans for the export of counterrevolution. The drawing of Spain into NATO was completed. At the same time, the United States is involving its bloc partners in its Middle Eastern adventures. Ignoring the lessons of its own history, the United States is encouraging the rebirth of Japanese militarism. While considering the Beijing rulers its ally

in the struggle against contemporary revolutionary forces, it is helping to strengthen China's military potential with a view to using it against the USSR in accordance with its imperialist objectives.

Along with the increase in international tension, Washington's politicians, together with the reactionary forces of other capitalist countries, spare no efforts to encourage the intensification of "psychological warfare" against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity. The frenzied campaign of anti-Soviet and antisocialist lies and slanders was raised by the imperialist propaganda services to levels of outright hysteria and assumed an even more sinister and dangerous content and particularly militant pointedness. It has been openly joined by many individuals holding official positions in the United States. Works aimed at misleading the public, such as the Pentagon's pamphlet "Soviet Military Power," were published by government institutions. Wide-scale, long-term propaganda operations such as "Project Truth," sanctioned by the White House and aimed at praising "American objectives" and intensifying the lie of the "Soviet threat," were drafted.

Persistent efforts to discredit the Soviet Union and its peace-loving policy and real socialism and to isolate the communists from other peace-loving forces and to slander anyone who opposes adventurism in international affairs and is fighting for the freedom and national independence of the peoples held a central position in the propaganda campaign mounted by imperialism. As in the past, the scarecrow of the "Soviet military threat"--an ideological battering ram whose purpose is to justify the growth of nuclear armaments for the "restoration" of the military balance, allegedly disturbed by the USSR--was used widely. The lie that Moscow was inspiring "international terrorism," used to justify the policy of exporting counterrevolution and increasing the American military presence in so-called "crisis regions," was the "contribution" which the new American administration made to the arsenal of anti-Soviet "psychological warfare."

To this day it is said in the West that the foreign policy of the Reagan administration has not been completely defined, is full of internal contradictions and cannot be interpreted simply. However, facts prove the opposite. During the past months this policy has clearly shown itself as a policy of antidetente, a policy which conflicts with the basic interests of mankind. As to one or another statement made by leading American officials, which could give the impression that contradictions exist, judging by all available information, they should be considered as consequences of the clash between this policy and the positive forces and circumstances of contemporary international progress which oppose it.

As the events of the past few months indicate, the plans of the reactionary imperialist circles represent a major threat to the cause of peace. However, they have also shown the futility of such plans and have proved the existence of real opportunities for their defeat through the active and united efforts of peace-loving countries and peoples.

Imperialism cannot secure for itself any real military superiority, first of all because the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity will not allow this to happen. They have repeatedly and categorically stated this. Secondly, because the political and economic resources of contemporary capitalism do not afford it such a possibility, as developments in 1981 made clearly apparent.

Furthermore, the futility and, from the viewpoint of national economic interests, the catastrophic nature of the offensive mounted against the socioeconomic gains of the working people and granting monopoly capital the possibility of considerably

increasing its profits are obvious. This will not be the first year during which this course has been followed by the British Conservative cabinet, headed by M. Thatcher, and it is now being initiated by Reagan's Republican administration in the vain hope of surmounting the profound crisis in the state monopoly control of the economy. The difficulties which have confronted the American leaders over the past few months in their efforts to balance a budget aimed mainly toward an unbearable growth of military expenditures and the friction between the administration and congress and within the government itself clearly confirm this.

The economic upheavals experienced by the capitalist system are not abating. In 1981, the number of totally unemployed people in developed capitalist countries reached 24 million according to official data alone and is continuing to rise. During the year the gross national product did not exceed 1 percent.

The "belt-tightening" course and the lowering of appropriations for social purposes are creating the growing opposition of the working people and the broad popular masses in the United States and the other capitalist countries. The past year proved that the complications created by the crisis experienced by the capitalist economy and the hardships caused by the cost of living and unemployment affecting millions of people and the cost of the arms race are intensifying the active struggle which the working class and all working people in the developed capitalist countries are waging for their vital interests. The numerous strikes of various kinds and the mass demonstrations, involving the participation of hundreds of thousands of working people, who are protesting the growth of unemployment in the United States, Great Britain and other countries, became clear forerunners of the advent of a more tense period in the class struggle waged by the proletariat in the main centers of contemporary capitalism.

Noteworthy in this respect was the congress of the American AFL-CIO--an association of trade unions which is far from being militant--held last November. The congress sharply criticized the socioeconomic policy of the Reagan administration, which is causing the growing discontent of all the members of the American trade union movement. A proof of the increased discontent was the courageous strike of the U.S. air controllers' trade union, toward which the government applied truly draconian measures: about 12,000 people lost their jobs and the trade union was heavily fined and deprived of the right to represent the strikers.

As to the situation in the bourgeois camp, 1981 was marked by significant differences in the content and forms of socioeconomic policy pursued by the governments of the individual countries based on the opposition they encountered on the part of the organized detachments of working people and the nature of the wing in power in the bourgeois or bourgeois-reformist camp.

Reality amended the thesis of a general "betterment" of the political climate in the capitalist world promoted in the West. The success of the presidential and, subsequently, the parliamentary elections in France (April-June), in which the French Communist Party made a substantial contribution to the unity of leftist forces, was indicative. The fact that these events were not accidental was confirmed by the results of the parliamentary elections in Greece (October), which brought to power the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and some shifts to the left in the political life of Italy, Cyprus and other countries. The events of 1981, therefore, indicate that a substantial aggravation of the struggle on the most important problems of political and socioeconomic life is forthcoming in the capitalist countries.

The general instability of the capitalist economy contributed to the further aggravation of financial and trade contradictions among Western countries. The negative effect of the energy and raw material crises was felt. "There is very little hope that the situation will quickly improve in the immediate future," the American journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote.

Intergovernmental contradictions began to increase in the capitalist camp, caused by the deepening economic crisis. Naturally, in this connection we must mention the fact that Western European governments, such as the British, West German, Italian and some others, expressed their solidarity with the militant declarations and suggestions made by Washington in the course of the various meetings and sessions of leading NATO organs held during the year. However, the increasing political differences between the United States and the Western European countries, triggered by assessments of the international situation different from those made by Washington, were of even greater importance.

It is a fact, as the events of the year confirm, including the November visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to Bonn, that unlike the United States, the Western European countries care for the results of detente. The material structure for peaceful cooperation among European countries with different social systems and the common nature of their long-range interests remain and, to a certain extent, are even strengthening despite the cold wind blowing from the other side of the ocean and the destructive steps taken by the enemies of detente. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a reliable base for such cooperation.

The peace-loving foreign policy course followed by the Soviet Union reliably serves the preservation and strengthening of detente. This course is enjoying the growing support and approval of the broad public throughout the world, which is realizing with increasing clarity the great danger to the future of the peoples concealed in the aggressive attempts made by U.S. imperialist circles.

The imperialist policies continued to erode in the zone of the national liberation movement as well. Despite the complexities and differences in the processes taking place in the liberated countries, their situation was characterized as a whole by further progressive changes. Despite the great efforts made by the developed capitalist states to preserve their monopoly privileges toward such countries, as was clearly manifested once again during the international conference held in Cancun, in Mexico (October), the young countries are continuing their increasingly firm struggle for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just basis.

The efforts of the reactionary circles of American imperialism to subordinate the policy of the liberated countries to the service of their aggressive objectives failed. Washington was unable to undermine the unity of these countries or to weaken their resolve to defend the interests of peace and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism.

Life itself clearly proves the coincidence between the positions of the majority of the liberated countries and the socialist comity in their approach to basic contemporary problems--securing peace, national liberation and social progress. As in the past, in 1981 these countries opposed the aggressive policy of the most reactionary imperialist circles and Beijing hegemonists. The past months were marked by the increased positive influence on world politics of the participants in the nonaligned movement, among which India plays a notable role.

The imperialist plans for dealing with the liberation revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and some other countries failed. Vain attempts were made to suppress the people's system in Afghanistan. Despite the difficulty and the contradictory nature of events in Iran, the enemies of its people were unable to restore the previous order in the country. As a whole, the unity of the Arab peoples, who are opposing the aggressive line of American imperialism, which is coordinating its actions with Zionism and the local reaction and is trying to impose its will on these nations, strengthened.

The antiwar movement of the masses in the capitalist countries, which assumed an unparalleled scope, became an important factor in the struggle against the threat of war and for the preservation of detente in 1981. This movement, which appeared in Western Europe as a spontaneous reaction on the part of various social circles to the adventurist policy of the American and NATO military, and which is now spreading in the United States, represents a broad spectrum of social and political forces which are coordinating their efforts on a national and international scale. It involves various population strata, mass public organizations, trade unions with different political affiliations, communist parties, a considerable number of social democrats, numerous members of bourgeois political parties, reputable church circles and representatives of the business world. Scientists, physicians, writers and cultural workers from different countries are making a substantial contribution to its development.

The "Peace March-81" from Copenhagen to Paris, which took place in June and July on the initiative of women's organizations of the European north, the "Krefeld Appeal" signed by more than 2.1 million West German citizens, which called upon the FRG government to withdraw its agreement to the deployment of new American missiles in the country and the unparalleled mass antiwar and antimissile demonstrations in Bonn, Rome, London, Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam (October-November) involving the participation of more than 2 million people, were noteworthy actions recently taken by the Western European fighters for peace.

The active role which young people played in the antiwar movement was noteworthy. It was precisely young people who accounted for most of the participants in the mass actions during the past few months. The charge of youthful energy, the rejection of the prospect of a global catastrophe and readiness to defend their future were what led the young men and women to the front ranks of the fighters for the defeat of the military preparations of the Pentagon and NATO.

The support of military personnel, some of them holding high rank and senior positions in NATO, gave prestige to the actions of the supporters of the peace in the eyes of the broadest possible social circles. Their public statements described impressively and with substantiation the entire extent of the danger of the American plans for preparations for a nuclear war.

The activities of the fighters for peace hindered the governments of The Netherlands and Belgium from accepting the deployment of American missiles in their countries. In Great Britain it led to the opposition of the Labor Party to the presence of any kind of American nuclear weapons in the country; it caused a serious split in the West German Social Democratic Party.

As was pointed out, the communist parties are actively participating in the movement against the threat of war. The communists are justifiably proud of the fact that they have always been in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and disarmament. Now as well, they are displaying a feeling of great responsibility for the fate of the world and their readiness to struggle with dedication to rescue the nations from

the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe and the calamities and privations which the plans of the imperialist military bring to the people. This was reemphasized at the meeting of representatives of fraternal parties to discuss the work of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, held in Prague in November. Delegations of 90 parties from all continents focused their attention on the most important problem of our time--ensuring a durable peace and eliminating the threat of war. The representative nature of the meeting reflected the increased desire on the part of communist and workers parties to communicate and cooperate and to discuss topical problems jointly. The suggestion to convene an international meeting of fraternal parties, formulated by several delegations in Prague, was specific proof of this.

In summing up the results of the varied, complex and sometimes quite dramatic events in the field of international life in 1981 and in bringing to light its leading trends, we cannot fail to reach the conclusion that the actions of aggressive imperialist forces caused severe damage to the positive changes which characterized relations among nations and states in the preceding period. Detente, which offered the possibility of strengthening peaceful coexistence among countries with different social system and mutually profitable cooperation, was substantially harmed.

However, whereas at the beginning of the year it might have seemed that the actions of the enemies of detente would once again freeze international relations in the ice of the cold war, the accuracy of the conclusion drawn at the congress of Soviet communists on the possibility of defending the peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe became increasingly clear in the last months of the year. Regardless of all difficulties and all aggressive and provocative actions of reactionary imperialist circles, as a result of the decisive struggle waged by the revolutionary forces of our time, the peace-loving democratic public was able to preserve the trend toward detente and, consequently, to consolidate it as an active political reality. Despite attempts to block them, the channels of international contacts and dialogues on most vital contemporary problems were preserved and widened. As many observers noted, under the influence of the circumstances in recent weeks the members of the American administration as well were forced to change the style of their speeches and moderate the previous militant nature of their declarations, and to take into consideration the circumstances which are developing quite differently from their assessments and plans. At the same time, the confidence of the people's masses in their ability to influence the course of international events in a real and positive fashion strengthened.

Under these circumstances the historical significance of the 26th CPSU Congress, which indicated the main way of the struggle for the consolidation of the peace and the mobilization of all existing forces and utilization of all opportunities for the prevention of a nuclear conflict, is becoming increasingly clear. Taking up the defense of life itself on earth and of everything great, noble and priceless created by mankind, the Soviet communist congress illuminated like a beacon the path to be followed by the peoples for many years to come.

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