

JPRS 80726

4 May 1982

USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 3, February 1982

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

4 May 1982

USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 3, February 1982

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

CONTENTS

Initiative as a Reserve of Efficiency.....	1
From L. I. Brezhnev's 3 February 1982 Talk With Representatives of the Socialist International Advisory Committee on Disarmament.....	12
Readiness for Exploits (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA).....	14
Twenty-Sixth CPSU Congress and Intensification Strategy (S. Kheyman).....	27
Population Consumer Services: Intersectorial Aspects T. Koryagina and V. Rutgayzer).....	41
Education of Patriots, Internationalists (B. Pastukhov).....	52
Topical Problems of Training Philosophy Cadres (A. Kosichev).....	66
When the Revolution Is in Danger (V. Polikarpov).....	78
Just Court and Just Retribution (L. Smirnov).....	91
Enemies of Culture on Our Threshold; Europe as the "Workshop of Mankind" (James Aldridge).....	104
What Is "New" and Old in Washington's Policy (V. Zorin).....	117

Historical Experience of the Transitional Period (S. Vasil'yev).....	129
On the Road to Building a New Society (Ye. Glazunov).....	136
Truth Versus Deception (V. Korionov).....	146

Publication Data

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 3
Feb 1982

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : Feb 1982

Signed to press : 11 Feb 1982

Copies : 801,000

COPYRIGHT : Izdatel'stvo Tsk Kpss "Pravda",
"Kommunist", 1982

INITIATIVE AS A RESERVE OF EFFICIENCY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 3-12

[Text] The "Comprehensive System for Quality Control and Efficient Utilization of Resources" developed in Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast has become widely known in our country. Incorporating all the best developments in recent years in the competition for upgrading work efficiency and quality, this system has contributed to the sharp improvement in the results of the economic activities of all the collectives which were able to master it successfully. The oblast as a whole achieved impressive successes. Suffice it to say that during the past 5-year period alone, the production of superior quality goods here increased by a factor of 4.5, reaching 2.4 billion rubles' worth in 1980. The work on the development and application of the comprehensive system at industrial enterprises carried out by the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast party organization was approved by the CC CPSU.

This is only one of the many examples proving the great importance of socialist competition today and its tremendous impact on upgrading work efficiency and quality and on the successful implementation of our plans. The Dnepropetrovsk example also convincingly proves the importance of adopting a truly modern, systematic and comprehensive approach and being truly innovative in borrowing progressive experience and it demonstrates the great potential of the already familiar patriotic initiatives of the working people and the competition means and methods used. For the Dnepropetrovsk system, which was developed under the guidance of the party's obkom, was the result of study and creative development of the practical experience of frontranking enterprises in Moscow and L'vovskaya Oblasts, Krasnodarskiy Kray and the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Saratov, Gor'kiy, Yaroslavl', Kiev, Sumy, Tol'yatti, Rovno and others. It also incorporated the results of the innovative and experimental search carried out in Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast itself and reflected the new approach to the socialist competition characteristic of the contemporary stage in the building of communism.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the levels planned in the 11th Five-Year Plan for the economic and social development of the USSR serve as a reliable compass in this search. In recent years, the creative initiative of the working people has been primarily focused on the application of intensive economic development methods, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the application of progressive management methods and improvement of the economic mechanism.

In calling upon the Soviet people to engage in innovation, the party is also directing them toward the adoption of a truly concerned attitude toward what has already been achieved and toward the labor and organizational methods and management decisions which have adequately proved their usefulness in specific matters. "Over the past years we have gained valuable experience in the building of communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out. "We must adopt a careful approach toward everything positive in our work... We have set ourselves the major task of upgrading production efficiency and work quality. This must always remain in our sights."

In a few weeks, in April 1982, the country's economy will have completed the first quarter of the five-year plan. This is already a substantial segment of the distance stipulated by the 26th CPSU Congress. At that point we can and must consider and study the way in which the assignments of the five-year plan are being implemented, the manner in which competition for their implementation has been organized, and the fullness and efficiency with which the potential contained in the patriotic initiatives and enterprise of the working people, the experience of frontranking collectives and regions, above all those approved by the party's Central Committee at various times, are being used.

Many positive examples can be cited in this area. For example, we are very familiar with the Shchekino experience in upgrading labor productivity while reducing the number of workers. It has long since exceeded the boundaries of the chemical industry, where it was first applied, and is now quite widespread. For example, it is being applied quite effectively in the maritime fleet: at the beginning of this year more than 60 percent of the freighters and icebreakers, which constitute the nucleus of the fleet, operated with reduced crews. Labor productivity in the collectives using the Shchekino method increased by an average of 6 percent; during the last 5-year period, the advantages offered by this method enabled the maritime fleet to save an average of more than two million rubles annually. At the beginning of the present five-year plan, 284 grain-processing and receiving enterprises of the RSFSR Ministry of Procurements were using the Shchekino method. Their pledge was to increase the volume of goods marketed by 198 million rubles over and above the 5-year assignment; in fact, they exceeded it by 340 million rubles. Their plan was to free 800 people, but in fact they released almost 1,200.

When we speak of leading experience and call for its improvement and dissemination, we have in mind not only the experience which develops in the course of the nationwide socialist competition. We also have rich experience in model organization of management at all levels -- from the shop and the enterprise to the ministry and the sector -- along with practical experience in the efficient organization of scientific research, and so on and so forth. We can also cite many examples of the way valuable patriotic initiatives and enterprise on the part of the working people have subsequently become "crystallized" in efficient and comprehensively substantiated management systems and new organizational economic management methods. For example, the Shchekino and the brigade contracting methods initially gained popularity as competition methods: it was not until later that they took on the features of methods and means of managing important sectors of the socialist economy, having been enriched by practical experience and backed by a series of

experiments. In other words, more than ever before, the whole process of improving planning and the economic mechanism is being enriched with ever increasing frequency by experience from below, developed directly in the labor collectives and the masses.

Practical experience indicates that valuable experience becomes properly disseminated and yields economic results only when the decision to apply it is supported by specific organizational efforts and an interested attitude. To approve an initiative and to recommend its dissemination is not enough. It is important to formulate a system of economic and organizational measures which will contribute to the full utilization of the advantages of the new work methods, to assign strictly personal responsibility for the implementation of all the necessary stages in mastering progressive experience, and to organize control over the timely and efficient implementation of the idea. That is precisely how the Pavlodar construction workers approached this matter in applying the "Orel continuous method." Previously, 33 different departments in the city were involved in housing construction, in addition to the capital construction administration. Today the capital construction administration of the city's executive committee has become virtually the sole manager of this project. A 2-year planning system was set up, the organization of the designing of buildings and microrayons has been improved and the work has become more rhythmical. The result has been a drastic improvement in the quality of housing, while the cost per square meter of housing area has dropped from 200 rubles in 1974, when the method was introduced, to 140 rubles per square meter. The implementation of the continual planning principles is constantly and closely checked by the gorkom and the obkom of the CP of Kazakhstan, which frequently discuss the situation in housing construction and provide effective aid to the house builders.

The same thoughtful and systematic type of approach was adopted in Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast in mastering the Rostov experience, which involved competition under the slogan "Work Without Laggards." Today almost 400 oblast enterprises and organizations, 7,000 brigades and about 100,000 working people are participating in this movement. At the same time, however, many cases in which truly valuable and highly effective initiatives have failed to become widespread, such that their potential is not used fully, could be cited. There are a variety of reasons, each one of which must be studied and analyzed individually. The most frequent reasons are a low level of economic interest in the application of new methods, the inability to organize projects on a planned and comprehensive basis, and sometimes, the basic sluggishness and conservatism of individual economic managers.

A planned and systematic approach to the organization of the competition and the borrowing and dissemination of progressive experience are needed at all levels -- from the brigade and shop to the sector. The training of the workers in progressive labor methods must be based on previously formulated and comprehensively considered programs and, as a rule, in leading experience courses. For example, 14 such courses functioned at the Chimkent Lead Plant during the last five-year plan. They provided virtually the entire contingent of basic workers with training. The economic results of these courses,

as estimated at the enterprise, amounted to about 100,000 rubles. It is important to note that the enterprise is not only disseminating the achievements of "its own" frontrankers broadly and efficiently, but it is also open to new developments in similar enterprises. Thus the brigade labor organization methods were applied here on the basis of the experience of the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zink Combine. The "supplement" to labor productivity obtained thanks to the help of sectorial comrades has also been estimated. In Smelting Shop No 1, for example, it amounted to 1.7 percent.

Leading experience means not only purely labor methods, technical improvements, new material and moral incentives, etc. No less important is the leading experience in applying the principles, the methods of organizing competition themselves. For example, the public defense of obligations has become widespread in many collectives. Frequently, however, it is reduced to reports on their own work submitted by brigade leaders and shop and sector chiefs, and the enumeration of figures and production reserves. Competition participants and organizers frequently ignore problems such as the coordination of the obligations assumed by a given collective with the plans of related production collectives and the solution of social problems. In this connection, the practice of the Tallin Machine Building Plant imeni I. Lauristin is of great interest. Here methodical recommendations have been formulated on how to draft obligations, what the main items they must contain are and how to compute indicators and coordinate them with other enterprise services. Obligations are defended before a special commission, in an atmosphere of extensive publicity and lively and even heated debate. If the shop's obligations call for the mastery and use of more complex equipment, specific plans for upgrading cadre skills and for engineering support must absolutely be drafted. In that collective, the defense of obligations is not only a means and a method for finding economic reserves and resolving economic problems, but also an important element in the education process, for it substantially broadens the range of workers and specialists participating in production management and helps to strengthen in them the feeling that they are the masters of their enterprise and their country.

The solicitous use of leading experience means accelerating the progress of our economy and contributing to the successful implementation of the five-year plan.

The first year of the five-year plan was marked by several new directions in socialist competition and by the patriotic new initiatives of the working people. Many millions of workers and specialists took part in the movement "Let Us Fulfill the Annual Assignments by 7 November." Enthusiasm for the competition "For the 60th Year Since the Founding of the USSR -- 60 Shock Labor Weeks" is gathering momentum. Competition for the highest productivity per machine unit has developed at the Chelyabinsk Rolled Pipe Plant. The movement "High Labor Productivity and Quality Must Be the Norm for Each Working Day during the 11th Five-Year Plan" has become popular in the Magnitka collective.

One of the most important tasks facing the participants in the competition today is linking it even more closely with improvements in the economic mechanism. As a direct component of this mechanism, competition must aid in

achieving greater proportionality and balance in the national economy and enhancing the level of labor organization and wages. The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the Assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan" emphasizes the need to "raise the level of the organization of the socialist competition as a whole and to develop it in close connection with measures to improve the economic mechanism."

Many important directions in socialist competition and ideas and suggestions contributed by the participants have been reflected in the familiar CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality." This important document calls for surmounting the shortcomings of planning "on the basis of what has already been achieved" and making fuller use of the advantages of collective labor organization methods. Elements of counterplanning and the Shchekino method have become components of the economic mechanism itself. The task involves ensuring the extensive and active participation of labor collectives in the formulation of plans, checking on their implementation, and pointing out the need to make efficient use of production capacities and resources, to upgrade labor productivity, to improve working and living conditions and to strengthen planning and technological and labor discipline. All of this will enable us to avoid formalism in the organization of competition and to block the appearance of farfetched initiatives unrelated to timely production tasks.

The application of collective labor organization and wage methods and improvement of the organization of competition among brigades form an important link in the perfecting of the economic mechanism. In many enterprises the brigade method has become basic. For example, more than two thirds of all workers are members of brigades at the Elektrostal'tyazhmash Association and the Yuzhno-Ural'sk Machine Building, Gorokhovets Lifting Equipment and Machine Building imeni 60-Letiya Velikoy Okryabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii Plants in Berislav. The Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, which manages these enterprises, has more than 20,000 brigades including more than half of all workers and nearly 72 percent of all piece-rate workers. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, thanks to the use of collective labor organization methods, the sector saved as much as eight million rubles.

A study of the effectiveness of brigades in this sectors convincingly proves the great and undeniable advantages they offer. The average hourly output per brigade member has nearly doubled, while full-day time losses have declined by a factor of 2.5; intrashift time losses have declined by a factor of 1.9 and cadre turnover is 20 percent lower than the figure for nonbrigade members. The application of brigade labor organization methods has brought about noticeable results in other sectors also.

However, as was pointed out at the all-union seminar of machine-building sector workers held in Kaluga to exchange experience on the development of the brigade form of labor organization and incentives, in many cases the potential of the new work methods is insufficiently used. Many problems

related to planning and encouraging brigade members to achieve excellent labor results remain unresolved. The labor participation coefficient does not play a sufficiently mobilizing role. Attention to individual plans for raising labor productivity has declined in some collectives using brigades, and dangerous equalizing trends have developed. Another alarming fact is that the introduction of the new forms of labor organizations has not substantially influenced end work results in many cases.

Bearing in mind the developing demographic situation, steps and initiatives in the competition aimed at production technical improvements and a reduction in the volume of manual labor and all kinds of auxiliary operations take on particular importance. Enterprises in Zaporozhskaya Oblast have acquired substantial experience in reducing manual and easing hard physical labor. In the Latvian SSR several years ago, the republic's state committee for labor, gosplan and central statistical administration drafted a comprehensive program for the mechanization of manual and hard physical labor for virtually all sectors. There were 14 republic ministries and departments and 65 enterprises under union jurisdiction but located on Latvian territory which participated in its implementation.

The implementation of the program produce satisfactory results. The pace of labor mechanization during the 10th Five-Year Plan increased by 70 percent as compared with the ninth. The work of more than 29,000 workers was mechanized, 24,000 workers, in conventional terms, were released, and annual savings exceeded 63 million rubles. The share of workers engaged in manual labor declined from 40.1 to 36.4 in light industry and from 39.8 to 34 percent at the VEF Association. There are no longer any women engaged in heavy physical work at more than 20 enterprises, including the Latbytkhim and VEF Production Associations, and the Rigasel'mash, Latpishchemash, Riga Lacquer and Dye and other plants. An intensive program has been drafted for this five-year plan as well. As a result of its implementation, the number of people doing manual work will be reduced by 8.5 percent; the percentage engaged in heavy physical work by 44.5 percent and the number working under harmful conditions by 65 percent.

Interesting experiments designed to reduce manpower scarcity have been conducted in agriculture of late. The most interesting of these is the so-called "Shatura continual method," the essence of which involves the use of special sliding work schedules which offer the people, the mechanizers above all, favorable working and resting conditions and an opportunity to take their paid vacations in summer, i.e., actually converting the rural working people to an "urban" work system. This continual method has been used with succes at the Mir Sovkhoz in Moscow Oblast for more than 6 years. The following results were obtained on this basis: during the last five-year plan, the number of sovkhoz mechanizers more than doubled and cadre turnover dropped from 13 to 5 percent. Here up to 100,000 rubles are saved annually thanks to the better use of tractors, trucks and other equipment alone. In 1975, output per tractor averaged 1,218 standard hectares; today it has reached 2,400. The experience of the Mir Sovkhoz, where the rural "continual method" was developed and proved its worth, was approved by the Moscow CPSU Obkom. More than 500 mechanizer teams are using this method in Moscow Oblast.

The path toward reducing the volume of manual and heavy physical labor and thus upgrading productivity leads through improved management and technical progress. Considering the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the principal means of upgrading labor productivity, the enterprise managers and all participants in the competition are strengthening their relations with the scientists in scientific research institutes and VUZs and are stepping up the scale of joint research work. The Moscow Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev is cooperating with more than 80 scientific organizations; scientists at the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton are doing joint research with dozens of production collectives. Many research collectives supported the initiative of the All-Union Scientific Research and Design-Engineering Institute of Lifting Machine Building (VNIIPtmash) known as "New Equipment in the Vanguard of the Five-Year Plan," which was approved by the State Committee for Science and Technology and the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies (VSNTSO). These organs issued a joint decree addressing themselves to ministries, departments, central committees of trade unions and central boards of the NTO [Scientific and Technical Societies] with a request for help in developing this type of competition. The NTO assumed the role of its direct organizer.

The search for new methods for the organization of production, labor and management and for new forms of organization for the competition in all economic sectors is taking place on a broad front. The task of the party and trade union organizations and economic management organs is promptly to identify the best features born of daily practice, to assess innovations politically and economically and to cooperate actively in the dissemination of progressive innovations. The potential of the new initiatives and new work methods must be realized faster and more completely. At the same time, the possibilities offered by initiatives and leading means and methods of work with which we are already familiar must be utilized more fully.

The national economy has acquired a certain amount of experience in developing a systematic approach to the dissemination of valuable initiatives launched by the working people. For the past several years, the system of selecting and disseminating frontranking experience among light industry enterprises has been quite effective in Ivanovskaya Oblast. Every year the most progressive labor methods developed in the collectives are determined through regularly scheduled competitions, and they are then rapidly made available to thousands of textile workers by competition engineers and labor and wage department specialists. An equally reliable mechanism -- a system of incentives which encourages the people voluntarily to review their output norms and, of late, material outlay norms -- is used at the Aksay Plastic Materials Plant in Rostovskaya Oblast.

A number of new methods have been added to the mechanism for the application of leading experience in recent years. For example, some collectives have already proved that even very strict normative deadlines for reaching planned capacity can be reduced and thus yield a great deal of additional output. For example, at the Polimir Production Association in Belorussia, extensive organizational work takes place even before new capacities have been commissioned: cadres are selected and brigades of workers who are given a special training course and who participate in the installation and tuning of the

equipment are organized. This method has been fully justified. Using this method, ethylene production capacities were installed "on a projected basis" in only 2 instead of the 5 months normed, yielding 232 tons of above-plan output.

As we can see, experience does exist and is being used very effectively in many places. However, instances of a different nature coexist with splendid examples of thrifty and able management.

Economic and trade union managers and competition organizers have been paying too little attention to some important initiatives organized by the working people which have yielded substantial economic results in recent years. For example, many sectors and regions have actually forgotten the battle slogan "All Orders Must Be Filled on Time," which was launched first among the progressive Saratov production collectives. Unfortunately, there are many enterprises in this oblast today which are not meeting their obligations to the consumers efficiently and have not eliminated the practice of revising planned assignments. It was pointed out at a recent session of the Saratovskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies that in 1981, the state assignments were revised downward on four occasions at the Balashov and Pugachev Reinforced Concrete Goods Plants and on three occasions at the Khimvolokno Production Association in Engel's, the Saratovstroymaterialy Association and the timber mill in Vol'sk. Alarming facts have been brought to light concerning the work of industrial enterprises in Primorskiy Kray. Although they overfulfill their goods marketing plans, dozens of enterprises are failing in their deliveries of stipulated items and the implementation of their contractual obligations. Such unconscientious suppliers include the Primorskugol', Bor, Leather and Shoes and Spassktsement Associations, the Dal'khimprom and Vladivostok Porcelain Plants, the carpet factory, the Rabotnitsa Clothing Factory and many other enterprises.

We know how intensive the work of the transportation system, the railroads in particular, is today. It is an important fact that here as well many useful initiatives have come to light recently. They are aimed at speeding up freight deliveries and ensuring the best possible satisfaction of the transportation requirements of the national economy. The further dissemination of the experience of the Moscow railroad workers, who have mastered the driving of heavy-duty trains weighing 6,000 tons or more and the experience of L'vovskaya Oblast railroad haulage and industrial enterprises in the effective utilization of freight cars could play a very positive role. However, the scale on which such progressive experience is being disseminated in the transportation sector leaves a great deal to be desired.

Three quarters of Astrakhan's railroad enterprises are violating idling norms and several dozen are even taking longer to process freight cars than at the end of the last five-year plan. Freight car unloading is particularly poorly done on days off and holidays. However, some oblast enterprises have been able to resolve this urgent problem. The Sudoverf' imeni S. M. Kirov Association, which was criticized for the poor quality of its unloading of freight cars only recently, built a properly equipped loading platform, procured the required mechanisms, improved incentive systems and appointed managers personally responsible for the situation in that sector, as a result

of which above-norm freight car idling ceased to occur. However, this experience is not being used to the fullest extent. In 1980 the oblast enterprises paid more than one million rubles in penalties for freight car idling.

Although we criticize the transportation workers for major work shortcomings, including failure to disseminate leading experience, we must also realize that rail, trucking and navigation personnel are not the only ones who are responsible for the difficult situation which has developed in this economic sector. Many hasty decisions regarding the location of industrial sites, the unjustified and frequently excessively increased scale of specialization and growth in cooperated relations and the underdevelopment of processing enterprises in timber, ore and agricultural raw material procurement areas, for instance, have intensified the "transportation problems" affecting our economy. That is why such problems must be resolved through the joint efforts of workers in many sectors and with the active assistance of the USSR Gosplan and Gosstroy in particular, and the republic, kray and oblast organizations.

At the start of the five-year plan, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers approved the decree "On Intensifying Work for the Economical and Efficient Utilization of Raw, Fuel and Energy and Other Material Resources" which, based on the decisions of the 26th party congress, provided an expanded program for the further intensification of the struggle for economy and thrift. Many enterprises have achieved substantial successes in this economic area. Almost or totally wasteless technologies are being utilized advantageously and the comprehensive use of raw materials is increasing. Let us take the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine as an example. Here 17 of the 29 useful components contained in the ore are being extracted and 23 different products are procured. The coefficient of comprehensive use of raw materials has reached 96 percent in lead production and 90.6 in zinc production. The party organization is ably directing the competition to ensure thrift and the combine's economic services are actively participating in this work.

However, this experience is totally unknown to many similar enterprises in Kazakhstan. How else can we explain the fact that losses from lead dumped along with slag at the Leninogorsk Lead Plant not only have not been reduced, but have even increased of late? The planned indicators for the extraction of useful components from valuable raw materials have not been achieved by some units of the Irtysh Polymetals Combine, the Karagayly Concentration Factory and the Orlovskiy Mine in particular. Cobalt, copper, zinc and other components are being irretrievably lost in the processing of iron ore at the Sokolovo, Sarbaysk and Lisakovsk deposits. The extent of unused reserves in other stages of metallurgical production is also universally known. For example, the problem of upgrading the quality of the metal and mastering the production of improved rolled metal varieties is exceptionally grave.

These examples convincingly prove that the mechanism used for the application and dissemination of leading experience undeniably needs further perfecting and improvement. This must be accomplished on every level, from that of the enterprise and the region to that of the nation. The economic incentives of

the enterprises for the use of technological, organizational and managerial innovations must be upgraded. It is also necessary to make stricter demands of economic managers and competition organizers who are too sluggish or conservative or who are not concerned about the selection and extensive dissemination and mastery of the best examples of work.

The efficient practical management of the socialist competition and increasing its economic returns are not simple matters. The party members in the Krasnodarskiy Kray party organization are skillfully providing such guidance. The "Krasnodar Comprehensive Production Effectiveness Upgrading System," which was approved by the CC CPSU, is widely known today. It is of interest to note that it initially began to "crystallize" "from below," based on statements made by production frontrankers in the course of a meeting with kraykom party bureau secretaries and members. During the meeting, the competition slogan shared by all kray labor collectives -- "Effectiveness, Quality and Economy at Each Workplace" -- was formulated. The most essential part of this formula is its final portion. The people of Krasnodar made a successful attempt to take suitably proven means and methods of upgrading the effectiveness and quality of the work and enterprise standards to each workplace and individual working person. This is the system's main purpose.

The development of the system was substantially accelerated with the establishment of a kray coordination council designed to strengthen relations between science and practice. Similar councils were created at party gorkoms and raykoms, while coordination work groups were set up directly in the labor collectives. The kray practical science conference, at which the initial experience acquired in developing the system was summarized and the long-term plan for giving methodical and practical aid to enterprises was formulated jointly with the USSR Gosstandart, contributed to the success of the project. Under the leadership of the party committees, the primary party organizations concentrated on improving political and educational work in the collectives so that all party members and working people will understand the nature and basic principles of the system correctly and become its active promoters at each workplace. The system's fundamentals were taught in 14,000 communist labor courses, 57 city and rayon effectiveness universities and the political and economic training system. The aid of the Knowledge Society and the council of scientific and technical societies was enlisted, as well. Thirty-eight consultation centers at party raykoms and gorkoms and 167 enterprise method offices were set up.

This was a tremendous and exceptionally complex and labor-intensive project which demanded that the kray's party members mobilize every effort and a great deal of energy and persistence. However, the results justified the effort made. Suffice it to say that as a result of the implementation of the comprehensive plans for upgrading effectiveness, the number of manual workers was reduced by 26 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The kray's economy developed steadily and the volume of industrial output increased by nearly one quarter. The percentage of superior quality goods out of the overall output increased by a factor of more than four, capital returns improved and so did other quality indicators. On the basis of this reliable foundation, industry in Krasnodarskiy Kray has been working smoothly, efficiently and rhythmically during the new five-year plan as well.

Unquestionably, the most important aspects of the very rich experience gained by the competition participants are the initiatives and trends approved on various occasions by the CC CPSU. Not all of them have become as widespread as they should and not all have been applied where they could be most useful. The task of the party committees is to study the practice of disseminating leading experience and to focus main attention precisely in those directions.

The party members at enterprises and construction sites must pay attention to the fact that recently the concern devoted to one form of competition -- the movement for a communist attitude toward labor -- has clearly declined. Sometimes its organizers include clearly downgraded requirements for earning the titles of Communist Labor Shock Worker and Communist Labor Collective in the labor competition conditions. It is therefore natural that in some plants, the former title has been awarded to more than two thirds of all workers.

The State Committee for Labor, AUCCTU and local trade union organizations must pay greater attention to the problems in upgrading competition efficiency. The competition participants and organizers expect of them specific recommendations for improving its moral and material incentives and methods for assessing results. We must improve and perfect the work of the sectorial organs in charge of the development of competition and the dissemination of progressive experience, such as the sectorial NOT centers and the information centers and institutes. The press, radio and television media must energize their propaganda and dissemination of progressive experience.

The more fully and comprehensively the potential of each labor initiative is identified, the faster our progress in the building of communism will be and the more successfully the 11th Five-Year Plan and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress will be implemented.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

FROM L. I. BREZHNEV'S 3 FEBRUARY 1982 TALK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 13-14

[Text] L. I. Brezhnev drew the attention of his interlocutors to the threat posed to the cause of universal peace by the current line being pursued by the NATO bloc, and in particular by its main power -- the United States. Never since WW II has the situation been so serious.

As to the Soviet Union and its leadership, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, we are firmly convinced that it is madness for any country to base its politics on nuclear war or victory in such a war. This would be an irresponsible and adventuristic gamble with the fate of mankind. The main thing now is to eliminate the threat of war. It is on this that the USSR is focusing its foreign policy efforts.

Diplomacy requires not "linkage" but "unraveling," L. I. Brezhnev said. The tangle of conflict situations and disputes existing in the contemporary world cannot be dealt with by any kind of sword. The only possible way is that of patient and constructive negotiation leading to a real reduction in and the elimination of weapons.

On the subject of the Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe, being held in Geneva, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the initial stage requires for a guarded attitude, in view of the obvious unwillingness of the American side to seek a basis for a mutually acceptable agreement. The purpose of Washington's so-called "zero option" requiring the Soviet Union to remove all of its medium-range missiles could hardly be described as serious. Both NATO's December 1979 decision and the "Reagan Plan" are in total conflict with the principle of equality and identical security. Their purpose is to eliminate the current military balance in Europe and throughout the world, at the cost of the security of the USSR and its allies.

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, is already prepared to reach an agreement on the complete abandonment on the part of both East and West of all types of medium-range weapons targeted on Europe. We could go even further, reaching an agreement on the total removal from Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical. This would be a real "zero option" which the Soviet Union would be prepared to adopt. Should the NATO countries agree to

such a truly zero solution, the cause of peace in Europe (and possibly throughout the world) could be based on uniquely solid foundations.

If the West is not yet ready for a radical solution, L. I. Brezhnev said, we accept an agreement on a substantial reduction in medium-range nuclear missiles on both sides, to begin with. For example, the current stockpile of medium-range nuclear armaments could be reduced by each side by a factor of three or even more by 1990, proceeding gradually to reduce the national arsenals by approximately one third in the next few years, and then going further. Naturally, in this case both NATO and the Soviet Union's stockpiles would remain equal at all stages.

It is also well known that in an effort to facilitate reaching an agreement, the USSR has suggested that both sides freeze their medium-range weapons in Europe in terms of quantity and quality for the duration of the talks. During this moratorium, we would be prepared unilaterally to reduce a certain share of the medium-range armaments we have deployed in the European part of the USSR.

Such, briefly stated, is our position on the reduction of nuclear weapons targeted on European sites. We are ready at any time to convert it into the corresponding agreements or, as a start, into a general statement on principle made by the two sides, and we continue to hope that the U. S. reaction will be positive.

The reaching of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on another most important contemporary problem -- the limitation of strategic armaments -- would be of equal importance. From time to time the U. S. administration proclaims its interest in a radical reduction in strategic armaments. In reality, Washington is doing nothing to achieve this end and is even avoiding the resumption of talks on a variety of farfetched pretexts.

The Soviet Union's principled line as defined by the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, calls for the firm defense of peace. The USSR will continue to add further specific initiatives to the stipulations of the peace program approved by the congress, with a view to reducing the threat of war, strengthening peace and intensifying detente.

The CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, intends systematically to pursue the line approved at the 26th CPSU Congress with regard to the Socialist International and its member parties, which it considers a very influential sociopolitical force. This is a line of dialog and cooperation. Many other possibilities for expanding cooperation in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of detente remain. A common language and, above all, common solutions, must be found for the main global problem of today -- the problem of preventing the world from sliding into a thermonuclear catastrophe -- despite all differences and disagreements.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

READINESS FOR EXPLOITS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 15-24

[Article by the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, acting as a KOMMUNIST collective correspondent]

[Text] The blizzardy February day in 1918 when the defenders of the young Soviet Republic experienced their baptism by fire and when the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army -- today's Soviet Armed Forces -- was born is sliding farther and farther into the past.

The grateful memory of the people will never forget the character of the heroes of that period, when in fierce battles with the foreign interventionists and the White Guards the red regiments and divisions strengthened, matured and tempered and the combat traditions of the new army, the army of a socialist type, were born. These are traditions sanctified by infinite faith in communist ideals, in the justice of our cause, rallying the military collectives into a single entity and demanding heroism.

The great deeds and exploits of the heroes of those years have long since become history. They are confirmed by memoirs and monuments, museum relics and the stories of civil war veterans, of whom fewer and fewer remain among us. Yet what great vivifying strength of revolutionary spirit, excitement of action and romanticism crowd each entry in such memoirs and each word of these recollections! They are like a spark which sets the heart of the soldier aflame with the aspiration to emulate his fathers and grandfathers, to serve the cause of the revolution and communism as worthily as they did, and to fulfill his soldierly duty with equal dedication.

The generations succeed one another endlessly. The traditions of the older generations are eternally alive, marching in the soldiers' ranks. They have withstood the test of time. They passed the tests of fire and blood on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War and are strengthening and increasing today.

1

September 1942. Stalingrad. A Komsomol meeting is being held in the ruins of a house. The Komsomol members of a subunit of the 308th Infantry Division commanded by Colonel L. Gurt'yev are discussing the item entitled "On

Behavior in Battle." The report and speeches have taken 14 minutes. The resulting decree says that it is "Better To Die Than To Retreat in Shame. Not Only Must You Not Retreat, But Also See That Your Neighbor Does Not."

Question from the ranks: "Is there a legitimate reason for abandoning one's position?"

The speaker: "The only reason which will be considered valid is death."

The 12th consecutive Hitlerite attack of the day was beginning. The company commander, a party member, had just time enough to make his contribution: "The Komsomol organizer has spoken a great deal about death," he said. "The homeland demands of us victory and not death. Yes, it is true that some of us will not come back alive from the battlefield. That is what war is. The hero is he who will die intelligently and bravely, taking us closer to the hour of victory. However, he who has been able to defeat the enemy and also to stay alive is twice a hero..."

We do not know which of the company's Komsomol members lived to see the victory or who fell on the battlefield defending Stalingrad. But all kept their word -- they did not retreat one single step under enemy pressure.

Exactly 39 years later, at the start of the "Zapad-81" exercise in September 1981, the words of the minutes of this Komsomol meeting were heard again in a forest meadow on Belorussian soil. Holding their breath, the Komsomol members of the engineering subunit of the Guards Proletarskaya Moscow-Minsk Motorized Infantry Division listened. They accepted the words of the wartime minutes as a baton in the relay race of sacred love for the fatherland. Addressing the meeting, the komsomol members swore loyalty to the traditions of the front-line heroes.

The assembly call sounded and the Komsomol meeting had to be interrupted. It was announced that a dump containing fascist ammunition abandoned after the Great Patriotic War had been found in the exercise area. The ammunition had to be rendered harmless quickly. The assignment was entrusted to Guards party member Senior Lieutenant Mikanail' Gaynanov, Guards Komsomol members Junior Sergeants Leonid Buryakovskiy and Cheslav Levanevskiy and Guards Private Sergey Sakeyev. The duel with the rusty source of death lasted several hours. The engineers extracted dozens of grenades and shells from the underground niche and soon afterwards, at the distant edge of a forest far from the road, an explosion, no longer threatening, thundered.

The engineers' Komsomol meeting was concluded on the following day. One of the items in its decree read: "Act during the exercise as if at the front..."

Companies, battalions and regiments were moving along the Belorussian roads, where the main part of the exercise was taking place. Their major military project was combat practice based on the Zapad-81 Exercise. As always, mothers counseled their sons.

"Hello, Adil'bek," wrote greenhouse worker Uken Batumbayeva in the distant Panfilovskiy Sovkhoz in Kazakhstan to her son. "I have the feeling that you too are participating in this exercise and my heart aches for you and I am proud of you..." Batumbayeva addressed herself to the participants in the exercise through a letter to the newspaper in which she said that "The Kazakh saying is that the honor of heroes is the honor of the people. To my Adil'bek and to all of you comrade soldiers and commanders, let me say, as a mother would, good luck, my sons!"

The hour struck.

Here is what the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents reported from the exercise grounds that day:

"On the day the battle was to be joined, the morning was heavy with the quiet preceding the storm. Rocket and artillery subunits stood ready to open fire from their positions. Airplanes were ready to take off from the airstrips at any moment. Motorized infantry, tank and other subunits were deployed throughout the staging areas. The assignment of the "northern" forces was to breach the defenses of the "southern" forces.

"Artillery volleys thundered. The "north" began to move, and the "south" opened fire on its columns. Aviation was active on both sides..."

"The main "northern" forces reached the line of deployment into company columns and their fire power intensified. The artillery and tanks assigned to fire over open sights were destroying "southern" frontline targets and antitank defenses. The helicopter gunships of both sides were in action, and were being fired upon by anti-aircraft forces."

The engineers, commanded by Senior Lieutenants V. Lozko and S. Pakhmov, began their work. They blasted paths through the "enemy" mine fields, along which motorized infantry and tanks advanced. Scouts headed by Guards Lieutenant V. Baryshnikov reached the river via forest cuts... The actions of days and hours were compressed into minutes. There was no day or night in the endless movement and unabated intensity of combat. Helicopters, commanded by Lt Col A. Filipenko, military flyer first class, flew over the edge of the forest. They dropped down over the water obstacle and hovered while the motorized troops led by Guards Captain O. Zharov debarked. The troops engaged in combat immediately in order to secure a bridgehead. Somewhere deep in the rear, landing troops were arriving in aircraft transports, while the advance detachment, commanded by Guards Captain A. Bepalov, had already joined the battle. It was taking place on the same soil on which his father, squad commander Lieutenant Nikolay Bepalov, had once fought...

The Baltic shore bristled with artillery fire and blazes broke out here and there. The silhouettes of the landing and escort ships became increasingly clear. The marine battalion, commanded by Guards Major M. Mukhametzyanov, was already mounting an attack.

Party members led the field everywhere -- at rocket and artillery positions, in the lines of attacking motorized infantry, in the tank battalion combat

order. They inspired the troops with their passionate party words and set examples of courage and firmness.

Combat is combat, even if it is only an exercise. There were critical situations in which the circumstances demanded concentrated will power and courage, testing the readiness for undertaking exploits toward which the soldier aspires throughout his entire military service.

Guards Junior Sergeant A. Uporov made a parachute jump just after Guards Private L. Manokha, falling onto the crown of his comrade's parachute before it had inflated. Both parachutes began to collapse and the speed of their fall increased. In these few seconds the airborne soldiers found the only possible solution. One cut the tangled cords while the other pulled the ring of the emergency parachute.... CC CPSU Politburo Member Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, who observed their actions, met with the courageous soldiers after they landed, thanked them for their courage and presented them with valuable gifts.

It was perhaps at that point that an elderly Belorussian kolkhoz woman noticed the paratroopers. She came to them with two buckets filled with apples.

"Help yourselves, boys."

When the buckets were emptied, she said:

"Learn well how to fight so that no foe can ever set foot on our soil. You are the soldiers of peace..."

There is lofty meaning and tremendous justice in the words "soldiers of peace"...Yes, this is the mission of the Soviet soldier: to defend peace against the misfortunes of war, and to keep vigilant watch for the intrigues of aggressors. This is particularly necessary today.

Our soldiers are well aware of the fact that the U. S. military budget is growing steadily. President Reagan's budget message calls for the largest peacetime increase ever in allocations for the war machine. Military expenditures have been increased from \$219 billion this year to \$263 billion for the 1983 fiscal year. One hundred MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers and a Trident nuclear-missile submarine system will be built. The production and deployment of cruise missiles and full-scale production of neutron bombs are under way. The United States is preparing to deploy new types of chemical and medium-range nuclear weapons in some Western European countries.

This power must be held in check by power of a different nature. In order to counter the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist circles which are engaged in feverish material, ideological and psychological preparations for war, the greatest possible vigilance and high-level combat readiness are required.

Such were the vigilance and combat readiness displayed by the troops which took part in Exercise "Zapad-81."

The artillery volleys and the bomb and shell explosions have quieted down and calm has descended on the forests and valleys...

In his address to the participants in the troop review after the exercise, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov emphasized that the "Zapad-8]" Exercise was a test of the combat training of the troops and the navy, in the nature of a report by our armed forces to the communist party and the Soviet government on their readiness to carry out any assignment from the motherland in the defense of the socialist gains and the peaceful toil of the Soviet people. They reaffirmed that the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces is a solid alloy of high-level technical availability, military skill and invincible spirit.

The troops marched past the stand: motorized infantry, tankmen, rocket troops, engineers...and the words of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to the 26th CPSU Congress were heard from the loudspeakers:

"Today it is already the sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War who are in the ranks of the defenders of the homeland. They have not experienced the severe trials to which their fathers and grandfathers were subjected. However, they are loyal to the heroic traditions of our army and people. And whenever so required by the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace, and whenever victims of aggression must be helped, the Soviet soldier will appear before the eyes of the world as the dedicated and courageous patriot, the internationalist ready to surmount any hardship."

2

Soldier-internationalist. There never was any such concept throughout the ages, nor could there be, until the soldier with the five-pointed red star appeared in the world, representing the liberating army, the defender of the oppressed classes and enslaved nations.

On 26 July 1944, in the battle to liberate Gerasimowice Village in Poland from the Hitlerite occupiers, party member PFC G. Kunavin blocked the embrasure of a fascist pillbox with his body. Overwhelmed with gratitude toward the Soviet Army and the hero-soldier, the village population passed the following resolution at a general meeting:

"We proclaim the name of the Russian soldier Grigoriy Kunavin to be a symbol of the great fraternity between the Russian and Polish peoples...As a token of gratitude to the Russian brother-liberator, the residents of Gerasimowice Village have decreed in their general meeting:

"1. That the name of the Russian soldier Grigoriy Pavlovich Kunavin shall be permanently inscribed in the list of the honored citizens of the Polish village of Gerasimowice.

"2. That his name shall be engraved on a marble slab...

"3. That a request that the school attended by our children bear the name Grigoriy Kunavin will be filed.

"4. That each school year, teachers will begin their first lesson in the first grade with the story of this soldier-hero and his comrades, who shed their blood to give Polish children the right to happiness and freedom. May their hearts be filled with pride in their Russian brother, the Slavic soldier. May their understanding of life begin with the thought of the fraternity between the Polish and Russian peoples."

From the Volga and the Dnepr to the Yenisey and the Amur, there were 600,000 Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles to liberate Poland from fascist slavery. Six hundred thousand soldier-internationalists gave their lives in the name of the fraternity between the Soviet and Polish peoples, so that peace, freedom, happiness and prosperity could prevail along the banks of the Vistula and the Oder.

That day came. With the help of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the Polish working people achieved great successes in building their new life and socialism. However, profiting from the errors and faults committed in domestic policy, the forces of counterrevolution, inspired and supported from the outside, tried to destroy the Polish socialist state, restore the bourgeois order and undermine the fraternal friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples, strengthened in the joint struggle against fascism. The activities of the counterrevolutionaries faced the country with national catastrophe. Under such circumstances, by decision of the supreme organ of the state and fully in accordance with the constitution of the People's Republic of Poland, a state of emergency was proclaimed in the country and a Military Council of National Salvation was set up. The threatening danger of bloodshed and civil war was averted. The vital interests of the Polish nation and the socialist system were given reliable protection. The strategic plan of imperialism to set up an anti-Soviet outpost inside the socialist comity collapsed.

A furious howl was raised in the camp of the enemies of peace and socialism about the legitimate measures adopted by the Polish government. A flood of slanderous statements was directed at people's Poland and its true friends. Stories to the effect that the state of emergency was proclaimed in Poland "under pressure" from the USSR and the other socialist countries were circulated. The TASS statement convincingly exposed the falsity of such fabrications. It offered firm proof that, as its leaders had repeatedly emphasized, Poland was and would remain an unbreakable link in the Warsaw Pact and a member of the socialist comity. Anyone threatening the Polish socialist state should bear that in mind. Loyal to its alliance with fraternal Poland, the USSR has given and will continue to give aid and support to the Polish people.

The heirs of PFC Kunavin and the many thousands of soldiers who fought under the flag of the Polish Army in the last war are vigilantly and reliably standing guard over the peace and security of the peoples of our fraternal countries and the entire socialist comity.

Meanwhile, as in the past, the children of Gerasimowice Village continue to go to school, and their understanding of life begins with thoughts about the fraternity between the Polish and Soviet peoples...

Soldier-internationalist. These words, which we take so much for granted today, are the real embodiment of the great Leninist ideas on international brotherhood and the eternal readiness of the Soviet person to come to the aid of those fighting for a just cause.

When after the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan, the forces of imperialism and reaction created a real threat to the democratic gains of the fraternal people and to the independent existence of a neighboring sovereign state, a limited Soviet military contingent was introduced into the DRA at the request of the Afghan government. This step taken by the Soviet Union was welcomed gratefully by the people of that friendly country, and it gave new strength to the Afghan revolution in the struggle against the gangs trained by foreign instructors and armed with American and Chinese weapons which were sent into the country from Pakistan.

How are Soviet soldiers serving on Afghan soil and how are they fulfilling their international duty?

Here are a few events as described by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents:

"Soldiers, sergeants... My first lines from Afghanistan are about them," wrote Colonel V. Moroz in his report. "...Here, in this country in the throes of a revolution, the nature of the Soviet soldier has become fully apparent, revealing new facets.

"Private Vladimir Artyushin stands guard in a building destroyed during an early battle between Afghan Army subunits and the enemy. Walls scarred with bullet holes, a scorched flat roof....

"Private Artyushin's heavy boots echo on the tiles, hot as a griddle, as he walks from one window to another. Slung across his back is an automatic weapon with a box-shaped magazine, while a pair of gleaming binoculars rest on his chest.

"'Are there other posts ahead?' I ask.

"'Yes!' Artyushin hands the binoculars over. 'There, at the top of the mountain -- there is an infantry vehicle. There is another one to the right, and yet another one on that hill.'

"The binoculars reveal a bare, rocky mountain. An antenna is visible. The gray camouflage net, discolored by the sun, blends with the grayness of the site. The vehicle is protected by a trench dug out of the rock by the soldiers.

"'How's the service?' I continue my conversation with Vladimir, after his guard duty is finished.

"'Normal," the soldier smiles. 'This is combat service.'"

Here is what Guards Captain Sergey Kostin, who holds the Order of the Red Star, told a correspondent:

"Before each march I am faced with the same problem: how to withdraw those who are indisposed that day from the ranks with tact and delicacy. The doctor no longer even asks people to report sick, for no one does anyway.... An "aggrieved" soldier was sent to sick bay, but during the march I suddenly noticed him bandaging himself, hiding behind the grenade launcher in a vehicle. We were forced to send him back to town with a reprimand, but we were also proud of him.

Naturally, we operate under exceptional conditions, but it is under such conditions that a man can prove himself and that his best qualities appear. Recently a rather difficult raid was undertaken in an unfamiliar area with mountains and gorges. The second platoon was led by Guards Junior Sergeant Aleksandr Mitrofanov. He was struck in the throat by a rock as he dropped to the ground, and blood began to spurt every time he gave an order. Immediately commands were issued by Guards Junior Sergeant Al'fred Khabibulin, who had just arrived from a training unit. The young section commander did not falter or lose his head. The company carried out its task. Navruzov and Mitrofanov are already in the reserve, each one having been decorated with the medal "For Courage," while Khabibulin is still in the service, serving well...

Somewhere, mothers, wives and fiancées are spending sleepless nights and writing long letters. The envelopes carry words of love and blessings. They send picture postcards with the knowledge that the soldier will carry them close to his heart and that they will lighten his difficult soldier's work.

Today as well, Soviet soldiers are continuing to serve and to fulfill their international duty on the scorched Afghan soil. They follow the narrow rocky paths, hastening to the aid of the population of a mountain village left homeless after an enemy raid. They are ready to stand guard. They have returned from a long training raid. They are resting in their tents, listening to the wind howl in the ravines, remembering the dear homeland.

The homeland remembers them. It shows particular love and warmth toward those who are serving at the forward border posts.

3

Several years ago, a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent visiting Kirghizia, met with Hero of Socialist Labor Kerimbybyu Shopokova, wife of one of the 28 Panfilov heroes -- Duyshenkul Shopokov, who lost his life at the Dubosekovo Station. Here is what she said:

"A soldier is a person with a weapon. Today he is defending these sugar-beet crops, these gray forests. Tomorrow, he himself will be growing the grain. The soldier is not only the defender of our life but its creator as well."

The accuracy of these words is particularly apparent at the construction sites along the Baykal-Amur Mainline. At temperatures of 50° below zero in winter and in the heat of summer the military railroad men built bridges across rivers, put up prefabricated barracks and laid track to the east and the west of their base stations. These iron soldiers had an iron will. They lived with the thought of the track to be laid.

One morning, when the soldiers at the site of a future station exotically named Vosporukhan woke up, they saw red letters a meter high on the clean ice covering the Tuyun River through the tayga: "Comrade! Here you are writing the history of the homeland with your own hands!" It was Captain I. Shekhtman, deputy battalion commander for political affairs, who had traced these letters during the night with the help of an artist.

The tayga river below was quiet, frozen in ice, while on the steep bank the soldiers stood like a part of the senior generations, those who had built Magnitka, Turksib, Dneprogos and Komsomol'sk-na-Amure.

It is always hardest for those who come first. The history of the BAM will always include the names of the railroad troops personnel, such as party members Fedor Ivanovich Pribov and Aleksey Mikhaylovich Zheleznov, now demobilized and working in Omsk, and the first BAM political workers -- Aleksandr Ivanovich Demin, Anatoliy Fedorovich Sinyavskiy and Nusrat Cheban-Ogly Abbasov.

On the eve of the 26th party congress, Lt Col Stepan Nikolayevich Pal'chuk, one of the builders of the BAM, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Was it not symbolic that a military man would receive a high award for civilian labor?

Yes, the BAM represents a daily exploit. Here is the simple story of Private Sergey Kizhapkin: "I drove my Ural to the refuelling station and parked by the tail end of the gasoline truck. Ivan Soldatov, a fellow-countryman, was standing by the truck, holding the hose and refueling his vehicle. I jumped down from the cab and walked toward him. I had just reached his truck when I heard a shout behind me. I turned around and saw flames and black smoke pouring from the fuel truck. At the same time, Soldatov hurled himself at me...."

It took no more than a few seconds for Kizhapkin to leap onto the running board of the tank truck and to close the hatch and cover it with his body. However, burning streams of gasoline continued to pour out of the hatch. He tried to stop them with his hands. There were gasoline containers nearby and dozens of people at work. The village was close by and one could not even imagine what would happen if an explosion. Sergey prevented this.

A soldier's exploit is not self-generating. A man prepares for it during his entire life. When does this moment for a great deed arrive? It could happen at any minute, on any day. That day came for party member Technical Service Captain Nikolay Kuznetsov, commander of an automotive subunit whose personnel were helping harvest the grain in Rostovskaya Oblast. When the grain caught fire, Kuznetsov was the first to rush to the rescue. The flaming wall rolled

toward him, and at that moment he thought of those by his side. His last words were an order to a subordinate:

"Gulikov, pull back! Immediately!"

He himself could not do the same....

4

The homeland has entered the 60th year since the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

At the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR, those who voted in favor of the creation of a single state included 206 military delegates. "The Union of Soviet Republics," Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze said, "is a union of working people of various nationalities. The Red Army, which is its reflection, is not a national army. It is also a union, but a combat union to which the working people of all of our Soviet republics send their sons to learn military skills and to stand guard, hand in hand, like a single unbroken wall, over the Soviet land."

This was 60 years ago. There have been great changes in the world, but the friendship and fraternity among Soviet peoples have remained unchanged.

The Guards Motorized Infantry Taman' Division imeni M. I. Kalinin has soldiers belonging to 32 nationalities. Members of 26 nationalities are training to become officers at the Tashkent Higher Combined-Arms Command School imeni V. I. Lenin. Every military collective is multinational. And every collective, together with the entire Soviet people, is preparing to celebrate the notable event properly.

Extensive competition has been initiated in the armed forces in honor of the great anniversary of the USSR under the slogan "Let Us Guard the Peaceful Labor of the Soviet People Dependably!" It was started by the personnel of a rocket unit (commanded by Lt Col I. Shelestov), a guards tank regiment (commanded by Guards Lt Col S. Kiselev) which has twice been an order winner, an antiaircraft rocket regiment (commanded by Col V. Parshikov), a Guards Red Banner bomber regiment (commanded by Guards Lt Col V. Sadikov), and the crew of a nuclear missile submarine (Captain First Rank V. Zhuravlev commanding).

...."Enemy" aircraft tried to attack an important target within the perimeter of our forces. They were intercepted by fighter aircraft. The assignment of Military Flyer First Class Captain S. Klyat was particularly difficult. In an effort to avoid pursuit, the "enemy" airplane took evasive action and created interference. However, the experienced flyer won out... During a night exercise in tactical training, the personnel of a motorized infantry battalion commanded by Guards Captain S. Kapitonov distinguished themselves by successfully repelling an "enemy" counterattack and firmly defending the position they had captured.... Sailing a stormy ocean, specialists of the electrical engineering combat unit commanded by party member Sr Lt Engineer

V. Ivanov made comprehensive repairs on a diesel generator and made the ship operational.

Persistent effort is being made to ensure the successful implementation of the plans for combat and political training and the socialist pledges at tank staging areas and training grounds, in classrooms and vehicle depots, above the clouds and on the world's oceans -- wherever Soviet soldiers serve. A situation as similar as possible to real combat is created in each class and exercise. The training rhythm is constantly accelerating, norms are being met and the troops are trying to use the equipment at maximal capacity. The campaign to extend engine life and to conserve electric power and to encourage a thrifty attitude toward military and people's property has become widespread. The troops' objective is clear: to strengthen discipline further and to reach a new level of combat readiness in their units and subunits.

As always, in any undertaking and in all stages of the great combat path of our armed forces, the army and navy party members are in the vanguard of the competition. As they prepare for the all-army conference of primary party organization secretaries, the party collectives of units and ships are mobilizing the personnel in the struggle for the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks set by the party for the armed forces.

...Moscow is in the midst of a February snowstorm. The poppies are beginning to blossom in Turkmeniya. Navy ships are departing on long voyages from the Far Eastern shores. The rocket-launching crews are on battle watch. Paratroopers are welcoming the dawn in the mountains of Afghanistan....

It is an ordinary winter day, a day of combat training.

5

Problems in the current activities of the joint armed forces were discussed and corresponding resolutions were adopted at the regular meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Defense of Warsaw Pact Member Nations in Moscow at the beginning of December 1981.

The committee members were received by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. He expressed his satisfaction with the work accomplished by the committee and wished the ministers further success in strengthening the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact members.

This defensive military and political alliance of fraternal countries has been carrying out its tasks successfully for more than a quarter of a century. During that time it has strengthened substantially, the defense potential of the joint armed forces has increased and the troops and navies have improved their ability efficiently to resolve the most complex combat problems under different sets of circumstances, using modern weaponry. Cooperation among the fraternal armies is becoming ever stronger. In the course of joint exercises, the solutions to problems in interaction are being

developed; the training of commanders, staffs and army and navy forces is being perfected; ground, air and sea training is being tested; and more effective means of combat by coalition groups are being sought. The battle friendship and comradeship among the troops of the allied armies, raised in a spirit of socialist internationalism and friendship with the working people of the fraternal countries, become stronger during the exercises.

Several days before the start of the "Brotherhood in Arms-80" Exercise, the Soviet troops were invited to the V. I. Lenin Museum in (Zasnitz). In another city, USSR and GDR seamen and the local population laid a wreath at the monument to the victims of fascism.

A solemn meeting was held for the presentation of the Honor Flag of the German-Soviet Friendship Society to the "Donetskiy Shakhter" Landing Ship of the Twice Red-Flag Order Bearer Baltic Fleet. In his address, E. Muckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member and society president, expressed the firm conviction that the ship's crew will carry the baton of the brotherhood in arms in worthy fashion. During that exercise, the troops of the allied armies proved once again by their actions that the baton of the brotherhood in arms is in reliable hands. Captain Third Rank A. Nazarenko, skipper of the "Donetskiy Shakhter," and officers K. Kaplin, S. Tarasenko and S. Veretennikov acted efficiently, firmly and with dedication in carrying out their assignments. Captain Second Rank E. Schultze, commander of a group of GDR Navy medium larding ships, and officers P. Draner, G. Flor and G. Schirecher also displayed great skill and initiative. The names of Soviet and German officers were mentioned together when the results of the exercise were summed up.

In recent years, joint training and field exercises have become competitive in nature through the practical exchange of experience in the organization of the training process and socialist competition. Recently, the tank battalion commanded by Major V. Sviderskiy carried out all of its combat training assignments under difficult mountain forest conditions during a tactical training exercise. The tankmen successfully interacted with sub-units of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The combined-arms battalion commanded by Guards Captain V. Krott distinguished itself in a tactical exercise. The battalion included a Soviet tank company commanded by Senior Lieutenant V. Artem'yev, a Polish tank company commanded by Lieutenant J. Dolinski and a Czechoslovak motorized infantry company commanded by Second Lieutenant M. Faltis. Marshal of the Soviet Union V. G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the joint armed forces, gave the tactical and fire training of the troops a high rating and issued a citation to the personnel of the combined-arms battalion.

The armies of the socialist comity are fulfilling their patriotic and international duty, shoulder to shoulder in monolithic ranks. Their combat fraternity, bequeathed to them by their fathers and grand-fathers, passed the test of iron and blood in the joint struggle against Hitlerite fascism.

In September 1944, at Hill 534 on the approach to the Dukla Pass, Hero of the Soviet Union Sr Lt Antonin Sokhor showed unrivaled staunchness and spirit. Carrying out the order of Brigadier General L. Svoboda, commander of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps, this officer attacked at the head of a subunit

of submachine gunners whom he infected with his courage and fearlessness. A hand grenade exploded beside Sokhorov in one of the clashes with the Hitlerites.... The field hospital surgeons removed 218 minute fragments from the body of the courageous officer.

Lt Col Ludvig Sokhor, the hero's son, is a worthy heir to his father's combat fame. He is one of the most enthusiastic propagandists of the military traditions in the N unit of the Czechoslovak People's Army. Always on his desk is the collection "Tactics Through Combat Examples (Platoon, Company, Battalion, Regiment)" issued by the Soviet Voyennoye Izdatel'stvo. Lt Col Sokhor derives his belief that today's armed defenders of socialism must constantly learn from the heroes of the senior generations how to fight courageously for the native land and to defeat any foe for the sake of freedom and peace and the triumph of our lofty ideals from his training at the Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze in Moscow, his encounters with Soviet officers from the Central Group of Forces, and his creative application of their front-line experience in training and exercises, in the same battle ranks, shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, like brothers, forever.

For the past 64 years, the Soviet soldier has stood as a monolithic guard of honor in defense of the socialist fatherland. Throughout this time, he has never even for a minute left his post. He has vigilantly and reliably protected everything entrusted to him by the people in difficult times of war and days of peaceful labor, in heat and frost, at sunny high noon and at midnight. His dedication to the communist party, loyalty to military duty and love for the fatherland make him fearless in mortal combat, firm in the face of any difficulty and strong in severe and hard trials. The soldier's heart is always full of the kind of emotion for the homeland which was described so warmly and with such feeling by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences]: "There is a vivid feeling in us for the vast and great homeland, which in times of danger and great trials, suddenly becomes painfully close and precious to us, from one end of it to the other."

Yes, painfully close and precious, down to the smallest blade of grass in the field and to the most distant star in the sky. Your range is endless, homeland, limitless are your fields and forests, but all of this you have put into the soldier's heart, full of burning and insatiable love for you.

In times of military concern and work, sadness and joy, worry and doubt, the soldier thinks of his great homeland. His love, tenderness and life are focused on it. It is his hope, his comfort, his pride and glory. And if danger threatens the fatherland, the soldier, responding to the call of the party, will bravely and daringly face the danger and undertake a feat which will smash any aggressor, any foe.

As did his grandfathers and fathers, without fearing to lose his blood or life itself.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003
CSO: 1802/9

TWENTY-SIXTH CPSU CONGRESS AND INTENSIFICATION STRATEGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 25-36

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences S. Kheyman]

[Text] The steady and systematic intensification policy is one of the main prerequisites for reaching the socioeconomic development targets for the USSR in the 1980s and in subsequent years. The completion of the conversion of the economy to primarily intensive development demands the further elaboration of the strategy and tactics for this conversion and determination of the main intensification reserves, taking the possible alternative solutions to any set of problems into account.

For example, increasing the volume of output of food crop output is not the only way to meet the need for food products. This can also be achieved by reducing crop losses in all the phases of shipment from the producer to the consumer. Meat resources can be increased by expanding the size of the cattle herds and increasing the production of feed crops. This can also be facilitated by developing more productive cattle breeds and developing industrial feed production, as a result of which a smaller quantity of feed grain and other crops will yield a higher volume of feed units with better nutritional qualities, and by ensuring better preservation of the feed in proper storage areas.

The construction of premises and sheds for tractors, combines and other machinery would lead to a substantial increase in the amount of available machinery without increasing the production of such items. For example, between 1971 and 1980 agriculture was supplied with 3,474,000 tractors totaling 261 million horsepower, 988,000 grain harvesting combines, 2,027,000 trucks and a great deal of other equipment. During that period the fleet expanded by 584,000 tractors totaling 80 million horsepower, 100,000 grain harvesting combines and 461,000 trucks. In other words, between 79 and 85 percent of all of this equipment went to replace equipment which had been written off largely because of missing parts and faulty assembly and poor storage, operation and repairs.

Truck haulage can be augmented by increasing the production and number of trucks suited for the poor roads on which equipment wears out rapidly. The same objective could be achieved by building good roads, which would enable us to increase traveling speed and fleet capacity.

The extensive use of automatic loaders raises truck productivity. For a 5-ton truck, this increase would amount to 10-17 percent. The capital and labor intensiveness of this solution are considerably less than is the case when the production of trucks which must be loaded and unloaded manually is increased.

But let us go on. No more than 2 percent of the labor outlay for the production and operation of ZIL-model trucks goes to production; technical servicing accounts for 35 percent, running repairs for 54 percent and capital repairs for 9 percent. The expediency of increasing outlays for improving the quality of the trucks in order to achieve vastly operational savings is self-evident.

Finally, in terms of import problems, we could spend more foreign exchange on purchasing complete technological units with electronic controls for the priority sectors. Although most of the price goes for the metal used and the machining of basic assemblies, they can successfully be manufactured by our domestic industry; we could also concentrate on importing (while speeding up our own output to meet the requirements of civilian sectors) control and electronic systems which can be used by our domestic machine-tool building industry. We could thereby obtain four or five times the present volume of complex modern equipment units. This approach would also make our machine building industry more competitive on foreign markets.

This is merely a short list of alternative problems the solution of which should be based on the intensification policy.

Intensification Guidelines

"Translated into the language of practical accomplishments," the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress states, "economic intensification and increased efficiency mainly mean that production results increase faster than production outlays and more is achieved with relatively less resources." Let us emphasize that it is a question of overall labor and material outlays. A look at the contribution made by labor productivity to the increase in output, considered as a yardstick for the share contributed by intensive factors regardless of the way material resources are utilized, could result in a distorted image of the real state of affairs.

Our country achieved spectacular success in the development of its material and technical base in the 1970s. Its leading component -- productive capital -- more than doubled in a 10-year period (it increased 216 percent). The new possibilities created by scientific and technical progress were widely utilized in this connection. However, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, "vast funds are being invested in the national economy... Productive capital is increasing steadily and new labor resources are being recruited. However, our end results fall below what they should be and what our potential warrants. This leads to disproportions, shortages and inadequate reserves." Between 1961 and 1970, productive capital in the USSR national economy increased by an annual average of 8.8 percent; it increased by 7.4 during the entire 10th Five-Year Plan and by 7.0 percent in 1979-1980. As we can see, this is quite a significant slow-

down. Within that period, the increase in the utilized national income (for consumption and accumulation) was 6.4, 3.8 and 2.9 percent annually, which hardly corresponds to the dynamics of the productive capital. It is this gap precisely which the emphasis on intensive development must eliminate, above all.

What are the main intensification guidelines?

The present socialization of socialist production, which V. I. Lenin discussed, is inseparably linked with intensification. Greater efficiency for both the producer and the consumer is an important guideline goal in the process of socialization and intensification. The output of a given production facility must operate and be used for its specific purpose economically, reliably and productively, on the basis of its technological and qualitative characteristics.

Intensification means the extraction of all useful components from the initial raw or other material and comprehensive shortening of the length of the production cycle. The preservation of the quantity and consumer qualities of the product and the reduction and elimination of losses in all the stages of its dynamics are its inseparable and most important characteristics. The system of savings which was discussed at the 26th congress means not only saving on production outlays but on everything produced through the labor of the Soviet people. Socialism is developing along an ascending line, for which reason the volume of output has been growing and will continue to do so throughout the foreseeable future. However, a particularly thrifty attitude toward the results of its labor must be inherent in the socialist society. It is this that determines the major economic and moral importance of the struggle against losses and their accurate determination, as a result of which we shall be able to establish and take into systematic account the amounts of the end product produced and preserved. We believe that from the viewpoint of the national economy, only the products -- whether productive capital or consumer goods -- which reach the consumer in proper condition, both in terms of quantity and and consumer properties, should be considered end production results. This requires a knowledge of the anatomy of the losses suffered within the national economy, which will provide us with an opportunity to gain a full idea of the actual resources available to the consumer and the accumulations at the disposal of society. Such knowledge in itself will act as an intensification factor. The anatomy of losses becomes a guide for determining available reserves. The more specific it is the clearer the routes leading to intensification become. It would also be possible to determine the gross public product indicator, instead of using the present method for its computation, on the basis of the amounts of goods used in the course of the production process, i.e., by excluding from it all production losses. "...It is only in the consumption process," K. Marx wrote, "that a product becomes a true product" (K. Marx and F. Engels "Soch." [Works], Vol 46. part 1, p 27).

Such determination of the utilization of end production results is of vital importance to a socialist society. It must be taken into consideration in drafting the national economic plan and in the development of investment programs, for the outlays related to losses in the reproduction process and

the investments in measures aimed at eliminating and preventing such losses are, in our view, equivalent and, in the final account, interchangeable.

Another most important intensification guideline is related to this. As was indicated at the 26th congress, intensification means that production results increase faster than outlay, i.e., there is a dynamic process which can always be measured accurately. This means that an objective assessment of the condition and dynamics of intensification requires an uncompromising struggle to ensure the accuracy and truthfulness of accountability data on outlays and results at all production levels and stages. However, the practice of padding and direct or indirect inflation of the quantitative and qualitative indicators of enterprise work results and the often baseless amendment of plans have become quite widespread. Such practices result in major negative social consequences. The disparity between obvious actual and reported results, which is quite evident to the collectives, reduces labor discipline, worsens the attitude toward labor and adversely affects the attitude toward socialist property. Socialist production must and can play a most important role in the transformation of the working man and in his socialist upbringing in the course of the labor process. This task cannot be implemented where padding has become a routine practice. On the contrary, this encourages the erosion of moral values. The practice of amending plans has a similar effect. It disorganizes the production process, corrupts the cadres and teaches them irresponsibility. Padding and unjustified plan amendment are incompatible with intensification.

This set of problems is of major basic and theoretical importance. The absence of unemployment, rivalry and bankruptcy is inherent in the socialist system. This is one of its major socioeconomic advantages. Socialism prevents these cruel developments by planning, cost effectiveness and socialist competition. However, in order for these mechanisms to play their progressive role, the results of the activities of each economic unit must be presented such as to show their true and unembellished aspects. In talking about the organization of public production, Lenin emphasized the need for accurate and objective accounting of "the practical results of the management by the individual communes..." The purpose of cost effectiveness is to identify viable and unviable units. Padding and unjustified amendment prevent this. They equalize all units and fraudulently create an illusion of effectiveness where in fact it does not exist.

The Components of Intensification: Technology - Structure - Organization

In describing the conditions for completing the conversion to primarily intensive development, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th congress that "Planning, a scientific and technical and structural policy, ...the economic management methods and a policy of management must be subordinated to the solution of this problem."

Marx wrote that intensive development means the "application of more effective production means" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 24, p 193). The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and its application in production must be organically combined with progress in intensification. The first condition here is real novelty in the new equipment and systematic

updating of the existing equipment. This means we must ensure steadily increasing reliability and a longer service life for machines and mechanisms. It would be expedient for the producers of equipment to plan for its subsequent updating by modernizing the main operating assemblies (replacing them with new ones), thus essentially retaining the basic -- the most material and labor intensive -- components. This is the type of intensive method indicated in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which stipulates that "...the module principle involving the utilization of standardized assemblies and units must be extensively applied in the development of new machines, equipment, apparatus and instruments."

This principle must be utilized in order substantially to reduce manual and unskilled labor and to ensure the comprehensive mechanization and extensive automation of the production process. It will lower the cost of machines and equipment per unit of end results. All of these are important components of intensification.

The progress achieved in the basic and applied sciences is being materialized in the development of new methods for acting upon, processing and transforming natural substances. It is precisely the sum of these methods which constitutes the main content of technology. The purpose of the equipment is to turn this technology "into metal," into operational labor tools. At the same time, in the course of the development of the tools, improvements and often radical basic changes are made in the various functional assemblies of equipment. This, in turn, stimulates technological changes.

In order for this progress in equipment and technology to promote intensification, the directions in the technical policy formulated in the materials of the 26th congress must be pursued, as follows:

Production and wider application of automation facilities and automated manipulators (industrial robots) and built-in automatic control systems using microprocessors and microcomputers;

Raising the unit capacity of machines and equipment to its optimal limit. In our view, it is equally necessary to broaden the range of equipment parameters so that they will be as close as possible to the parameters of the labor tools they are used to process (or the freight they are called upon to haul). This will enable us to eliminate the problem of excess capacity (as compared with the operation being performed), which is quite widespread, and, therefore, unjustified labor and material outlays as well.

Ensuring the flexible use of equipment and technology and, on this basis, making a successful adaptation of the production process to the renovation of types and models of goods, to changing requirements and to progress in the area of labor tools possible, is a prerequisite for intensification. The extensive application of the new facilities created by science to influence the behavior of materials -- electrochemical, plasma, laser and other types -- and the means of intensifying technological processes in widely varied sectors, as well as chemical, biological and other catalysts and stimulants, constitutes a direct factor in intensification. This is the purpose of few-

step, low-waste and waste-free technological processes and the extraction and expedient use of all useful components of the extracted raw materials and waste, whether industrial or not.

The technical policy of intensification earmarked by the 26th congress includes the use of the main achievements in scientific and technical progress to save on social labor. The development of nuclear energy and nonconventional energy sources (solar, wind, tide, geothermal) should result in substantial conservation of nonrecoverable mineral fuels. The use of solid state physics in radically improving the structure of conventional materials and the creation of a broad range of polymer materials provide the conditions for the effective replacement of many labor and capital intensive and increasingly scarce conventional materials of industrial and agricultural origin. The utilization of the achievements in biological science makes possible the development of various biotechnological processes which improve production effectiveness radically.

It is man who develops and carries out intensification, which requires the development of adequate labor conditions, such as equipment with the necessary ergonomic qualities and suitably comfortable, easy and minimally monotonous working conditions. This will also represent a contribution to the creation of a vital good for man -- creative and satisfactory labor.

The structural policy and the public production structure which develops under its influence must ensure coordination of the end product and the steadily changing and increasingly complex sum of social requirements.

On the one hand, the production structure (sectorial, functional and organizational) is one of the instruments for the implementation of technological policy, for it determines the volume and ratio for the creation and practical dissemination of new equipment, technology and materials and also the ratio between this and conventional equipment. On the other hand, it materially implements the progress in the division of labor and leads to the development of specialized sectors and production facilities, i.e., it carries out the organizational policy of the socialist state on the level of the public production process as a whole and creates the material prerequisites for intensification.

One of the most important functions of the structural policy is to surmount inertial trends in the national economy and the development of the production process -- its equipment, technology, sectorial structure and, to a certain extent, its organization.

In order to achieve all of this, the structure must become a direct planning target, not in terms of its individual components but as a starting portion of the plan, thus determining the planned assignments.

It seems to us that in the 1980s, the following problems will have to be resolved in the area of improving the social production structure:

The lag in the production infrastructure, in which speedier development is needed, the cause of the greatest losses of the public product and one of the

main obstructions to the intensification process. The volume of losses related to the inadequate size of the existing infrastructure exceeds the outlay required to develop it. The policy of intensification means that capital investments in measures to eliminate the causes of resource losses must enjoy unconditional priority over investments designed to ensure a further increase in these resources. Compensating for resource losses through investment in the expansion of resource volume is in conflict with the course set by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The structure of the basic heavy industry complexes requires the elimination of rather strong inertial trends. The metallurgy-machine building complex and the situation of metal consumption in machine building provide a case in point. As we know, the USSR is the leading steel producer in the world. However, according to the experts, the output volume of our machine building and metal processing sectors is equivalent to 75-80 percent of the U. S. volume, with construction and assembly operations on almost the same scale. However, ferrous metals are among the materials in very short supply in our country. Metal intensiveness in domestic machine building is excessively high. In speaking of the installation of new metallurgical capacities, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "...There is also another way to eliminate the shortage of metal -- more skillful and complete utilization of the output." Reducing waste in metallurgy and losses from corrosion, improving quality and increasing the production of substitutes are the links in this chain of problems.

The variety of rolled metal goods is of great importance in terms of intensification. We must systematically increase the proportion of rolled metal sheets, particularly the thin and cold-rolled varieties. In the USSR, this proportion falls considerably below that in the United States, Japan and the largest Western European countries.

The result is paradoxical: the machine builders "have no need" of many types of sheets since the designers, accustomed to the existing shortages, specify rolled metal. Therefore the metallurgical workers do not increase sheet production, and the machine-tool builders, in turn, fail to fulfill their plans for the production of pressing and forging equipment because of "low demand." In the final account, the metallurgical machine-building industry fails to produce the quantity of modern equipment needed for the manufacture of high-quality sheets, particularly the thin varieties. The circle is complete and inertia has triumphed.

Almost 7 million tons of shaving waste was created by the machine builders in the course of processing ferrous metals in 1980. Sheets accounted for 47.8 percent of the increase in the output of finished rolled metal goods in the USSR between 1966 and 1980, and thin sheets accounted for no more than 35 percent. Our ferrous metallurgy sector failed to make proper use of the substantial capital investments put into the production of rolled metal products in order to surmount the inertial trends in the development of a more progressive rolled metal structure.

Inertial trends also "won out" in steel smelting. As we know, the most progressive steel production methods today are the oxygen converter

(developed in the USSR) and the electric smelting methods. Suffice it to note that smelting a batch using the Martin process takes from 8 to 12 hours, while the oxygen converter method takes only a few hours. Between 1960 and 1977, the United States closed down almost 90 percent of its Martin facilities (which accounted for only 15.6 percent of the total amount of steel smelted in 1978). Japan has terminated Martin steel smelting entirely. Our metallurgical sector increased Martin steel smelting by yet another 38 million tons. It accounted for almost two thirds of the total and more than two fifths of the entire production increase in 1980. It is obvious that these new Martin furnaces (now obsolete equipment) can block the advance in the technical retooling of steel smelting for a number of years.

Similar inertial trends exist in other processing industry sectors as well.

The unresolved structural problems in machine building are most closely related to its organizational problems. Along with the need for a further increase in the output of technological equipment for the basic production sectors, the following must play a substantially greater role in the structure of output:

finishing equipment, which ensures high quality in the equipment produced and the end product manufactured with this equipment;

means for mechanizing the lifting, assembling and dismantling processes;

means of automation, including automated manipulators, scientific instrument manufacturing and development of a variety of experimental systems for scientific research and experimentation;

equipment for the infrastructural sectors;

vending machines and equipment for public catering and consumer service enterprises;

equipment for the nonproduction sphere;

replacement and spare parts and assemblies for the operating and updating of all the types of equipment produced.

The solution of these problems requires an increase in the capacity and a considerable upgrading of the technical standard in machine-tool building and in the sectors being equipped with machine tools.

Production Organization Problems

The production structure and its technical equipment determine what the potential of a system is. The active force which converts this potential into practical accomplishments is organization -- the expedient combination in time and space of all material and personal production elements, their intensive utilization and the development of all direct and inverse relations within the public production process. In our view, three closely interlinked groups of problems can be distinguished in this organizational complex.

The first pertains to the organization of the process which governs the functioning of production forces, i. e., the expedient division and cooperation of labor and functions such as to ensure the intensive development of public production at all levels, as follows:

a. on the level of the primary production unit, this applies to the standardization of the assemblies and parts of the goods produced and also of technological processes; the specialization of shops and production sectors and establishment of progressive organization of production and the labor in them; the utilization of ergonomic achievements in designing labor tools and ensuring the rational organization of the workplace; development of the most expedient methods and creation of optimal working conditions; the elimination of possible working and production time losses and shortening of the production cycle.

Let us point out that in domestic industrial practice, insufficient attention is being paid to enterprise production organization. As a rule, there is no special production organization service;

b. on the level of the sector and sectorial complex, organizational problems related to production specialization, cooperation and concentration;

b. on the level of the overall material production process, the solution of the groups of organizational problems involves ensuring the balancing of plans and systematically developing sufficiently flexible production reserves of productive capital and production capacities which will meet all the needs of the producers and consumers.

The second group of organizational problems involves the formulation and utilization of a system of planning and accountability indicators and the determination of criteria for assessing the results of economic activities and the functional limits of cost effectiveness; incentive principles and systems applicable to the participants in production, i.e., all aspects of the direct economic mechanism and the principles and methods for the organization of competition among the working people's collectives.

The third group of problems is related to production management itself and to ensuring efficient relations among production units, associations, sectorial ministries, the Gosplan, with its sectorial departments, and the regional organs and sectorial subdivisions of the party apparatus.

This means that along with and on the basis of the social program for the development and strategy of social and economic objectives, we must formulate the objectives and strategy of organizational development, the national economic plan for labor division and cooperation and for regular control over its implementation, as well as a strategy and plans with a view to production intensification.

At the present time, each of the basic sectors has developed the specific production structure and equipment, technological and organizational-production traditions which alone can ensure the achievement of a modern technological level and economic production effectiveness.

We believe that the most important organizational reserves for intensification are related precisely to the fact that today most production sectors are processing an increasingly large proportion of resources not in specialized, concentrated and highly developed production facilities, but in enterprises "owned" by many ministries and departments, or, in the case of many sectors, in "their own" auxiliary and service shops and production facilities, i.e., essentially outside the standards of a given sector and in an environment "alien" to the type of production involved. It can be said that to a certain extent, our economy is increasingly changing from a sectorial to a departmental economy.

As we know, the party called for an orientation based on the needs of the consumer. Unfortunately, all too frequently this absolutely necessary course is "implemented" by turning the consumer into a producer. Many economic managers, some of them holding very senior positions, consider this method correct and worthy of dissemination. One can sympathize with them, for they very often note that all or most of what they have requested is not received, or not at least when they need it. Sometimes their requests are not honored at all. That is why in many cases, the superior organizations "come to their aid." Such behavior can also be explained. Serving the consumer by turning him into a producer is the "safest" alternative: the manager involved can be "held accountable" and he cannot blame anyone else: he has "his own" machine building facilities, "his own" timber procurement and mills, "his own" automotive transportation sector, and, as they used to say in the past, "no anonymity" whatever. Once converted into producers, the consumers realize all this and tell their superiors: "You do not want us to have our own facilities? Then do not ask us for anything." Such a dialog frequently ends in their "victory."

Let us take machine building as an example. Calculations covering 29 machine building sectors have indicated that at enterprises under the jurisdiction of "their own" ministries in terms of sectorial affiliation, labor productivity is 20 percent, and capital returns 25 percent. These figures are higher than those for enterprises in the same sectors but within the system of consumer ministries. Furthermore, repair and machine shops in nonmachine-building enterprises have substantial quantities of metal processing equipment, which is being used extremely poorly. The number of employees (including the personnel of machine and repair shops in nonmachine-building enterprises) in machine building and machine servicing engaged in caring for and repairing equipment has become substantial.

Therefore, huge amounts of surplus equipment, which under these circumstances is indeed vital, inevitably becomes a concomitant of this type of "barter economy." All of this absorbs a substantial number of skilled workers and contributes to the shortage of machine-tool workers and to the low level of labor and material utilization.

This "barter economy" also constitutes a major obstacle to technical progress. It restricts the potential for the effective utilization of highly productive equipment. Finally, it is the greatest obstacle to the rational organization of sectorial management, adversely affecting both the subject and the object of management.

Naturally, the elimination of this "barter economy" in one fell swoop, without thorough preparation, could do irreparable harm. However, if it continues to exist, there is the danger of further widening of the gap between resources and production results, a phenomenon which is hindering the development of our economy. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary systematically to curtail and limit the "barter economy" and to create conditions for the gradual replacement of it with specialized production facilities. In our view, it is necessary above all to ensure real balancing of the plans and to develop reserves of all resources, including reserve production capacities. The solution of this rather difficult problem will enable us gradually to eliminate shortages, which provide fertile ground for the expansion of the "barter economy" and increasingly "omnivorous" consumers. This, in turn, means a lack of effective incentives for producers to undertake the real technological advancement of their output.

It is necessary to have small and well-equipped enterprises which can fill orders for the production of single or small-series technical and other systems and a variety of specialized technological implements. Under the existing circumstances, all such items are being produced by the so-called "third machine-building" sector -- the machine shops of nonmachine-building plants. It is entirely obvious that in this situation there cannot even be any question of any kind of intensification.

To some extent a similar role could be played by "miniplants" in ferrous metallurgy. The creation of such plants is stipulated in the "Basic Directions" in areas in which scrap iron accumulates and metal goods are consumed. Such plants could also meet the needs of the machine building industry for small batches of shaped iron goods, relieving the large metallurgical plants of the need to do such work.

Yet another condition is related to the nature and line of specialized output, and is mainly applicable to machine building. Most machine-building ministries and a large number of plants have developed item-sectorial specialization. However, this has led to the development of certain contradictions between the need to satisfy consumer demand for certain kinds of equipment and the need to ensure the economic effectiveness of the machine-building output itself in the course of the development of a given technological system.

In creating machine systems for the comprehensive technological equipping of one production sector or another, the association or ministry involved is obliged to produce a very broad range of equipment and to organize "its own" production of the entire range assemblies, parts and machines needed, i.e. once again to develop a "barter economy."

However, as science and technology advance, the existence of identical or similar functional assemblies and parts (in terms of shape) common to a broad variety of machines is becoming increasingly evident. "Elementary parts" used by all machines are becoming increasingly common. All such could and should be normalized, unified and, in time, standardized. Correspondingly, their manufacture could be separated and specialized on a functional basis

(as in the bearings manufacturing industry); conditions could be created for block (modular) design, engineering and production of equipment through the manufacture of such functional assemblies on a centralized basis (in many cases using mass production methods and equipment).

This would enable associations and ministries to resolve their problems without developing a "barter economy." The resolutions of the 26th congress call for including the systematic expansion (plant for plant) of the capacities of such sectors in the national economic plans. This could include small but well-equipped specialized enterprises. Practical experience has indicated that radical solutions which are technically truly revolutionary develop precisely under the conditions provided by functional separation and specialization in the production of a specific item, and the adoption of a strictly functional approach to engineering and technological solutions.

The establishment of a network of machine-building enterprises based on functional specialization will make it possible to focus technological thinking on the search for essentially new solutions which determine lead to real progress, and above all, on the working parts of technical facilities, making use of properly advanced and already developed functional assemblies. This trend is related to a very important, progressive and highly promising undertaking which has been most extensively developed in our electrical engineering industry -- functional cost analysis (FSA). It is a question of developing the optimal variants of designs, equipment and technology not for the purpose of manufacturing one item or another, but to perform a specific function and to compute the cost of the project.

Changes in the organization of machine-servicing processes constitutes the next and very important organizational condition for eliminating the trend toward the development of a "barter economy."

Machine building must play a leading active role in the investment process. This task was formulated in the report which Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, submitted at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The purpose of this sector is not only to produce modern equipment, but also to contribute actively to its effective use by the consumer." The lengthy periods of time needed to "master" new capacities are such that machine building is not performing this obligation. Equipment must be delivered ready for use. Systems, guaranteed servicing and repairs, and complete availability of the necessary sets of replacement and spare parts and assemblies and, as the process improves, assemblies and parts for updating the equipment, must be provided (by the producers) for all type of equipment (and codified in state standards). In our view, the guaranteed parameters should include the useful life of the equipment. In an economy operating on a scale such as ours, the consistent and comprehensive development of machine servicing facilities, with enterprises located in the areas where the equipment involved is concentrated, is necessary. A specialized repair industry must be created at the same time.

The proclamation of a policy of intensification merely gives impetus to the launching of the process. It demands of each performer and most of all of

managers at all levels some thought, serious creative and organizational efforts and stricter exigency with regard to them and their activities.

Intensification is not only a problem of equipment, technology, economics and organization, but also, to a great extent, psychology. The adoption of an intensive path of development must become an intrinsic assumption in the thinking of managers and performers at all levels. Many aspects of this way of thinking must be changed. We must mentally convert from the stereotype which calls for "obtaining resources, producing the planned volume of output, reducing production costs, ensuring "one's own" effectiveness, making "for oneself, at home" that which one cannot be certain of obtaining otherwise, and producing everything in greater amounts, whether in tons, meters or pieces, confident that the consumer will take everything anyway, so that there is no need for concern about the fate of one's output once it has left the factory gates" to thinking with a view to:

ensuring the optimal satisfaction of social requirements in terms of volume, quality features and procurement deadlines;

ensuring the proper conditions for the preservation and more effective utilization of the goods produced ; carrying out as many operations "at home" as possible, which will facilitate the use of the goods produced by the consumer;

bringing all production parameters for capital and consumer goods as close as possible to the requirements of the consumer; all output in all sectors (not only in custom clothing tailor shops) should be "tailored" to the consumer;

finding the least resource-intensive solutions, extracting and making efficient use of all useful components contained in the initial raw or other materials, regardless of who has "jurisdiction" over such components;

purchasing items manufactured by specialized producers, insofar as possible.

Conversion to intensive development presumes that all of these aspects will be incorporated in the thinking of managers from the shop to the ministry and the Gosplan level. Naturally, their development and dissemination cannot be based any kind of "economic altruism." All such aspects must be backed and stimulated by a corresponding price-setting, planning and incentive policy.

We have already noted instances of unjustified plan amendment and padding. To a certain extent, some organizational-structural conditions conceal such trends. This is related to the work of sectorial ministries and territorial organs.

Currently the ministries are playing a double role. They are seen as governmental organs which control and supervise the activities of enterprises on the basis of national positions, rather than acting as "associated enterprises." In practice, however, the ministries have been put in the position of organs which are actively responsible for the work of the enterprises, and they frequently act not as controllers but as senior work organizers and big production associations. As such, they quite frequently try to reduce pro-

duction obligations, inflate their resource requirements and embellish the results of economic activities. They become an "umbrella" which conceals all of these quite negative tendencies. The desire to "achieve" good results so that a rayon, city, oblast or republic can submit a favorable "report" is found in the various territorial organs as well. To this end, ministries frequently "transfer" the planned results of enterprises doing proper work to those doing poor work.

As a result, the nonviable units do not have any firm incentive to improve their work radically, while those doing proper work lose any incentive to achieve further progress. Obviously, organizational measures must be adopted in this connection, which will upgrade the role, rights and responsibilities of ministries and shift the focus of their responsibility to the planning and formulation of sectorial technical policy and structure.

Such a reorganization in the pattern of thinking is a very important component of the intensification process. The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress are a powerful booster of this process and a base for the successful solution of the historical problems in the building of communism.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003
CSO:1802/9

POPULATION CONSUMER SERVICES: INTERSECTORIAL ASPECTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 37-46

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Koryagina and Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Rutgayzer]

[Text] A further increase in the people's well-being is the main target of the party's economic strategy for the 1980s. "Increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods and developing the service industry have acquired prime importance in the party's efforts to enhance the well-being of the people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress. The solution of major social problems and improving the living conditions and way of life of the Soviet people are social development tasks which depend increasingly today on the scale and quality of the work of such major national economic sectors as population consumer services.

Today the material base of consumer services consists of nearly 300,000 enterprises and 150,000 reception centers. Over the past 20 years, the total volume of goods and services it has provided has increased by a factor of 9.3, to a total of 11.5 billion rubles (including the cost of raw and other materials) in 1980. Service enterprises employ 2.6 million working people, as compared with under one million in 1960. In the past 15 years, more than 5 million rubles of capital investment (in comparable prices) have been channeled into the development of the sector's material and technical base. This has contributed to the virtually total renovation of capital assets in this sector.

Population services have already accumulated a considerable industrial potential. Now its efficient utilization has become particularly important. The formulation of this task is very topical. It is based on the task of converting the Soviet economy to intensive development by increasing the efficient utilization of resources in all economic areas. Obviously, investment opportunities for the development of population services will not be as extensive during the next decade as they were in the past. The potential for satisfying manpower requirements will also be more limited. Given such circumstances, we believe that improving intersectorial service relations, increasingly orienting services toward the full satisfaction of the requirements of the people and improving the planned management and economic systems in the sector have become quite topical.

The Place of Consumer Services In the System of National Economic Sectors

Today consumer services offer the customer about 900 different types of services. Taken all together, however, what do these represent? According to existing planning and statistical requirements, not all of these services are considered part of a single national economic sector. Most of them are considered individual types of activities of industrial, construction and even agricultural sectors. For example, the services provided by the clothing, shoemaking and knitted goods subsectors of the service industry are considered part of light industry. Furniture repair and custom manufacturing are part of the forest, timber-processing and cellulose-paper industry. Repairs of household appliances and repairs and the custom manufacture of metal goods are part of machine building and metal processing. Photographic, dry-cleaning, laundry and jewelry workshops are classified as "other industrial production." Home repairs and custom housing construction are part of the construction sector. These are the so-called industrial elements in consumer services. Another part of consumer services (which now include barbershops, bathing and showering facilities, hardware stores, etc.) is classified as belonging to the nonproduction economic sector. Actually, it is only this part of consumer services which has been given the status of a separate sector in the nonproduction sphere in accordance with the classification of economic sectors by the USSR Central Statistical Administration.

We believe that classification of activities related to the manufacturing of custom-made consumer goods and the restoration of their consumer qualities within the industrial sectors of the national economy is wrong from the theoretical viewpoint, for it tosses industrial production and services into the same bin. Practically speaking, the statistical classification of the results of the work of organizationally developed sectors poses real problems in terms of further progress for the system of population services.

The sector has tremendous resources for development, the efficient use of which greatly depends on skillful and prompt handling. However, it is precisely such handling that national economic planning cannot anticipate in time, for it is dealing with branches of individual industrial sectors, while the national economy involves various types of consumer services. It is true that in both statistics and planning such services are considered a so-called collective economic sector, although the reasons for such "collectivity" remain unclear. What justified classifying consumer services as a collective but not as a single economic sector enjoying full rights as such, and why is it possible to combine various consumer services although they come under the jurisdiction of different sectors?

The principle of sectorial classification is a complex element in economic statistics and planning. Studies in this area have proved quite convincingly that the use of a single principle here is impossible. Nevertheless, the purpose of the output and the final results of the activities remain the most important characteristics of the system of sectorial classification. In terms of population services, this means satisfying the individual requirements of the population related to household and personal hygiene.

In terms of work performed, population consumer services should be classified as material production. So-called nonproduction consumer services, we estimate, account for no more than 20 percent of the total. This is very much less than the proportion of pure, i.e., nonproduction services in trade. As we know, trade is for practical reasons classified as a production sector of the national economy. Whereas in trade, according to available estimates, pure services represent a growing trend, the nonproduction portion of consumer services should decline, according to forecasts, as a result of changes in the structure of population consumer demand. According to such assessments, over the next 15-20 years their portion of total consumer services may drop to 10-12 percent.

The final objective of the work of service enterprises, which is to meet the individual requirements of the population in domestic life and personal hygiene, is merely the general basis for considering consumer services a separate sector. As the sum of various enterprises and associations, it can also engage in nonspecialized output, like other economic sectors. Thus under some circumstances, consumer services may meet population requirements for goods in mass demand, producing such goods in small batches. Such output is economically justified and, furthermore, is necessary in order to ensure the fuller utilization of capital assets and sectorial labor resources during seasonal slumps in orders for the custom manufacture of consumer goods. But service enterprises should not engage in such activities to the detriment of their basic purpose, which is the satisfaction of individual consumer demand. Unfortunately, however, it is this nonspecialized portion of production in the area of consumer services precisely which is beginning to determine the structure of activities at many enterprises. Let us study this problem in greater detail.

Are Small Batches of Goods Instead of Services Good or Bad?

We know that the volume of the finished goods turned out by service enterprises depends directly on the market situation for goods manufactured by industrial enterprises and, naturally, imports. The scarcity of high-quality goods in the retail trade network, the reduced variety of mass-produced items and the sometimes excessive preoccupation with fashion and seasonal considerations lead to an influx of orders at consumer service enterprises. According to RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services data, no more than 1-3 percent of the product resulting from the sewing of men's suits and 5-8 percent for women's clothing meets the specific requirements of the customers today. The balance, or approximately 95 percent, consists of goods which could be produced perfectly well by light and local industry enterprises. They could be, but alas they are not. This is due to a number of reasons which will not be discussed here. The results of this situation are that enterprises engaged in the production of clothing, shoes, knitted goods and furniture in the service industry become duplicates of the respective industrial subsectors. The extent of the contribution made by such consumer service enterprises to meeting population demand is considerable. Thus, in 1978 they produced more than 70 percent of the woolens, only 30 percent being mass produced. Consumer services produced 25 percent of all the women's outer garments, as well as 25 percent of the men's suits, 9 percent

of the men's overcoats and 22 percent of the men's shirts. These items represent basically scarce goods the production of which is "unprofitable" for industrial enterprises for one reason or another, or items which such enterprises are unable to produce with high quality, for some reason.

How can this phenomenon be dealt with? Is it good or bad that consumer services are "replacing" industrial sectors? No simple answer to this question is possible. Unquestionably, it is good that consumers are obtaining the items they need. As a rule, the production process at service enterprises reacts more efficiently to changes in taste, and they try to update their models more frequently. It is easier for them to reorganize on the basis of fashion than it is for large industrial enterprises. We must also give a positive rating to the role consumer service enterprises play in compensating for shortcomings in the work of industry when it has some difficulty in supplying the population with one high quality item or another (clothing, shoes, furniture).

However, the production of goods in small batches at service enterprises is an uneconomical way of increasing the production of consumer goods from the viewpoint of national economic effectiveness. The point is that the manufacture of an item in an industrial enterprise costs far less than in a service enterprise, where it is more difficult to produce goods using modern equipment and technology. That is precisely why, although the total volume of clothing output at consumer service enterprises is less than 15 percent of the garment industry output (in terms of normative production cost), 20 percent more workers are employed in custom garment making.

In practical terms, service enterprises can compete against industrial ones only because the absence of a turnover tax in the prices they charge enables them to produce similar items at higher production costs. As a result, all other conditions being equal, the production of items by industrial enterprises is more profitable for the state. This is particularly important in view of the limited volume of raw materials needed for the production of consumer goods.

It is not only on the level of these services that the trend toward a greater proportion of consumer services in the production of mass goods can be blocked. Here the upgrading of the quality of the goods procured by the industrial enterprises must play the decisive role. Particularly topical in this connection is the statement made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "...Year after year, the plans for the production of numerous types of consumer goods remain unfulfilled, particularly those for fabrics, knitwear, leather shoes, furniture and television sets. ...Order must be introduced in many of these sectors without delay." A great deal could be accomplished by the service industry itself.

Obviously, another aspect of this trend, the other side of the coin, so to speak, is more important from the consumers' viewpoint. The point is that the production of finished goods in small batches works to the detriment of custom orders, which cannot be met by any facility other than the service industry. The authors of the form "1-Service" Instruction issued by the USSR Central Statistical Administration were well aware of the fact that the main

task of the consumer service industry is to fulfill individual population orders. The second draft of the (1964) instruction stipulated that services to the population must include "work based on documented individual orders from the population (receipts, etc.), properly issued and paid for..." The instruction included the important stipulation that "Items which are not produced by consumer service workshops on the basis of individual requests ...cannot be included in the volume of consumer services performed."

Subsequently, however, these requirements were gradually abandoned. The accounting for the activities of consumer service enterprises regarding goods produced other than on the basis of orders from the people became ever more "liberal." Whereas previously the records on services to the people covering the manufacture of a number of finished products were required to include fittings, this requirement, applicable to a number of collective consumers (boarding schools, old people's homes, etc.), was later eliminated. Finally, the 1972 instruction removed all restrictions governing the classification of ready-made goods as related to population consumer services. According to that text, goods produced in small series without preliminary orders could now be included in their entirety in the records on service to individual consumers. All that was required was that the small series be consistent with properly approved models and with samples for individual orders.

Therefore, starting with 1972, goods production classified as "consumer services for the population" was allowed in the clothing, knitwear, shoe, furniture and several other consumer service subsectors.

The increased volume of small-series output at consumer service enterprises is steadily reducing the capacity of the sector for the actual servicing of individual consumers. Between 1976 and 1980, the volume of services based on individual orders from the people declined in terms of absolute volume as follows for the country at large : shoemaking, by 6.6 million rubles; clothing, 133.3 million; knitted goods, 30.5 million; and furniture, 10.9 million. However, this does not in any way mean that the demand for goods based on individual orders from the population declined during that period. The substantial number of letters written to newspaper editors is evidence that the service enterprises are creating artificial hindrances to the placement of individual orders for custom-made items. Meanwhile, the ineffective (but "profitable") production of commodities has been increasing on a parallel basis. Let us also point out that the marketing of goods produced without advance orders from the people is done either by consumer enterprises specializing in specific areas or a system of comprehensive reception centers, i.e., does not go through the retail trade system. Often, in violation of the instruction, such output is not labeled and sales to the population are recorded on the basis of the receipts issued on individual orders. It is obvious that the standard for trade within the system of services to the people is not as high as that in the general trade network, while turnover costs are higher. In other words, ineffective production of finished goods by service enterprises is combined with an inefficient marketing system. This doubles society's losses.

To go back to the question we raised, let us say that from the standpoint of society as a whole, the production of mass, including small-series, items by service enterprises is entirely acceptable and fully justified only insofar as industrial enterprises are insufficiently oriented toward the production of goods of high quality. Improvement of the conditions governing the production of such commodities on the basis of higher consumer requirements would make it possible to spare service enterprises this additional and extraneous "load" of producing goods in mass demand. Only in such a case would consumer enterprises be able to use the resources needed for the satisfaction of population requirements for the production of truly original items based on actual instead of mythical individual requests and also for providing various repair and custom services. Let us emphasize that this determines the real improvement in the quality of population services. At present, the resources and main efforts of economic managers in this sector are not being channeled toward the solution of this problem, for quantity is the main factor in the production of goods in mass demand. Service quality is ignored simply due to lack of time. The economic orientation of this sector must be changed drastically. This sector must concentrate mainly on providing services to the people and upgrading quality, undertaking the production of goods only when it has free time available for such work, if we may put it that way.

It is true that if this is done, the artificial incentives for increasing population demand for mass-produced goods by service enterprises should be eliminated. Essentially, the current procedures ensure public "subsidizing" of such output. Until recently, this could, generally speaking, be considered justified. Today, however, a number of factors, limited manpower resources above all, require revision of this procedure. It has become vastly preferable for society to develop industrial production, which entails more effective utilization of manpower. Increased production of consumer goods at consumer service enterprises should supplement rather than replace industrial output, as it does today. Naturally, a great deal depends on industry itself. However, in combination with actual improvement in the quality of output, we must ensure more effective control over demand for the items produced by service enterprises. We believe that the prices for items manufactured by service enterprises must be based on those for industrially produced goods. Such prices must ensure the profitability of service enterprises (this has not been achieved so far, particularly in the clothing subsector in certain union republics). Such prices should also create the conditions for the participation of service enterprises in the state income through the payment of turnover and capital asset taxes.

The imperfect procedure governing price setting and the functioning of the financial services in the service industry artificially broadens the range of population demand for goods mass produced by the service enterprises. Proper conditions for the public assessment of production outlays and economic results similar to those in industrial production must be created. This will provide better justification for true consumer demand for such output. Improvements in the management mechanism of the services enterprises themselves must be made as well. This mechanism should make service enterprises more interested in providing real population services than they are now, rather than in the redistribution of development resources benefiting the

mass small-series production of goods. The changes in the management mechanism of service enterprises must absolutely be combined with steps to improve the planned management of their development.

There are also strictly parochial reasons for interest in the production of goods in mass demand. This has to do with the fact that unlike the output of other sectors, including local industry, all consumer goods produced by service enterprises remain on the local market. Thus the service industry becomes a source of self-supply for consumer goods. It is obvious that this can come in conflict with the national principles governing the efficient utilization of resources for the production of consumer goods.

Planned Management and the Economic Mechanism

The need to improve the planned management of population services is based mainly on the need to ensure a unified technological policy for in the sector, one better coordinated with scientific research and experimental design projects, to install automated control systems and, finally, to ensure more effective management of material and technical procurement processes. Under present circumstances this problem becomes particularly serious.

Thus far consumer service enterprises have experienced difficulties in procuring various raw and other materials, spare parts for rebuilt items and equipment. Specifically, there are difficulties in meeting the requests of consumer enterprises for spare and other parts and various auxiliary materials needed for the repair of household appliances and tools. This is explained by the fact that the level of standardization of durable goods is still too low.

These circumstances make it difficult to determine the overall service enterprise requirements for spare parts accurately, to estimate requests for such parts or to organize the proper delivery of such parts to the enterprises. The totally unjustified "variety" of items on which the people may request repair makes it necessary for service enterprises to stockpile excessive amounts of working capital. The variety of spare and other parts which must be kept "on hand" by the enterprises comes to several tens of thousands of items. Despite these large reserves of materials, repair enterprises are frequently unable to fulfill one request or another for several months.

The difficulty of procuring spare parts for appliances used by the population can be largely explained by the attitude which many economic managers have developed concerning this type of activity. The production of spare parts is virtually nonexistent in many enterprises in which the manufacturing of household equipment is already insignificant. That is the reason for the very neglectful attitude often adopted by many industrial ministries toward requests placed by consumer services.

In our view, the planning of the production capacities of ministries engaged in the production of household equipment should be substantially modified. The organization of their use should first of all begin with filling the orders for the spare parts needed. It is only after such orders have been

filled that installed capacities should be used for the production of new items. Understandably, such a procedure becomes possible when an entire group of ministries and departments is "confronted" with the existence of an equal partner -- an all-union organ in charge of managing the development of consumer services. We presume that such an agency would adopt a more exigent approach than now exists with regard to the quality of consumer appliances and implements produced by industrial enterprises. Today a considerable percentage of the capacities of consumer enterprises are "tied" up for the guaranteed repair of household appliances and implements. Despite the rather substantial volume of household appliances discarded by the trade system, at least one fifth of all goods marketed (refrigerators, washing machines, radio and television sets, etc.) are brought in for repairs within the time covered by the guarantee.

We also believe it would be expedient to improve the system of legal relations between repair enterprises and manufacturing plants. Today, with the servicing of household equipment guaranteed, there is a rule forbidding the use of identical parts in repairing items produced by different plants. "One's own" parts must be used only for "one's own" items! This approach makes it impossible to obtain any real results from the standardization of household appliances and tools already implemented. Similar artificial barriers exist also even on guaranteed and paid for repairs of appliances produced by the same plant: spare parts for guaranteed repairs may not be used for other kinds of repairs. According to available estimates, if repair enterprises were given greater freedom in the utilization of spare parts used for the repair of equipment within the guarantee period, it would be possible to reduce the inventory on hand by at least a factor of 8-10.

The solution of many problems related to consumer services for the people depends on an interrelated study of the conditions governing the development of the production of consumer goods by industrial ministries and the consumer service system. However, it is precisely this that the existing planned management procedure does not provide for. Thus, within the USSR Gosplan, one service deals with the long-term development of light industry, while other subdivisions are in charge of shoe, clothing and knitwear manufacturing and other service subsectors. The decisions made regarding light industry and these subsectors are coordinated only during the formulation of planned assignments for trade, when problems of production costs are no longer urgent. As a rule, such coordinated decisions are not oriented toward intersectorial interaction. Essentially, the phenomenon of parallel development of large-scale mass production of consumer goods, which does not as yet take the characteristics of population demand into adequate account, and a system of small enterprises fully oriented toward these characteristics but making little use of contemporary technological progress, develops. Proper dividing lines in terms of the ratio between these two types of production have not, as of the present time, been drawn up.

Let us now consider the question of improvement in the accounting procedures for the economic activities of service enterprises. This must be based on the fact that this service is a separate economic sector which is making a considerably greater contribution to the dynamics of the national economy and to upgrading the population's living standards today than it did in the

past. This new circumstance is basically not taken into sufficient account by the statistical and planning services. In particular, within the framework of the balance of population income and expenditures, payments for all production services thus described are improperly entered as "Commodity Purchases," including, strange though it may seem, the cost of dry cleaning, laundry and photographic services, shoe repairs, etc. The "Payment for Services" section includes only nonproduction items. It is impossible, given such circumstances, to determine the real status of consumer services as a whole in population spending. We assume that the high-level contribution by consumer services to such expenditures now requires a certain restructuring of the balance of population income and expenditures. Consumer services should be expressed in a single entry therein.

We believe that methods for singling out consumer services in the accountability balance sheets for commodity production and distribution should be developed as well. The methods currently being used in accounting for such output in this balance basically interfere with accounting pertaining to intersectorial relations. Furthermore, the high present level in the development of consumer services for the people entails a more detailed study of the increasingly complex relations of these services in the national economy, as compared with the past. Without this, we believe, the effective management of the development of this sector in the forthcoming period would be difficult.

The accountability for consumer services could be expediently improved if the USSR Central Statistical Administration were to formulate a synthetic indicator of the level of the people's well-being, such as the overall volume of consumption of material goods and services. This would necessitate, in particular, the elimination of any second inclusion of services provided by organizations of equal status. On the one hand, they are recorded as activities performed by service enterprises in serving the population; on the other, they are included in the volume of services (in terms of material outlays) used by the respective sectors engaged in providing sociocultural services to the population.

The accurate national economic assessment of the activities of service enterprises is largely determined by the organization of the accounting of the results of the work done by the enterprises themselves. This depends on the economic management mechanism and the system of plan indicators operating within it, to a decisive extent. The summing-up indicator of activities in providing consumer services must be the overall volume of services and any other output going to the population or to the various organizations and establishments.

At the same time, the variety of activities in which service enterprises engage require an accurate assessment of their individual components. The work of service enterprises can be characterized only by means of a system which includes the following indicators: a. volume of work, services and output produced and marketed on the basis of individual population requests; b. volume of output and sales of finished products to the population (based

on models or produced in small batches); c. volume of work and services sold outside the consumer market.

The first two, to which we must add the cost of materials used, stand for the cash earned from services to the population. They are necessary as a combined indicator without which it is impossible to strike a balance for the income and expenditures of the population.

As we can see, our suggestions are aimed at separating services to nonmarket consumers from services for which the population pays service enterprises. Incidentally, this division of services is characteristic of the housing and communal economy, where there has long been a division between activities related to population services, on the one hand, and services to a wide variety of enterprises, establishments and organizations, on the other. Although we single out nonmarket consumers, this does not in any way imply that none of them should be given one kind of benefit or another. On the contrary, it is obvious that where many organizations are concerned, some services (for example, sundry services to kindergartens) should be given even more priority as compared with individual customers. Specifically, this can be achieved through special administrative measures. The soviets of people's deputies may have to draft an approved list of organizations and organize proper control of the fulfillment of their orders. Furthermore, taking the particular social significance of serving such collective consumers into consideration, such services should be included in the state plans of rayons, cities, oblasts, krays, republics and the entire national economy as a consolidated part of the whole set of social development measures. If this were done, a special indicator -- volume of consumer services provided to socially significant establishments, enterprises and organizations -- could apply.

A separate assessment of the results of the economic activities of service enterprises in meeting the needs of individual and collective consumers will make ineffective checking on them by means of the familiar instruction on filling out the "1-Services" form unnecessary.

At the same time, using the indicator showing the overall volume of the activities of service enterprises, regardless of the channels through which they market their services, the level on which the planning of all types of resources in the sector is substantiated could be improved. In particular, the general wage fund should be made dependent here on the overall volume of goods and services sold and provided to the population and to nonmarket consumers. It is true that as a result of changes in the fund resulting from increased volumes of output and services provided via various channels, the flexibility of this fund must vary due to the fact that the volume of goods and services marketed per ruble of wage fund used will be very different for the population and the nonmarket consumers (in some services the differential may be as high as 15-20 percent). These differences in the labor intensity of goods and services generated by consumer enterprises must be reflected in the norms governing increases in the wage fund based on production increases along different channels -- whether directed toward the population or the collective consumers.

At the 26th party congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described the development of the service industry as a prime party task, along with the production of consumer goods. The specific directions for improvement in consumer services are based on their strengthened role in the social division of labor and an improved economic mechanism governing the activities of service enterprises. It is important here to proceed on the basis of the final social purpose of the service industry and directly toward meeting the growing demand on the part of the population for various services.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

EDUCATION OF PATRIOTS, INTERNATIONALISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 47-58

[Article by B. Pastukhov, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] The shaping of the ideological and moral foundations of the growing generation is one of the most important tasks in the education of the builders of communism. The Soviet youth acquires from the senior generations communist convictions, dedication and aspirations toward the great objective. It develops and multiplies the great revolutionary, labor and combat traditions of the people.

Acting under the wise and exigent leadership of the party, the Leninist Komsomol actively participates in the education of the young generation. "The most important, the main aspect of the work of the Komsomol," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the 26th congress of the party, involves helping to shape generations of people who are politically active and knowledgeable, who love and know how to work and who are always ready to defend their homeland."

Patriotism and internationalism are the concentrated manifestations of the consciousness, ideological maturity and moral firmness of the young.

The patriotic and international education of young men and women is the constant concern of the party, Komsomol and other public organizations. The 26th congress formulated the basic stipulations on the reorganization of many sectors and areas of ideological activity. Important tasks regarding the improvement of such activities are contained in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." This is a document of major theoretical and practical significance.

In developing the characteristics of patriots and internationalists in young people, the Komsomol organizations are firmly eliminating the remaining shortcomings in their work and any manifestations of political immaturity, and sometimes an irresponsible attitude toward work, on their part. This is particularly important under the conditions of aggravated ideological struggle in the world, which demands of the Soviet people, including the youth, political vigilance, a high degree of patriotism and, in Lenin's words, "a revolutionary burst of energy" for the resolution of the problems which face society.

The patriotic aspirations of the young citizens of the land of the soviets are formed under the beneficial influence of real socialism, which develops in them a warm love for the socialist fatherland and pride in being part of the Soviet people. Our young people live, study and work in a society in which patriotism has become the natural form of life for all generations, in which they breathe the air of the multinational socialist homeland, and in which every citizen deems it a great joy to be its worthy son.

None of this, however, means that success in the patriotic education of the growing generation comes automatically. Today the very concept of patriotism has acquired a new meaning. Soviet patriotism means not only love for one's country, but above, all a firm communist conviction and loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, based on profound mastery of them and support of the principles of internationalism. The task of the Komsomol, the school and all educational institutions is to see to it that this feeling of Soviet national pride is present in every young person and that they are active, and to encourage the people to act and define their way of life.

The warm patriotic thrusts typical of young people are embodied in specific patriotic activities in their studies, work and military service.

The country's young generation welcomed the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the party's program for the new stage in the building of communism with unanimous approval and a tremendous upsurge. Responding to the appeal of the best Komsomol organizations, the Komsomol-youth collectives launched a mass patriotic movement under the slogan "Shock Labor, Knowledge, Initiative and Creativity on the Part of Youth in the 11th Five-Year Plan!" The young people who are participating in the competition are assuming great socialist obligations and are fighting to achieve great labor productivity, efficiency and quality at each workplace.

The young workers at the AvtoZIL Association in Moscow, the imeni A. A. Zhdanov Shipyards in Leningrad, the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Plant, the BAM, Western Siberia, Kuzbass and Karaganda have adopted counterplans and socialist obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the forthcoming 19th Komsomol Congress.

In keeping with Stakhanovite traditions, the Komsomol-youth collective in the famous Vinogradov sector of the Factory imeni Nogin in Ivanovskaya Oblast has resolved to fulfill from six to 10 annual assignments by 2 October 1985 -- the 50th anniversary of the record set by Yevdokiya and Mariya Vinogradov. Here the records of the innovators are being truly accepted as the general norm. This is how the Komsomol and the young men and women are answering the party's demand for better and more efficient work.

Many examples of the activeness, initiative and enthusiasm of the youth could be cited. However, they cannot conceal the problems and shortcomings in educational activities. Young people are still frequently doing careless work, failing to meet norms or committing violations of discipline. The Komsomol organizations must enhance a feeling of responsibility on the part

of every Komsomol member for his basic obligations to society and must see to it that the young become deeply aware of the high patriotic meaning of their labor and its connection with strengthening the power of the homeland. The Komsomol committees will continue to develop the socialist competition, labor watches of young people in honor of outstanding events and memorable days in the life of the country, and the practice of directing "labor landings" at shock construction projects and target sites, the mastery of modern equipment and many other useful labor methods. Their value lies not only in the achievement of high production indicators, but in their educational impact as well.

The tasks in the patriotic education of youth are closely related to the shaping of the young people's outlook. The Komsomol organizations are seeing to it that the study of revolutionary theory is closely combined with the practical actions of the young people and their own lives. The Komsomol committees are persistently applying the new structure of youth political training and are trying to organize it so that the courses and seminars will become the true centers of living political thoughts and words.

The party's requirement that a decisive turn be effected in ideological work presumes the elimination of formalism in work with youth. It is important not only to master political knowledge but also to apply it skillfully in practical work. It is this quality precisely which is sometimes lacking in young people, as indicated by practical experience, and it is precisely here that their conceptual immaturity is manifested. The theoretical knowledge acquired at school and in Komsomol political training seminars often remains unused, while life goes on. The Komsomol organizations must see to it that the scientific and class approach in the assessment of social phenomena becomes the best means of social orientation and a reliable compass for every young person, for it is only by learning how to find one's way in complex problems, as V. I. Lenin stressed, that "one can consider oneself as possessing firm enough convictions which one can defend against anyone and at any times" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 65).

The lofty patriotic duty of every young citizen implies requires excellence in study at schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums and VUZs. This is not understood by everyone. In many training institutions, the Komsomol members tolerate just passing grades, even in sociopolitical subjects. Not all students realize the simple connection between good grades and greater usefulness to the homeland in the future. In other words, it is a question of developing a responsible attitude toward study. Each Komsomol organization should be able to determine the reasons for poor grades, taking the slackers strictly to task and organizing help for those who need it.

Patriotic and internationalist education presumes the waging of a decisive and uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology. Our class enemies do not conceal their particular interest in the young generation in the socialist countries. Their desire and goal is to remove the heroic-patriotic roots and ideas of loyalty to revolutionary duty from the minds of young people. This makes developing class self-awareness in the younger generation particularly important. Today more than ever it is important for every young man and woman have a profound understanding of the

full gravity of the contemporary ideological confrontation in the world. Komsomol propagandists, agitators, lecturers and political informants and the press have the task of increasing the propaganda of communist ideals and awakening in every young generation a zealous aspiration to stand in the ranks of the fighters for the final victory on earth of the most humane and just social system. The party asks for more convincing and vivid dissemination of the historical achievements of real socialism and the advantages of the Soviet way of life and for intensified criticism of the reactionary and antihumane nature of capitalism. The Komsomol organizations will continue to develop feelings of social optimism and belief in the rightness and invincibility of socialism in young men and women, and to combat all the manifestations of a cynical attitude toward life encountered in some young people. They will continue comprehensively to expose to the eyes of young people the policy of American imperialism and Beijing hegemonism. Political meetings, debates, visual agitation, question and answer evenings and oral journals offer extensive opportunities in this area. All of these familiar forms must be filled with new meaning and become politically sharper.

The historical meaning of the social accomplishments of our society and the party's domestic and foreign policy, which is concerned with the interests of the people, is instilled in of the young people thanks to a well-organized and purposeful political information system. In recent years, along with party, trade union and economic managers, Komsomol workers have taken a more active part in holding standardized politics days. Young people must become involved in such measures as extensively as possible. Greater attention must be paid to problems of patriotic and internationalist education. Experience shows that such political work is of tremendous importance in developing a healthy ideological and moral climate in youth circles. In the course of intimate and frank talks, the young people acquire exhaustive information on domestic and international problems and get clear, precise and authoritative answers to their questions. This blocks the dissemination of various rumors and fabrications and establishes accurate political guidelines for young minds.

The party demands that Komsomol members -- students, workers, rural working people, young creative workers and secondary-school students in the higher grades -- take an active part in propaganda work and read lectures, give talks and provide information to young people. Naturally, they must be highly trained in ideological and political matters and have the necessary conceptual qualities.

The exposure of young people to the heroic past of our homeland carries a tremendous educational charge. The history and character of the great sons of the fatherland develop in the growing generation the desire to follow in the path of their fathers and be worthy of their exploits. It is important to continue to support and develop the young people's interest in history and to produce a greater number of books and motion pictures on the outstanding heroic events of the past and the present. The Komsomol organizations can accomplish a great deal in developing love and respect for history and a responsible attitude toward the material he has mastered in every adolescent. Museums, trips to memorial sites and youth tourm should be used to this end with considerably greater effectiveness. In shaping a patriotic

outlook, the tremendous exploits of our distant ancestors as well as the immortal accomplishments of the more recent past must become embedded forever in the hearts of the young citizens.

Traditions and celebrations play a great role in developing the class self-awareness of the young. The honoring of production leaders, innovators and veterans, working-class dedications, presentation of Komsomol assignments and military service send-offs develop an atmosphere of respect for socialist traditions in the collective. If such ceremonies are made interesting and consistent with the age and mental characteristics of the people, a type of atmosphere develops, to use V. A. Sukhmlinskiy's metaphor, "in which the torch of ideas is lit from a spark of feeling." It is important to develop and the adolescents feelings of deep respect for the national anthem, the state seal and the national flag of the Soviet Union in young people.

The Komsomol organizations sponsor a revolutionary glory week during the celebration of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Marches and demonstrations are organized at monuments to the revolution and meetings are held to commemorate the fallen fighters. Old bolsheviks are honored and honor guards stand watch at eternal flames. Celebrations at streets and squares named after heroes, mass commemorative events at enterprises with a great revolutionary history, sociopolitical readings for young people and evenings of revolutionary and political songs can be organized not only in the country's larger centers, but in every town and settlement.

Our tradition of national commemoration of historical dates is particularly important in the education of the youth.

We recently marked the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the German-fascist troops at Moscow. This noteworthy event was properly celebrated by the Komsomol organizations. The heroes of the battle for the capital are still in our ranks. Their names are inscribed in the lists of many Komsomol-youth collectives. The exploits of the defenders of Moscow help us to educate young patriots. More commemorative events lie ahead, along with the anniversaries of battles in which our valorous armed forces won out in the war against fascism. Each such event will undoubtedly meet with a lively response in the hearts of the Komsomol members.

Love for history must be active as well as contemplative. The enthusiasm, energy and initiative of the youth are helping us to preserve and restore cultural monuments at home and to make noteworthy sites more attractive.

During the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the defeat of fascism, we heard the rustling leaves of the trees in Komsomol Victory Park. Such parks can be found in thousands of places: Komsomol members and young people all over the country planted and are now lovingly caring for these trees. Thus a living monument to the heroes of the Great Patriotic War was created.

In addressing themselves to the exploits of the fighters of the senior generations, the Komsomol organizations are guided by their main objective -- helping young people to inherit the character, firmness, will to win, the

unquenchable love for the homeland and loyalty to the party cause of their seniors, who were tempered in revolutionary battles.

No matter is petty in educational work. As we know, bourgeois propaganda aimed at the socialist countries hopes that young people without sufficient political and practical experience will be unable accurately to assess phenomena and facts indirectly related to the reactionary nature and faults of the capitalist society. Let us take fashion as an example. We know that some of our young people have an uncritical attitude toward Western influence and adopt some of its manifestations which are hardly the best. Some young people do not even hesitate to wear shirts, jackets or T-shirts bearing the stars and stripes, provocative inscriptions, or even the emblems of capitalist armies. Such lack of discrimination is far from harmless. Actually, it is nothing less than consumerist cosmopolitanism. Greater principle mindedness, initiative and persistence are necessary, and our own Soviet influence on fashion must be strengthened. The question of paying closer attention to the production of simple but nice-looking and comfortable clothing for the young has frequently been raised. Production and design workers have something to think about. Nor should the Komsomol organizations and youth collectives ignore such "petty" matters.

Our ideological opponents are exerting great pressure in the struggle to influence youth in the area of mass musical culture. Their purpose is clear: to make the young generation in the land of the soviets "sing in someone else's voice." Shortcomings in the esthetic and musical education of youth are such that foreign entertainers whose value is sometimes rather doubtful, become the idols of some young people.

The Komsomol, cultural institutions, creative organizations and the youth press must do a great deal more work if they are to prevent our ideological opponents from seizing the initiative in exerting a musical influence on the Soviet youth.

It is justly said that love for the homeland is inconceivable without love for one's country's native songs. The folk song is a tool for shaping the patriotic awareness of one generation after another. We believe that the joint efforts of the Komsomol, the school, cultural institutions and artists can encourage young people to become more active in folk instrument orchestras and choirs. The experience at mass songfests in Estonia, Latvia and other republics offers convincing proof of this fact.

2

The development of the young patriot and internationalist is inseparably linked with profound spiritual mastery of the great traditions of the senior generations. Millions of young men and women take part in the all-union march of Komsomol members and young people to sites where the revolutionary, combat and labor glory of the Soviet people are commemorated. Many state and public organs and veterans provide tremendous and truly invaluable assistance in its organization. Representatives of various organizations, creative associations, museums, institutions and mass information media participate

regularly in the work at the main headquarters of the march, headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Twice Hero of the Soviet Union I. Kh. Bagramyan.

The all-union youth march along the paths of their fathers' glory has created and combined a number of forms of patriotic education. It has brought to life outstanding passages in the history of the people's exploits and has perpetuated the memory of the fallen fighters. Tens of thousands of museums, glory rooms and corners, monuments and obelisks and memorial plaques have been created and put on display throughout the country. Sponsorship of disabled veterans of war and labor and families of dead soldiers has been organized.

The task of the Komsomol organizations is to continue to develop and to improve this march. It is important to strengthen the military-applied trend of the march and its role in the training of pre-draftees and to sponsor meetings with veterans and front and rear-line heroes.

The respect shown the memory of those who defended the honor, freedom and independence of the homeland for the sake of present and future generations is also manifested in the attitude of today's youth toward veterans. It is our sacred duty to surround them with constant Komsomol concern and attention, to give them daily assistance and above all, to embrace the rich practical experience and best human qualities of the valorous soldiers of the Great Patriotic War and the labor veterans. What makes this increasingly important is the fact that, sad to say, the ranks of the direct participants in the revolutionary and battle events are thinning as the years go by. Recently the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau resolved to hold an all-union research expedition entitled "Chronicle of the Great Patriotic War." Its objective will be to record the recollections of front-line veterans, members of the partisan movement and the antifascist underground and workers in the rear, to present museums and archives with relics of the war era and to organize sponsorship of the disabled and the families of dead front-line veterans. Such an expedition will enable the boys and girls of the 1980s to get a sense of the tremendous price we had to pay for our victory and the great contribution which every soldier -- from private to marshal -- made to winning it.

The gathering of materials for the "Chronicle of the Great Patriotic War" is the duty of every Komsomol and Pioneer member, school student, technical-vocational school student, and young kolkhoz member and worker. The Komsomol committees must see to it that young people prepare themselves for the meetings with veterans as they would for a solemn event, acquiring a deep awareness that people with a heroic past are living and working beside them.

It is important not only to collect the tremendous spiritual wealth of the veterans' recollections and relics of the people's exploits, but also to handle them properly. In this matter we rely on the aid and interested participation of state and public museums, archives and mass propaganda media. Naturally, such materials should be used mainly to intensify the educational work in the Komsomol organizations and youth collectives.

The great labor traditions of the Soviet people also contain a tremendous educational potential. The heroic accomplishments of the workers in the rear and those who took part in the postwar restoration of the country are similar to the revolutionary and combat exploits. Those who are beginning life today must be made aware of the greatness of these accomplishments. Meetings with labor veterans and the gathering of materials and documents reflecting the bright passages in the chronicle of the Soviet five-year plans are of great importance.

A tank or a gun made into a monument has become a common sight in our cities. With increasing frequency, a tractor, combine or old 1.5-ton truck has been placed on a pedestal. The Komsomol members at the Krasnoye Sormovo Plant restored a Series SU steam locomotive engine and placed it at the plant gates. Today's adolescents find it unprepossessing. However, they now know that it was steam-powered engines like this which delivered weapons to the front, as well as bread, fuel and construction materials to the damaged towns and cities. They also know that during the difficult days of the war the plant itself was on the line of fire. Frontline youth brigades worked in the shops day after day under enemy's shelling.

The motion picture chronicle "The Great Patriotic War" and the historical documentary epic "Everything Precious" have taken their proper place in the education of the youth. The boys and girls are deeply touched by the frontline documentary and the stories about the courage of the noble Soviet soldiers and the great labor victory which our people achieved in the postwar period at the cost of superhuman effort and mass daily heroism. The Komsomol committees intend to continue to organize reviews and discussions of these motion pictures in youth halls and during meetings with the frontline veterans who were the heroes of the rebuilding period and party and Komsomol veterans.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding works "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Lands] have become real texts of patriotism and civic and communist idea-mindedness. The publication of "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences] was an important event in the country's social life. These works help the young to gain a deeper understanding of the great heroic path of struggle and victory which our party has trod, to become aware of the exploits of the senior generations and to imitate their best revolutionary qualities. The latest book by the leader of the communist party and the Soviet state awakens a feeling of tremendous patriotic pride in our homeland and the wish to continue to hold the immortal Leninist banner high.

"Vospominaniya" quite aptly describes this unbreakable and eternal tie between the generations: "Each generation...inherits from the previous ones everything they gained, achieved, built and accomplished and then goes on, starting at a new height and new level of historical development. Sometimes the young feel that the main things have already been accomplished. The revolution, the civil war battles, the years of the socialist reorganization of the gigantic country and the heroic deeds of the Great Patriotic War are behind us...This is what young people think. However, their time will come, and the baton in the relay race will be passed on to them by their

fathers and grandfathers, at which point they will realize that they too will experience many trials and accomplish grandiose deeds."

The party's faith in the country's young generation inspires and gives it strength and energy. The Komsomol members and all Soviet adolescents have learned and are learning from the party and the iron-willed communist guard how to love and serve the homeland and how to struggle for the communist ideals and win. From the outstanding follower of the great Leninist cause -- Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, they learn revolutionary zeal, Leninist wisdom, inflexible bolshevik firmness, fiery patriotism and true internationalism.

Soviet youth, which has inherited the great traditions of its fathers, aspires to go forth and to display its initiative, fighting qualities and Korchagin-style character.

The party has assigned the Komsomol organizations the task of developing a feeling of historical responsibility for the fate of socialism and the prosperity and safety of the homeland in the young generation.

The noble duty of the Leninist Komsomol is to provide military-patriotic education and moral-political, psychological and military technical training to young people preparing for service in the armed forces, to develop courage, willpower, readiness for bold exploits and love for the Soviet army in young people and to familiarize them more extensively with the heroic traditions of the USSR Armed Forces and today's military labor by the Soviet troops, as well as the combat equipment and the weaponry, and to organize trips to the sites of the combat operations of large and small units and mass military-patriotic projects, relay races and reviews. The annual month-long periods of mass defense work, border troop, navy and air force weeks offer good opportunities in this connection.

The forms of work which contribute to the all-round exposure of young people to the conditions of army life and the development of discipline, acuity and organization in them are of great importance. The military knowledge universities and future soldier clubs which have been organized in some cities have proved their usefulness. Together with the DOSAAF committees, the Komsomol organizations must develop the network of these universities and clubs and make the material facilities and sports equipment of the defense society more efficient.

Technical and military-applied sports play an important role in training worthy army reinforcements. A number of problems exist here. Consider the following fact: On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, hundreds of thousands of Komsomol members passed their military-technical training examinations. Many of them had completed their training in parachute jumping from towers and airplanes. Today such towers are rarely seen and parachute jumping, strange to say, attracts fewer young men and women than it did 40 years ago.

It is the urgent task and patriotic duty of the Komsomol organizations to devote greater attention to automotive, motorcycle, marksmanship, parachute-jumping and other military-applied sports.

Every youngster must see training for service in the Soviet Army as a noble personal duty to the homeland. However, for some reason, the presentation of certificates to pre-draftees is most often done with no ceremony at all. Thus it makes no impression on them at all. It would obviously be better to organize this as a celebration of the fact that the youngsters are entering the family of future soldiers. Unquestionably, they will long remember the warm words of the veterans, the wreath-laying ceremonies at the monuments to the defenders of the homeland and the comradely greetings at work or school.

Youth military-patriotic associations and clubs, which are increasing in number with every passing year, are playing a useful role in the military-professional guidance and training of youth. The "Summer Lightning" and "Eaglet" military-sports games have become quite popular. These mass games in which millions of pioneers and secondary school children are participating include competitions, quiz shows, relay races, marches and camp rallies. This enjoyable program (the participants in the games set up subunits, choose staffs and draft plans for "military operations" at various sites) is combined with serious efforts to develop the qualities which future soldiers will need in the children. The games popular among children and adolescents must be further developed along these lines. In particular, we must see to it that all the youngsters participating meet the norms of the Ready for Labor and Defense complex, undergo steady physical training and take part in the creation of school shooting galleries, obstacle courses and the simpler sports facilities.

Soviet society is deeply interested in the spiritual and physical development of our youth. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Upsurge in Mass Physical Culture and Sports" is another clear proof of the daily concern with the health of the people and the youth. The decree specifically and precisely defines the main task in the physical culture movement: all-round assistance in improving the health of the Soviet people, upgrading their work capability, labor productivity and readiness to defend the homeland, developing high moral qualities and spirit, strength, and endurance, and raising a healthy and cheerful growing generation. The Komsomol Central Committee regards upgrading the responsibility of Komsomol committees for the physical education of children, school students and working and rural youth, and seeing to it that every Komsomol and Pioneer member and young person earns the Ready for Labor and Defense badge and engages in physical culture, sports and tourism regularly as its main duty.

Many problems remain in this area. More than half the Komsomol and Pioneer members do not engage in physical culture and sports regularly. Even some army recruits have not received the necessary sports training.

The habit of engaging in physical culture and sports is developed in childhood. We must enhance the prestige of physical culture in school. As A. V. Lunacharskiy aptly pointed out, this is a mandatory, a class-oriented subject in a socialist society. Its logical extension is expressed in extracurricular mass sport and health-building work. Unfortunately, many vocational-technical and other schools and technicums have abandoned mandatory physical exercises, sports ceremonies and health days. The Komsomol organizations share some of the blame for this. We must combine the efforts of the

Komsomol and the soviet, sports and other organizations in order to improve the organization of sports activities at home as well.

The "Ready for Labor and Defense of the USSR" complex is a major mass physical culture instrument. Born of Komsomol initiative, its very slogan accurately describes the patriotic nature of the Soviet sportsmen's movement. As the party demands, the Komsomol committees will continue to see to it that this movement becomes even more widespread and involves all young people. Komsomol workers and activists must set the example in the practice of physical culture and sports, training, and in the struggle against smoking and other harmful habits.

Our armed forces are a real educational university. Military service helps every young person to learn how to love the homeland even more, to be aware of the great power of battle friendship and to temper his character. The army and navy Komsomol organizations must always serve as reliable assistants to the commanders and political organs in educating young soldiers to be patriots and internationalists.

The problem of raising young patriots to be convinced and conscious defenders of the fatherland demands a comprehensive approach and deep theoretical interpretation. Today this is the focus of the attention of many scientists. In particular, major scientific forces are involved in the formulation of the comprehensive program for the military-patriotic education of young people which was approved on the initiative of the Public Council for the Coordination of Problems in the Communist Education of the Youth of the Komsomol Central Committee. The need for the development of interrelated scientific recommendations on all aspects and directions of military-patriotic education has been felt for some time.

3

The fraternal friendship among the peoples of our multinational homeland is a powerful factor in patriotic and internationalist education. Soviet youth is the proud heir to this great legacy. The task of the Komsomol organizations is to promote the noble feeling of being a part of the single great Soviet homeland in the young generation even more energetically and never to forget Lenin's behest: "...To act in such a way that the young members of the working class are raised in a spirit of socialism and awareness of the fraternity among peoples" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 16, p 75). The preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR will give new impetus to this work.

The labor, school or military collective is the center for the education of the youth in the spirit of the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Komsomol organizations are focusing their efforts on upgrading the labor, social and political activeness of young men and women. The competition among Komsomol-youth brigades, sectors, shops and enterprises in the different republics and the shock work of multinational collectives is imbued with profound patriotic content.

Komsomol members from all republics are sponsoring the development of the petroleum resources of Western Siberia, the building of the BAM and the creation of territorial-production complexes. Joint work on the great projects of our time unite and rally the young and help to develop relations based on the ideas of friendship and fraternity among nations and to shape international awareness.

The school, vocational-technical school, technicum and VUZ are important units in the education of the young generation in the spirit of friendship among the peoples of the USSR. In this respect the student construction detachments have proven their value. Last summer, more than 170,000 members of construction detachments did work outside their republics again and again. For example, the population of Gagarin City has already become used to the fact that during the summer the city streets are decorated with detachment flags and emblems and the seals of various union republics. A multiplicity of languages is spoken at construction sites and the city is growing visibly. The people who have personally experienced the great value of the beneficent friendship among the peoples of the USSR are growing with it.

The attention being paid to the internationalist education of the youth must not decline. The Komsomol committees face the task of developing a firm immunity to any nationalist mentality and bourgeois-nationalistic propaganda and the ability to distinguish precisely between the national and the nationalistic and between patriotism and nationalism and national egotism in all young men and women.

Life demands greater efficiency, depth and substantiation in the struggle against nationalistic vestiges and in the exposure of the propaganda methods of our ideological foes. The Komsomol organizations will react even more sharply to even the slightest manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, which are particularly intolerable in the young.

The development of internationalist awareness is one of the most important tasks in the ideological-political and moral tempering of the growing generation. The tasks of patriotic education in the spirit of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR blend with the tasks of raising young people in a spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism and great understanding of international duty.

Ties of friendship and fraternity link Soviet youth with the young generation and the fraternal unions of young people in the socialist countries marching in the vanguard of the democratic youth movement. The Komsomol and the Soviet youth are trying to contribute actively to the implementation of the plans for socialist economic integration. They are making their contribution to the development and intensification of the various fruitful contacts among our countries and peoples.

In noting the great achievements of the socialist countries in the various fields of science, technology and culture, the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the need to study their experience closely and to make more extensive use of it. This applies directly to the experience of the fraternal youth unions.

For example, there are things we could borrow from the Free German Youth League in terms of thrift and economy, and from the Dimitrov Komsomol in terms of the development of scientific and technical creativity. The Hungarian youth organizations have acquired interesting experience in cooperating with public and state organs; we should study the experience of the Vietnamese Communist Youth League in the area of military-patriotic education. The practical experience of all fraternal youth unions contains a great many instructive aspects.

Youth delegations and groups regularly visit the socialist countries. We are trying to upgrade the efficiency, the "returns" on our exchanges and are seeing to it that each visit to our friends is made maximally useful.

The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly proved yet once again that socialism and peace are indivisible. The specific measures suggested by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee accountability report, which are the continuation and development of the peace program and the new Soviet peace initiative, met with understanding and grateful response on the part of the young generation on the planet, to which the struggle for peace means above all a struggle for the right to life.

The wisdom and farsightedness of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which have remained firm and restrained despite the provocations of the militaristic circles which are trying to poison the international atmosphere and are intensifying the arms race are being greeted with tremendous respect on all continents. In numerous telegrams and letters to Komsomol members and young people in our country, the young people of other countries have expressed their tremendous gratitude to the fiery fighter for peace and the happiness of the peoples, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, for his tireless efforts to ensure the bright future of mankind.

The Leninist Komsomol, which totally supports our party's foreign policy, is increasing the contribution it is making to the struggle being waged by progressive youth strengthen the peace and security of all nations and against the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. At present, Soviet youth organizations maintain relations with 1,350 youth and student organizations in more than 130 different countries. When they travel abroad, our young men and women take with them the ideas of peace and friendship among the peoples. They explain the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union in detail to others their age, telling the truth about the socialist country and the opportunities our society offers to the young generation.

The youth organizations in the USSR are constantly engaged in major solidarity projects and campaigns. They are using the funds earned by Soviet youngsters during subbotniks and Sundays to help the young people who are fighting for the political, social and economic independence of their countries and against colonialism and neocolonialism. They send them medical equipment, medicinal drugs, texts and other books, motion pictures and sports equipment. Young Soviet physicians are at work in many foreign countries where student construction detachments also go to work. All of this is contributing to the internationalist training of the Soviet youth.

Over the past 5 years, about one million young foreign tourists have visited the USSR on the basis of the "Sputnik" project alone. Our guests are offered sociopolitical, topical,, specialized, general-study and sports programs. In accordance with their own wishes, tourists have begun to participate more in the various labor activities of the Soviet youth, such as the communist subbotniks, for example. International duty projects carried out by collectives of the best Komsomol-youth brigades are having a major political impact.

The truth about socialism and its real accomplishments are our main weapons in the ideological struggle and in shaping the international consciousness of the youth. We are countering the enemy's subversive political and ideological activities with the ideological maturity of the young generation, the political vigilance of its members and their readiness to defend the homeland and the revolutionary gains of the entire socialist comity.

The experience and activities of the communist party -- the party of Lenin, of patriots and internationalists -- impact decisively on the strengthening of the patriotic and international education of youth. In the eyes of the younger generation, the communists are the embodiment of the lofty moral ideals and the purest and greatest accomplishments of decades of struggle and revolutionary creativity. The words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress on the need to share this wealth with youth triggered in them tremendous gratitude and inspiration.

Concern with the patriotic and international education of the young generation means concern with ensuring revolutionary continuity from one generation to another. In accepting and developing the best qualities of their senior comrades -- the communists -- in themselves, Komsomol members and other young Soviet men and women are involving themselves in the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution with all their hearts and souls. This is a reliable guarantee that the young people will justify the hopes of the homeland and will carry the banner of communism high.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF TRAINING PHILOSOPHY CADRES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 59-68

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof A. Kosichev, dean of the Moscow State University Philosophy Department]

[Text] We are the contemporaries of tremendous historical events and global revolutionary changes and outstanding accomplishments in the building of socialism and communism. The building of mature socialism, the conversion of many peoples to socialist development and the further development of the global revolutionary process face theory and the specialists in the social sciences with new problems in the solution of which philosophers have particular responsibility.

However, the social role of philosophers in society is not limited to strictly scientific problems. They are also responsible for the implementation of the political line of the communist party and the shaping of a dialectical-materialistic type of thinking and Marxist-Leninist outlook among the masses and the working people in all economic, scientific and cultural sectors.

The people with a new spirituality--described as "Soviet people" and "builders of communism"--are the most important gain of socialism in the USSR. The philosophers have the duty to contribute to the consolidation of this gain and its development, and to multiplying the intellectual potential of society. This potential has no better methodological foundation than materialism, dialectics and the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws governing the development of nature, society and thinking. "The spiritual world of the Soviet people is based on the firm foundation of our revolutionary doctrine," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said. "The molding of views means to give convincing answers to the questions asked by the young."

Such questions arise at every step. They cannot be answered without a proper knowledge of philosophy. That is precisely what the professional philosophers must comprehensively disseminate and apply.

Our country has gained unique experience in training such cadres. The communist party, its Leninist Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally have systematically paid great attention to it. The CC CPSU 1967 decree "On

Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading its Role in the Building of Communism" played a tremendous and truly historical role in upgrading scientific research and pedagogical work in philosophy and training philosophy cadres. In the light of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, these problems were discussed at the October 1981 All-Union Conference of heads of social science chairs. It was noted at the conference that the existing higher education system essentially meets the needs of the country for social scientists. The philosophy departments of the country's universities play an important role in this system.

The training of specialists in the social sciences is a matter of permanent concern for the CPSU and the fraternal ruling parties in the socialist countries. An international conference on this topic was held in Leipzig (GDR) in 1979. Recommendations aimed at improving this important work sector were drafted.

The 26th CPSU Congress reemphasized that the party cannot fulfill its role unless it pays proper attention to the interpretation of all events, the summation of new phenomena and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The party's political arsenal was enriched by a number of important summations and conclusions after the 25th Party Congress. This applied mainly to the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. This ideologically enriches the content of the courses and curriculums in the training of philosophy cadres.

Since the importance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the theoretical foundation and as a methodology for all sectors in the area of spiritual production is rising steadily, the CPSU calls for enhancing the level of pedagogical and research work by philosophers and the prevention of a separation between this work and the development of the entire remaining set of scientific knowledge and the penetration of scholasticism within it. However, the 26th congress pointed out that by far not everything in the social sciences is satisfactory, that a tendency to engage in scholastic theorizing has not been eliminated and that quite frequently philosophers prefer to prove what has already been proved, rather than engaging in the interpretation of new phenomena.

The synthesizing integrative role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is increasing. In this connection, it must elaborate the methodological principles of all sciences. It must draw the attention of scientists in the various fields to the new particularly difficult problems, determine their real significance, bring to light general, essential and natural relations and ties and interpret them on a wide conceptual and methodological level. The party comprehensively guides the activities of philosophers in expanding and strengthening their alliance with the representatives of the natural, technical and social sciences and toward the all-round enhancement of the philosophical standard of scientific workers and the cadre personnel at all the levels of economic and cultural management systems.

Many specific practical problems raised by life require a philosophical approach. This was pointed out by V. I. Lenin. ". . . Whoever undertakes to

resolve individual problems without having resolved the general ones," he wrote, "will inevitably come across such general problems at every step, subconsciously. Facing them blindly in each specific case means dooming one's policy to the worst possible confusion and lack of principles" (Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 15, p 368).

Marxist-Leninist philosophy theoretically substantiates the strategy of the building of socialism and communism by arming the people with knowledge of the most general laws of nature and society and bringing to light the prospects of mankind. The successful development of philosophy itself depends on the quality of its theoreticians, mainly the detachments of philosophy specialists who are being trained today, their ideological tempering, party-mindedness, scientific standard, professional competence and skill specifically to apply dialectical materialism in the study of objective processes and phenomena.

The recent CPSU congresses clearly defined the tasks of the further enhancement of the cognitive, methodological and ideological significance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This has led to the creation of major works on dialectical materialism, the theory of knowledge and the history of philosophy. Such works are based on the summation of contemporary scientific data and the study of the latest trends in social life. At the same time, studies on topical problems of historical materialism are being energized, particularly those related to the acceleration of the sociohistorical process and its increased complexity and contradictoriness under the conditions of the contemporary confrontation between the two socioeconomic systems and the expanding global revolutionary process. Philosophy studies are contributing to the development of our concepts regarding the laws governing the historical process, the nature of the developing scientific and technical revolution and the ways and means of building a new society and shaping the new man.

All of this determines the increasing requirements related to the training of philosophy cadres and indicates the ways leading to its improvement. The basic works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, the programmatic documents of the CPSU and the works of L. I. Brezhnev and other leaders of our party and Soviet state and of outstanding leaders of the international communist and workers movements have been, are and will remain the starting point in this area. They ensure the overall study of the coordinated structural components of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is particularly important to emphasize this today, when our ideological opponents are trying to split the great revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine into separate parts, in order to facilitate the struggle against it. Good knowledge of prime sources is the main prerequisite in developing a well-trained specialist in any area of the social sciences. This is a mandatory principle in higher education. Being basic, it defines the quality of training of the specialist. The extent of its implementation determines the level of skill of philosophy cadres.

Actually, the training process of such cadres consists mainly of the all-round study of the theoretical content of said prime sources. This is the foundation of all teaching disciplines.

A great number of textbooks, readers, and various types of aids have been published recently, which provide commentaries and explanations of individual works by Marxist-Leninist classics. In itself, this is a positive fact. However, the existence of such publications sometimes distracts us from the study of the prime sources themselves. This involves the danger of lowering the quality of philosophy training. No future scientist or educator has benefitted from an easy approach to science. That makes it necessary to underscore the urgent need to turn the students directly to the classics, again and again.

For example, it would be impossible to overestimate the importance of mastering Marx' "Das Kapital," which arms everyone with the ability to apply dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge of Marxism to the study of specific areas, processes and phenomena and the sum total of social relations. Unfortunately, today, when many books interpreting and commenting this basic work have been published, the students have no difficulty in mastering the essential ideas of "Das Kapital," sometimes even without reading the work. However, the future philosopher must not only be familiar with these ideas but must literally work his mind through Marx' creative laboratory. It is this type of thinking alone that will yield first-rate intellectual goods. I believe that an entire system of special courses and seminars must be developed to study Marx' immortal work in its entire depth, complexity and beauty.

The same applies to the great works of Lenin.

"Materialism and Empiricriticism," the "Philosophical Notebooks," "The State and Revolution," "The Left-Wing Infant Disease in Communism" and others are major developments of the classical legacy left by Marx and Engels. These works enrich dialectical materialism not only by refining and intensifying its content but by actively introducing its categories in the very framework of the revolutionary thinking of our time and developing on their basis a social consciousness of a new quality. Lenin's "Philosophical Notebooks" alone are an inexhaustible source of ideas in the further development of our research and educational practices. Let us take as an example the 16 dialectical elements he has singled out (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, pp 202-203). Scientific works and training courses are still paying insufficient attention to them. Traditionally, the dialectical structure offered by Engels in his "Anti-Duhring" seems adequate and complete. In my view, this area offers a great possibility of scientific and methodical work.

The importance of social and political problems in the training of philosophy cadres has increased sharply in recent years. Today philosophy can no longer limit itself merely to the study of methodological, gnosiological and logical problems. Life demands of the specialist philosophers to be able to apply their knowledge in the solution of the topical problems of the building of communism, to provide an entirely clear, definite and unequivocal answer to any theoretical question related to the domestic and foreign policy of our party and to explain this policy to the broad masses convincingly. Enthusiasm for meaningless abstractions and theoretical "mysteries" to the detriment of the vital problems of our time and the alienation of teaching from urgent practical problems are inadmissible.

Every Soviet educator and research specialist must avoid formal "gains" in the field of definitions, untimely and nonsocial systematizations, and the paying of lesser attention to dialectical logic.

The conceptual and gnosiological functions of philosophy are intensified under the influence of many global contemporary processes (reorganization of the material and technical base in all countries, the scientific and technical revolution, changes in the economic base and, with them, some changes in super-structural institutions, new phenomena in the interaction between man and his environment on the planet, the comprehensive development of space around the earth, the study of increasingly distant areas in outer space, the latest trends in the conflict between labor and capital, the confrontation between the forces of peace and war, the struggle of ideas and trends in various areas of spiritual life, etc.). The party's task of equipping all Soviet people with a scientific methodology and a dialectical-materialistic global outlook faces specialist philosophers, as the direct promoters of this CPSU line in life, with stricter requirements. The training of these specialists calls for the laying of a firm conceptual awareness base and high quality thinking. The future specialist philosophers must be aware of the special role which they must play in the intellectual potential of the country. They must be aware of their lofty civic mission, for which reason their training must be closely linked with communist upbringing.

In addition to mastering the necessary volume of knowledge, higher school training calls for systematic educational work as well, which includes socio-political practice, lecturing and agitation-propaganda work at plants, factories and establishments, and specific sociological studies. Furthermore, every student must actively participate in one socially useful activity or another in his course or department and carry out Komsomol, trade union and other assignments. The principle of combining theoretical training with practical work imbues all VUZ life and contributes to the development of a communist moral awareness by the specialist. The all-round interpretation of the latest social phenomena and achievements by the future specialists, combined with the development of proper individual qualities and an active life stance and direct participation in social affairs shape the features of reliable fighters for the triumph of communist ideals.

In my view, the conceptual function of philosophy could be emphasized in the training process and the textbooks. In particular, the number of lectures on the dialectics of global contemporary processes is insufficient.

Dialectical materialism is the leading specialized discipline. It would be desirable to demonstrate the social dynamism of the present in the entirety of its contradictions, through the lens of the dialectical "nucleus"--the law of unity and struggle of opposites--in the course of the training process.

Natural science data predominates today in the teaching of dialectical materialism while social problems are insufficiently interpreted, as a result of which the separation between this subject and problems of improving social

reality may arise. This could create a feeling of "scientific" snobbery in some young specialists regarding the practical aspects and tendency to engage in abstract philosophizing and engage in fruitless waste of creative effort.

Let us point out that the philosophy of dialectical materialism developed from its very beginning in close connection with sociopolitical practice and the liberation struggle waged by the working class. In this sense, historical materialism and dialectical materialism are as one and no rigid watershed separating them should be looked for. The first is imbued with the categories of the second. Differences between them are arbitrary and relative, caused by the specifics of the manifestation of the laws of dialectics in the social form of matter dynamics. It would be desirable to saturate the curriculum on dialectical materialism with sociopolitical problems and to offer special courses and seminars on topics related to the summation of historical practice, the building of communism in particular.

The developed socialist society demands of the philosophy cadres the perfect mastery of dialectical materialism as a specific system of laws, categories and concepts deriving from each other and logically interrelated. Lenin taught that dialectics requires not enumerations and assertions but conclusions and proofs. The teaching of dialectics must be built not on the presentation of rationalistic deductions but on the live material provided by the summation of real facts. The students must learn how to determine the dialectics of social practice and scientific knowledge.

Improvements in the quality of training of philosophy cadres are closely related to improvements in the teaching of historical materialism as the science of the general laws governing the development of society, the general sociological theory of Marxism and the methodology of the study of social phenomena. This subject enables us to study social progress in its integrity and unity of all essential aspects and relations, to see the inner springs of its dynamics and to understand the mechanism of functioning of all social institutions and the trends in their interaction and development. It would be suitable to formulate new training courses on philosophy-sociological problems of developed socialism, the socialist way of life, the dialectics of the base and the superstructure, the interaction between production forces and production relations under the conditions of the building of communism and the laws governing the shaping of a communist outlook, and to make such courses mandatory for all philosophy students.

Today philosophy and scientific communism specialists must understand the nature of the scientific and technical revolution, its social prerequisites and consequences, its influence on the social structure and the nature of labor, and the status of man within its system. The study and teaching of such problems must be related to the problems of laying the material and technical foundation for communism and contemporary relations between environment and society.

Today social information--its nature and the principles governing the obtaining, transmission and transformation of it--has become a topic of scientific

interest. This interest is not accidental but related to the management of social processes and the organization of ideological work.

The shaping of the new man is one of the central problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The CPSU documents issued in recent years sum up the tremendous experience acquired by the party in the communist upbringing of the working people. This experience reflects the comprehensive approach to the organization of this work, i.e., it ensures close unity among ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing in accordance with communist construction tasks. The higher schools are intensifying the study of the problems of man, refining the topics of subsequent scientific work and adding its results to training courses on the basis of the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the party's documents and the basic conclusions drawn by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. In this case the development of the social activeness of the individual, the enhancement of his needs and his increased spiritual potential are of particular interest.

The study of the theory of scientific communism as an inseparable component of Marxism-Leninism plays a major role in the training of specialists-social scientists. This subject includes very important parts on the sociopolitical laws governing the developed socialist society, the criteria of mature socialism, the stages of its formation and progress, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the leading role of communist parties and the historical mission of the working class in the class struggle, and the establishment of the communist system. The working class is one of the key categories in this theory. Its mastery also calls for a criticism of anti-Marxist fabrications concerning the "disappearance" of the working class, the inadmissibility of substituting professional for socioeconomic differences and the scientific groundlessness of confusing the problem of the social nature of the working class as the carrier of a new production method with the question of the appearance of new professional groups within the working class and the broadening of its boundaries.

The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress pay great attention to the socioeconomic structure of developed socialism and the establishment of a classless socialist society. The congress' stipulations and conclusions were the foundation for the further development of the respective sections of curriculums and plans.

Our party ascribes great importance to the elaboration of theoretical management problems and to arming the cadres with the science of management. However, this science, which today includes extensive publications, is still not being taught in philosophy departments. It would be expedient to develop a system of specialized courses and seminars dealing with its problems.

It would be suitable to include in pedagogical practice problems of the socialist and Soviet ways of life and of labor collectives of a socialist type.

In the training of specialists in philosophy and scientific communism, insufficient attention is being paid to the study and depiction of the tie between general laws and specific characteristics in the global revolutionary process,

the building of socialism and communism, the increased importance of general laws, the specific developments of revolutionary situations today, the peaceful and violent forms of the class struggle in different countries, the role of mass awareness, ideology and social mentality in the revolutionary struggle and strengthening and shaping the alliance between the working class and the nonproletarian toiling masses.

The interconnection between objective conditions and the subjective factor in the global revolutionary process must be depicted in the training courses of sociologists not as being of interest in general but specifically, as applicable to individual areas and different conditions of sociocultural development.

The importance of teaching Marxist-Leninist ethics, esthetics and scientific atheism has increased under contemporary conditions. It is important in the process of the presentation of these subjects to prove the inner organic ties between them and the foundations of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and scientific communism.

The quality of the methodological training of the future philosophers is manifested in their ability to resolve topical problems of scientific knowledge and practical activity. We must point out in this connection that the teaching of philosophical problems of the natural sciences, as a most important methodological discipline, must be improved considerably. Today this course is more like a combination of general theoretical problems of the various natural sciences rather than their philosophical summation. It is time to give it a clearly manifested philosophical nature and to improve its curriculum.

We must not allow philosophy to be dissolved in the individual sciences. Philosophy relies on these sciences. However, without extensive erudition, the understanding of their methodological problems would be difficult.

V. I. Lenin was not a specialist in physics. However, because of his extensive culture and brilliant mastery of the dialectical-materialistic method, he was able profoundly to reveal the nature of changes in physics, pointing out that the natural scientists will find in dialectical materialism "a number of answers to the philosophical problems raised by the revolution in the natural sciences," and that "the natural sciences are developing so rapidly and experiencing such a profound revolutionary change in all areas that the natural sciences can in no case do without philosophical conclusions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 31).

The underdevelopment of methodological problems of social, natural and technical sciences is a major gap in the training of philosophy cadres, although this task was formulated in the CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their Role in the Building of Communism."

The training of philosophy cadres in logic must be improved considerably. The teaching of dialectical logic is poorly represented in our country. It is literally drowning in a mass of separate logic disciplines. Today philosophy

students are not taking a general mandatory course in dialectical logic which is being taught only to a narrow circle of specializing students.

In my view, the time has come also to improve the teaching of individual sciences to the future philosophers--both humanities and natural sciences.

Currently the students are exposed to a few individual fragments of physics, mathematics, biology and history. The result is a very shallow mastery of individual specialized subjects of which little is remembered. Would it not be better to undertake the study of individual sciences on a cyclical basis? In such a case every student would be given the opportunity to make a thorough study of one or two sciences on their contemporary level. I believe that the development of the following cycles would be useful: physics-mathematics, chemistry-biology and humanities. Such a division would create a certain specialization and would make it possible to increase the number of hours for the study of the individual sciences. The teaching of such sciences would assume a specific direction in accordance with philosophy training and the specific nature of the teaching of such sciences would be emphasized. Unfortunately, so far no special courses and training aids on the natural sciences for philosophy departments have been created, nor have special curriculums for the individual sciences been developed.

Major gaps and difficulties exist also in organizing the methodology of specific sociological research in the teaching of Marxist-Leninist sociology. Yet such studies closely link philosophy with life and practice. Marxist-Leninist sociology exists as a scientific discipline. It is the subject of candidate and doctoral dissertations. The register of the Higher Certification Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers includes the specialty of applied sociology. However, cadres are not being trained in this area although the need is there. Both the subject and the name, applied sociology, must be refined. General and specialized courses on the theory and the methods of sociological research must be mandatorily taken by all philosophy students. To this effect, it would be quite expedient to set up new chairs and laboratories.

The party teaches us to teach in such a way that the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory by young people is not reduced to the memorizing of ready-made conclusions and formulas but help them to think independently, to resolve vital problems, to see the laws and prospects of social development and to wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology. "It is self-evident," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "that this depends above all on the extent to which the teacher, propagandist and instructor in the social sciences and the ideological cadres themselves have mastered revolutionary theory."

The training of philosophy cadres is mandatorily related to the profoundly substantiated scientific criticism of reactionary bourgeois philosophy and sociology. In our work we always bear in mind the characteristics of the contemporary ideological struggle. So far, however, our curriculums do not have entire lecture courses on criticism of contemporary anticommunism and revisionism. The fragmentary presentations on this topic can no longer satisfy us in the light of the increased requirements regarding the training of future specialist-philosophers.

At the same time, the students in philosophy departments must take a separate major course on the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy abroad, particularly in the socialist countries, a course which will offer them a broad view on the development of dialectical and historical-materialistic thinking abroad.

Since no one can be a true specialist without proper knowledge of the history of his science, we are paying great attention to the study of historical-philosophical disciplines. The future philosophers must have a good idea of the origin and development of the conceptual-categorical apparatus they are studying. They must be familiar with the motive forces of this process, the theoretical-cognitive clashes experienced by philosophy and the social factors which this involved. Our students must mandatorily master a high volume of works and classical prime sources. The history of philosophy is the school of thinking which must be attended if one is to consider himself a philosopher. Let us note that it is precisely thanks to it that the young specialists acquire a real taste for creative philosophical work.

Incidentally, in training philosophy cadres we try to develop in them an innovational and creative approach, combined with loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology. In this case dialectics has a role. We try to instill in the subjects we teach a feeling of close unity between innovation, on the one hand, and loyalty to traditions, on the other.

In speaking of the integrative and synthesizing role of philosophy in theoretical knowledge, we must note a trend toward a significant differentiation among its various parts. Excessive specialization has led to the appearance of a certain lack of coordination and division of scientific research, which affect the teaching of philosophy disciplines as well. Frequently, specialists in one area of philosophy are unaware of what is being done in another and are insufficiently familiar with related categories. This conflicts with the principle of philosophical integrity and is fraught with the danger of the appearance of philosophy "shops," which improperly narrow the viewpoint of specialists and their thinking. The extremes are dangerous: a general superficial knowledge and amateurism are inadmissible; however, equally inadmissible is a deliberate professional limitation on the part of the philosopher. Extremes come together and both ends harm the development of skills.

It was pointed out at the all-union conference of heads of chairs of social sciences that the unresolved question of the selection of young people to study basic sociopolitical skills in VUZs was one of the difficulties and shortcomings in the training of philosophy cadres. The system of enrolling those who wished to study "philosophy" and "scientific communism" must be improved as well. It is wrong for teachers in philosophy departments not to participate in assessing the entrance examinations of the applicants, as the structure of our future students is determined by teachers of Russian language, literature, a foreign language and history, i.e., by people who are not responsible for the further upbringing and training of high school graduates. However, only specialists can properly assess the interests and possibilities of those who wish to master the specialists' skills.

It would be desirable for first year philosophy students to submit a written control work on social science, most important history problems, the USSR Constitution, and the foundations of the state and law, naturally, within the framework of the secondary school curriculum. The topics of such assignments could be "The Communist Party Manifesto--The First Programmatic Document of Scientific Communism;" "V. I. Lenin's Speech at the Third Komsomol Congress and Its Importance Today;" "V. I. Lenin on Hertzzen;" "V. I. Lenin's Article on Tolstoy," and others. Such works would be checked by department of philosophy teachers.

In addition to compositions on topics related to the future skill of the new student, a talk or an oral examination on social sciences, the USSR Constitution and the foundations of the state and law would be suitable. All of this would make it possible to improve the selection of future specialists in philosophy and scientific communism.

Speakers at the all-union conference of heads of chairs of social sciences also discussed the achievements and shortcomings of the existing system of VUZ training of social science teachers. Today some philosophy departments and sections cannot provide such training and research on the proper level, as they are short of a sufficient number of specialists. The time has come to optimize the network of philosophy departments and sections throughout the country. Another idea whose time has come is that of creating three or four separate institutes at large universities (such as those for upgrading the skills of social science teachers) with the facilities of existing economic and philosophy departments of large universities, with a view to training teachers and scientific workers in the social sciences. It would be expedient in such institutes to create departments of philosophy, scientific communism, political economy and CPSU history and a sociology department which would include the chairs teaching such subjects as well as to inaugurate a number of new chairs and laboratories.

The assigning of young specialists must be improved. Despite the acute shortage of teachers of philosophy and scientific communism, strange situations occasionally arise: no positions are found for graduates of philosophy departments, while chairs of philosophy and scientific communism in the country's VUZs are only half staffed by specialists with basic philosophy training and with scientific degrees and titles. This is due to a variety of reasons, one of which is that the local party organs are not concerned with providing the young specialists with housing. Under such circumstances it is difficult to hope for high level scientific and ideological training.

The foundations of philosophy, social science, esthetics and ethics are studied in many secondary vocational-technical schools. However, these subjects are frequently taught not by specialists but by teachers of history, literature, etc. The USSR Gosplan and USSR Ministry of Higher Education should streamline the method used in considering the need for philosophy cadres and the centralized assignment of philosophy department graduates. Today the deans' offices of philosophy departments must establish their own connections with VUZs and inform them of demand for personnel and existing vacancies,

although the USSR Ministry of Higher Education and the union-republic ministries of higher and secondary specialized education have departments in charge of assigning young specialists.

The philosophy departments are experiencing severe personnel difficulties. Thus, the philosophy department at Moscow State University has more than 30 faculty vacancies. Professors and instructors are overburdened. The procedure for drafting tables of organization based on the number of students do not reflect the real teaching load.

Considerable changes have taken place in higher school life of late. The volume of scientific research has increased sharply. The number of postgraduate students has grown inordinately. The USSR Ministry of Higher Education is acting properly by concentrating graduate studies in the large universities. However, this also requires the creation of the necessary conditions for the successful work and training of postgraduate students. The scientists who head philosophy departments face the difficult work of writing textbooks and school aids and developing new specialized courses and seminars. Relations with foreign countries and the training of foreign students and postgraduate students take a great deal of time and effort. All of this is virtually ignored in drafting the tables of organization. The overloading of the professorial personnel adversely affects the training process and educational work.

Social science educators have the party duty of enhancing the quality of education and communist upbringing of the students. The philosophy cadres are cadres of a special nature to whose training the CPSU pays particularly close attention. The Marxist philosopher must be a fighter for what is new and progressive, for the basic interests of the working people and for scientific truths, the main of which is the truth of communism. To the students the social science teacher is the representative of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking which must be attained by the future specialist with the help of the entire depth, purposefulness and power of the scientific methodology of the working class. This faces the philosopher-teacher with strict requirements concerning his intellectual, ideological-political and moral features.

The social science teachers have the civic duty of meeting the stricter requirements of the developed socialist society through their creative activities.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003
"SO:180279

WHEN THE REVOLUTION IS IN DANGER

Moscow KOMMUNIST In Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 69-80

[Article by V. Polikarpov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] Immediately after its victory, any revolution faces the task of defending itself from the attacks of the class enemy. After making a thorough study of the experience of class battles in many countries, including the lessons of the three Russian revolutions, V. I. Lenin reached the conclusion that "in any profound revolution the long, stubborn and desperate resistance of the exploiters, who retain major actual advantages over the exploited over a period of many years, is the rule," and that they would never yield to the will of the majority of the exploited before testing their advantages "in the final and desperate battle, in a series of battles" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 268).

In organizing the defense of the gains of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin repeatedly reminded the working people of the tragic lessons of the previous revolutions, particularly that of the 1871 Paris Commune, which fell under the strikes of the enraged reaction. "It frequently happened," he said in June 1918, "that the working and the oppressed classes were able to seize the power, but not once were they able to retain it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 453). Lenin drew attention to such an invariably recurring historical outcome of revolutionary action at a time when the Soviet Republic faced in its entirety the task of preventing the triumph of the counterrevolution. Lenin's concept, which was formulated in October 1918, to the effect that "a revolution is worth anything only if it is able to defend itself..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 122), contained the first successful attempt in history to protect the gains of the socialist revolution by the Russian proletariat.

The behest of the need to defend the revolutionary gains skillfully became the most important stipulation in theory of the socialist revolution. It was recalled by the CC CPSU in its decree on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. The decree emphasized that "the revolution can secure its victory only if it is able to defend itself." In its decree on the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, the Central Committee noted the heroism of the working people who had defended the gains of the October Revolution from domestic and foreign enemies. Calling upon the party "to bring to light comprehensively the international significance, topical nature and invincible right of Lenin's ideas," the Central Committee drew attention to the importance

of Lenin's doctrine of the defense of the socialist fatherland and the experience in its application. The all-union conference of ideological workers noted that the direct turning on the part of party cadres, all party members and an increasingly broad circle of working people to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which contain the foundations of our revolutionary science, is more topical than ever before. It is a question of their profound integral study and dissemination rather than the superficial and brief acquaintance with individual concepts contained in the works of Marxist-Leninist classics. This is precisely the task of the study of Lenin's legacy regarding the defense of revolutionary gains. "The history of world socialism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is familiar with all sorts of trials. It has experienced difficult and critical moments. However, the party members have always daringly faced enemy attacks and have won. This was and will be. Let no one doubt our common resolve to defend our interests and the socialist gains of the peoples!"

1

Lenin taught that the most vital task of the party, which has assumed the leadership of the revolutionary movement, is the study and consideration of the ratio of class forces. He considered this "the crux of Marxism and Marxist tactics" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 288). The lessons of the people's revolution in Chile once again draw our attention to the importance of this Marxist law. "In Leninist policy," the materials of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee Plenum state, "the ratio of class forces has always been considered a key factor. Lenin repeatedly stated that this is the main factor in making political decisions..." ("Chiliyskaya Revolyutsiya, Fashistskaya Diktatura, Bor'ba za Yeye Sverzheniye i Sozdaniye Novoy Demokratii. Plenum TsK Kompartii Chili. Avgust 1977 G." [The Chilean Revolution, the Fascist Dictatorship, the Struggle for Its Overthrow and the Creation of a New Democracy. Chilean Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. August 1977]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, p 252).

In analyzing the experience of the revolution, the Chilean communists have reached the conclusion that "the absence of a military policy," or, as was admitted by the Central Committee members, "the lack of a military component" was a major gap in their activities (Ibid., pp 47-48, 272, 282).

Lenin's concept of the need for a revolution to be able to defend itself sums up the lessons and experience not only of socialist but to a great extent people's-democratic revolutions as well. It is on this basis that Lenin applies this law to all revolutions. As we can see, the experience of the people's revolution in Chile precisely confirmed this kind of broad realm of application of the law formulated by the founders of Marxism--the need for any revolution to be able to defend itself. This experience is being studied by broad circles of members of the communist and workers movements the world over. Its study promises to be even more fruitful if it is based on the profound mystery of the Leninist concept of the defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

The lessons from the struggle of the Russian proletariat hold a unique position in the treasury of the overall experience of global socialism. Their study

makes it possible to bring to light in their entirety the specific manifestations of the Leninist principles of leadership of the masses in the class struggle in its most acute form, imposed by the overthrown exploiters, and the methods for the scientific elaboration of the problem of armed defense of socialism. In Lenin's works the programmatic documents of the Bolshevik Party provide to this day an exhaustive study of the lessons of dedicated struggle waged by the proletariat under most difficult circumstances, when it was forced to defend itself from the capitalist predators attacking it from all sides, supported by the bourgeois-landowners' counterrevolution from within. Now, when some detachments of the international liberation movement face the task of defending their gains in the struggle against imperialism, the experience of the civil war in Russia, refracted through the lens of specific contemporary conditions, retains its importance.

It was clear that worldwide capitalism had not reconciled itself with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia. On 26 October 1917, Lenin warned from the rostrum of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets that "the governments and the bourgeoisie will do everything possible to unite and to drown in blood the revolution of workers and peasants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 17). History confirmed the justice of this warning and its tremendous mobilizing importance to the masses of workers and peasants, who had taken up the defense of the October Revolution from international capitalism. Lenin's instruction from the 18-month experience of the civil war in Russia remains topical: "...If you have decided to bring the cause of the overthrow (of the power of the exploiters--the author) to an end, you must know that you will have to withstand the pressure of the exploiters the world over; if you are ready to oppose this pressure and make new sacrifices in order to endure in the struggle, you are a revolutionary; in the opposite case you will be drowned." Lenin, who rated the heroism of the workers and peasants in defending the socialist fatherland highly, stated that "...that is why, as we point out the facts and the results, we have the right to say that we are enduring this trial..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, pp 52-53).

To this day imperialism has not abandoned its efforts to drown in blood all manifestations of the liberated movement: the entire world can see today the way the United States is threatening with all its might the peoples which have thrown off the chains of monarchy and fascist dictatorships, the way it is assuming the functions of a policeman in many parts of different continents, unceremoniously interfering in the domestic affairs of various countries, on the side of the most reactionary regimes headed by dictatorial cliques (Chile, El Salvador, the Republic of South Africa, Paraguay, etc). This makes Lenin's behest to the effect that the revolution must be ready "to withstand the pressure of the exploiters the world over" topical. The experience of Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua and Ethiopia proves that the possibility of withstanding in the struggle against this pressure has increased.

The peoples who are defending the gains of the revolution today rely in their struggle against imperialism not only on their own forces but also on international proletarian solidarity, on the power of the united socialist countries. The actual ratio of forces in the modern world offers favorable conditions which enable the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence to protect their gains from imperialist encroachments.

The shifting of the power to the working people and the loss of it by the bourgeoisie and the landowners was the basic factor which defined the new form (or stage) of the class struggle as a whole. It also defined the corresponding nature of the clashes which took place from the very first days of the existence of the Soviet system, when it was forced to wage an armed struggle against the internal counterrevolution, which was supported by the global bourgeoisie politically, and during all the subsequent stages, when international imperialism committed its military forces on the side of the Russian counterrevolution. It was thus that the October political coup d'etat which resolved the basic problem of the revolution--power--in favor of the exploited was the historical landmark which separated one form (stage) of the class struggle from another.

After the exploiters had lost the power and when the overwhelming majority of the people proved to be on the side of the revolution, the bolsheviks had reason to assume that peace could prevail for a while. The ratio of forces which developed in October (the soviets "were supported by nine-tenths of the Russian population, the working class and the overwhelming majority of the peasantry" and, furthermore, "the greatest possible revolutionary enthusiasm was shown by the army and the majority of the people") ensured, should the soviets take the power, the possibility of a peaceful development of the revolution and the "bloodless" surmounting of any bourgeois opposition (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 224, 237). However, soon after the victory of the October Revolution, on 8 March 1981, at the seventh party congress, Lenin submitted the conclusion that in the transition from capitalism to socialism history "did not award us the type of peaceful situation which was theoretically conceived of for a while." On the basis of this possibility, the party and the proletariat attempted in the course of their practical activities to convert to the new social system with the greatest possible adaptation to the then-existing relations, gradually if possible and without any particular break. The bourgeois answer to these steps taken by the Soviet system was to unleash a civil war. As early as 4 November 1917, Lenin drew the attention of the members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the fact that the counterrevolution had organized the uprising of the military cadets and had declared war on the Soviet system on Petrograd and Moscow. "We do not wish a civil war," he said. "Our troops have shown a great deal of patience. They waited. They did not fire, and at first it was three of our people who were killed. The measures taken against Krasnov were not harsh. He was subjected to house arrest only. We are against civil war. Nevertheless, should it go on, what else is there to do?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 59). On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the revolution, Lenin recalled that at the end of 1917 the bolsheviks "were naive enough" to be concerned with petty matters such as the monopolizing of classified ads. However, it was the resistance of the capitalist class that forced our governmental system to shift the entire struggle to an entirely different level--the level of the civil war. In his work "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System," Lenin pointed out that "we posed and resolved the organizational problem on the very first day after 25 October 1917, but until (this was written in April of 1918--the author) the resistance of the exploiters still had the form of open civil war, the task of management could not become the main, the central

task" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 172). These words show the efforts made by the Bolshevik Party in power to reorganize social life on a new basis. They also explain the need which arose from the very beginning to concentrate on the solution of another problem which had assumed priority--suppressing the opposition of the exploiters and temporarily postponing the solution of the organizational problem.

In assessing the political situation in the initial period which followed the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that at that time the priority task facing the Soviet system was that of suppressing the opposition of the exploiters, "the task of conquering Russia," of winning it "from the rich for the poor and from the exploiters for the working people." Since capitalism offered military opposition, the problem could be resolved mainly through military means. Lenin pointed out that from the end of October 1917 to roughly February 1918 it was this combat or military task that came first.

In interpreting the significance of the experience of the armed struggle in Russia, which began after the October coup d'etat, Lenin discovered the law that such a task must inevitably assume priority "for any political party which has assumed power under circumstances of a most sharp and fierce struggle." The task of suppressing the opposition of the exploiters confronts the proletarian party with particular urgency, "for in this case the united representatives of the rich classes, armed with the power of capital, knowledge and long, not to say age-old custom and habit of rule, stand up against the toiling masses which have taken the side of the proletariat" (Ibid., p 128).

Lenin reached this conclusion on the basis of the experience of the armed struggle which took place in the initial months which followed the victory of the October Revolution. This is not to say, however, that this pattern was characteristic only of the initial stage of the civil war. It proved to be typical of the subsequent years of armed struggle as well, in the course of which the main forces of the internal counterrevolution, which were supported by international imperialism and were its combat detachment on Russian territory, were defeated.

Lenin's definition in his September 1917 work "The Russian Revolution and the Civil War" is the basis of the Marxist concept of the history of the civil war. It is expressed in the following words: "...The civil war is the gravest form of the class struggle, in the course of which a number of economic and political clashes and battles will recur, pile up, expand and sharpen. It converts such clashes into the armed struggle waged by one class against another" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 215). This definition expresses the logic of the development of the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, ranging from economic clashes to political conflicts in the form of the armed struggle of a civil war. In considering the armed struggle a form of the class struggle, Lenin showed its continuity with the economic and political struggle. He thus pointed out the historical position of the civil war, which he characterized as being a form of class confrontation different from other such forms, less fierce, pursued without armed violence.

There is an obvious direct connection between the work "The Russian Revolution and the Civil War" and one of Lenin's earlier theoretical works on the same subject--his article "Partisan Warfare," which was written in September 1906. The article develops one of the basic Marxist theoretical stipulations on the historical determination of the forms of struggle and the correlation among them in the different stages of the revolutionary movement. In this article, Lenin provided a specific study of the systematic development of the forms of the class struggle during the first Russian revolution and the decade which preceded it and the process of the growth of economic strikes launched by workers into a broad political movement of the toiling masses which, in the final account, converts into an armed struggle. In turn, this struggle develops from local cases of clashes at barricades and isolated uprisings--individual acts of civil war--to higher and more complex forms of "lengthy civil war which spreads throughout the country, i.e., the armed struggle between two segments of the people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 14, p 11).

The classical definition of the civil war, which Lenin formulated in September 1917, is the compressed study of the problem found in various works written in the pre-October period. The subsequent development of the revolution confirmed the line of development of the class struggle as expressed in this definition. The experience of the very first weeks of armed struggle after the October victory enabled Lenin, in accordance with the discovered law, to point out that the class struggle "inevitably turned into a civil war in the course of the lengthy process of revolutionary development" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 230). In his summation of the change of forms of class struggle on a broad historical perspective, in 1919 Lenin reached the conclusion that in the epoch which preceded World War I (approximately between 1871 and 1914), "those who were backward had to be led through universal suffrage, without revolution." However, by involving mankind in a war, imperialism taught the proletariat how to handle weapons. According to Marx' forecast, made as early as 1870, "this is the best guarantee for the future" so that the time came in 1917 "when it is the civil war that develops the course of the proletarian revolution" (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 458; K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 33, p 140).

In his "The Russian Revolution and the Civil War" Lenin summed up the experience of European revolutions, starting with the end of the 18th century, and the five-month-old experience of the revolution in Russia of September 1917. Naturally, however, the article could not as yet reflect the subsequent post-October experience. It was precisely the post-October events that led Lenin to reach the exceptionally important conclusion about the essential change in the nature (or form) of the class struggle as a whole (in all its varieties) as a result of the shifting of the power to the proletariat. Under such circumstances, he emphasized, the class struggle reaches a higher level, subordinating to itself any and all forms of social movement. In his work "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of Proletarian Dictatorship" (1919) Lenin explained the course of this change as follows: "By overthrowing the bourgeoisie and seizing the political power, the proletariat becomes the ruling class: it holds the power of the state and handles the already socialized productive material. It pushes the hereditary intermediary elements and classes. It suppresses the increased usage of the capitalists' opposition. All of these are the special tasks of the class struggle, tasks which the proletariat neither set nor could set itself previously" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, pp 279-280).

As early as the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on 11 January 1918, when as a result of the new circumstances history placed the armed struggle among classes on the agenda, Lenin drew attention to the essential difference between the class struggle as it was taking place at that time and its previous form. The class struggle, he said, "has reached its final form in which the exploited class takes over all the instruments of power in order to destroy its class enemy once and for all" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, pp 266-267). In subsequent works as well, Lenin referred to the nature of the new form taken by the class struggle (or to its new stage with its new tasks) (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, pp 261, 459). For example, in 1919 he pointed out that not all socialists know how to apply the Marxist theory to the epoch of proletarian dictatorship: "They are unwilling to understand that the proletariat, which has seized the power of the state, does not put an end to its class struggle with this action but continues it in a different form and through other means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat with the help of the weapon of state power..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 18). Subsequently, in 1921, in describing the new form of the class struggle, Lenin said that starting with the beginning of the slave ownership age, there have been many wars between peasants and landowners. "However, there had never previously been a war between the state power and the bourgeoisie of its own country and the united bourgeoisie of all countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 164).

In order to withstand in such a war, Lenin believed, in accordance with Marxist revolutionary theory the proletariat had to prove through action that it was able not only to overthrow the exploiters but to organize its self-defense and to prove this ability "through its military organization" and ability "to master modern technology and modern means of warfare" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 139). The proletariat could consolidate the gains of the revolution only by entirely breaking down the old army and "organizing the new army, new discipline and new military organization of the new class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 295).

The Leninist theory of an army of a new type, which summed up the experience of the most difficult and most painful period of struggle "without any army whatsoever," followed by the creation of voluntary formations and, finally, the building of the regular army of the socialist state, capable of opposing the united forces of international imperialism, became a structural component of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution. This experience recorded in Lenin's works is particularly important in the current stage of the revolutionary movement, when, following the victory of a people's revolution, the forces of reaction and fascism in many countries are trying to use the army for counterrevolutionary purposes.

3

In reviewing the distance covered by the proletarian revolution in Russia a year after the October Revolution victory, Lenin pointed out that its proletarian or socialist work might be reduced to three main aspects: "...1. Revolutionary withdrawal from global imperialist war....2. Establishment of a socialist system and methods for implementing a proletarian dictatorship.... 3. Economic construction of the foundations of a socialist system" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 224). In order to make the solution of these problems

possible, above all the proletarian revolution had to overthrow the exploiters and to suppress their opposition, which increased after their overthrow.

Lenin exposed those "socialists" who proclaimed the October Revolution a bourgeois revolution on the grounds that it had been unable to demonstrate immediately a higher development of production compared with capitalism. He said that had Russian capitalist society "peacefully converted to socialism in peacetime, we would have had no task more urgent than to upgrade productivity. However, there is this small word 'if.' If socialism had come in the type of peaceful way which the capitalists were unwilling to accept.... Great revolutions, even those which begin peacefully, as was the case with the French Revolution, have ended in raging wars started by the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. No other way is possible if we consider this matter from the viewpoint of the class struggle.... In the present period, after the imperialist war, it would be ridiculous to say that a development should progress peacefully, particularly in a dislocated country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 358).

The class status of the petite bourgeoisie did not allow its ideologues to assess the entire tremendous significance of the major socioeconomic changes made by the Soviet system such as the nationalization of the land and the banks, the institution of worker control and of an 8-hour work day, the financing of industrial enterprises despite the sabotage by the bourgeoisie and the officials, the involvement of the largest class organizations of the working people in production control by the state, and the organization of the trade of industrial goods for grain. These measures taken by the Soviet system did not as yet mean a full socialist change in economic relations but were the initial steps to socialism.

"The basic task of any society converting to a socialist system," Lenin pointed out, "is the victory of the ruling class or, rather, of the proletariat which develops within the ruling class over the bourgeoisie..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 131). This problem must be resolved differently in the different stages of development of the revolution: before the proletariat can undertake the economic reorganization of the country, victory must be achieved "politically and strengthened militarily." Under the conditions which prevailed in Russia in 1917-1918, the task of a such a reorganization (management) could not become the main, the central task "while the resistance of the exploiters was still in the form of open civil war" (Ibid., p 172). The October Revolution, Lenin wrote, gave the power to the soviets and, through them, to the toiling and exploited classes. It "triggered the desperate resistance of the exploiters and it was the suppression of this resistance that marked the beginning of the socialist revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 236).

When the bourgeoisie launched its armed struggle against the Soviet system and the petit bourgeois servants of the counterrevolution raised an outcry against proletarian violence in attacking anti-Soviet forces, Lenin exposed the source of this behavior on the part of petit bourgeois democracy. He pointed out that "the intellectuals' outcry on the subject of suppressing the ambition of the capitalists is nothing but a survival of the old 'conservatism'; the social foundation of the petit bourgeois views includes, indeed, the dirty, malicious, raving greed of the pocketbook, and the frightful servility of its parasites" (Ibid., pp 192-193). He called upon the proletariat not to yield to such provocative incantations, to remember the lessons of the Paris Commune and to use workers' violence more energetically.

In exposing the "playacting" of the enemies of the proletarian revolution, Lenin cautioned against all attempts to draw it away from the socialist way and "channel" it in the bed of the bourgeois revolution. Frequently, hesitant allies of the proletariat among the petite bourgeoisie, such as the left-wing S.R. and the "left-wing communists," who were trapped by petit bourgeois ideology, found themselves under the influence of the open enemies of the Soviet system. This was confirmed in particular by the sharp debates within the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Sovnarkom and at the meetings of the party's Central Committee on measures to be adopted in the struggle against counterrevolution. In determining the measures aimed at the merciless suppression of the exploiters, Lenin taught how to see the line which separates the proletarian revolutionary policy from the hesitations of the petite bourgeoisie who, under the pretext of abating the "fratricidal" war, could lead to a surrender of revolutionary positions and undermine the defense of the revolution. The identification of this line is very important in the study of the circumstances prevailing at that time. Nor has it lost its significance in the practice of the contemporary communist and workers movements.

The study of the Leninist characterization of the class struggle which took place after the October Revolution helps us to make an accurate assessment of the task of suppressing the opposition of the exploiters which faced the proletariat at that time, to define the role of the Soviet state in the solution of this problem and to bring to light the leading role of the communist party and the decisive contribution made by the people's masses in defense of the gains of the October Revolution. The study of Lenin's legacy in this area enables us to surmount the view which became somewhat popular for a while according to which rigid "lines" separated the October Revolution from the civil war, while the armed struggle of the period of the triumphant development of the Soviet system was entirely deleted from the history of the October Revolution and the history of the civil war. In itself, naturally, the armed struggle could not ensure the defense of the gains of the revolution. In the very first months of the existence of the Soviet system, Lenin drew attention to the fact that without Russia's reorganization "on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat," the continuation and consolidation of the socialist revolution was impossible, and that it was precisely such a reorganization "that would make socialism invincible" and create "a strong economic base for a powerful workers' and peasants' Red Army" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 3, pp. 250-251). When the invasion of the Soviet Republic by the major forces of international imperialism and the internal counterrevolution was repelled, and when the period of fierce civil war ended, on 21 October 1920, summing up the experience of the first years of the Soviet system, Lenin drew the conclusion that "in order to defeat capitalism it is necessary, first of all, to defeat the exploiters and to defend the power of the exploited--the task of the overthrow of the exploiters by the revolutionary forces; secondly, the constructive task--the building of new economic relations--and show how this is done." Pointing out that these two tasks of the socialist change are inseparably linked, Lenin cautioned that "if we fail to resolve the second problem, no successes, no victories in the overthrow of the exploiters or in the military resistance to international imperialism would yield results and a return to the old would become inevitable" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 42, pp. 17-18).

The armed defense of the revolution against world imperialism remained the main problem which was to decide the fate of the Soviet Republic over a period of 3 years, until the main forces of the bourgeois-landowners' counterrevolution, backed by the Entente imperialists, were eliminated following Vranghel's defeat. The armed struggle against the domestic and foreign counterrevolution lasted for 2 more years after that. All in all, it covered the initial 5 years of the history of the Soviet system. In his speech at the Fourth Comintern Congress "Five Years of Russian Revolution and World Revolution Prospects," delivered on 13 November 1922, Lenin said: "We have been in power for 5 years and during those entire 5 years we have been in a state of war" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 288).

However, as early as the beginning of 1921, when the invasion mounted by the major forces of the external and internal counterrevolution had been stopped, military tasks were given second priority. First priority was given to economic tasks, mainly that of rebuilding the national economy, which was disrupted by the imperialist and civil wars.

The armed struggle in Russia took place under specific conditions, with its peculiar historical features. However, it also expressed some laws which have become part of the treasury of common experience of world socialism and which have retained their validity under different historical conditions as well.

As we know, the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution did not reject the peaceful development of the revolution and the seizure of power by the exploited without civil war. "In a country in which the bourgeoisie could not offer such raving opposition," Lenin pointed out, "the task of the Soviet system would be easier. It would be able to operate without the type of violence and blood which was imposed upon us by Kerenskiy and the imperialists" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 261). Marxist theoretical publications have thoroughly explained the new conditions of the domestic development of different capitalist countries and the international situation, which make a peaceful revolution more realistic than was possible 6 decades ago.

However, such publications do not always take into consideration the most important addition to the theory of the socialist revolution--Lenin's stipulation regarding the radical change in the forms of class struggle in its new stage, arising as a result of the seizure of the power by the working people. This stipulation is based on the conclusion that, deprived of their economic and political rule, the exploiting classes commit themselves to battle for regaining their "paradise lost" with a tenfold increase in energy and cannot accept their defeat without trying the most radical weapon--military resistance. This was the case in Russia in the days following the October Revolution. This conclusion has been frequently reiterated in most modern times.

The revolution in the Soviet Union, the change in the forms of struggle, despite the change in historical circumstances, has preserved its validity. When the bourgeoisie commits itself to battle "from the desperate viewpoint of its interests and strategies," and tries to give a different solution to the problem of power "through the strongest means--war" (V. I. Lenin, "Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 288), the revolutionary gains, without possibility, must be obtained

without armed struggle. "Any other means of action would mean a total surrender of positions on our part" (Ibid., p 204). It is precisely the power of the toiling people that becomes the main weapon in the defense of revolutionary gains. Experience proves that "socialism can be established only if the power of the working people is able to defend the revolution against any attack mounted by the class enemy" (L. I. Brezhnev). Therefore, Lenin's theoretical legacy helps us to resolve the problem of when and under what circumstances the possibilities of peaceful means of waging the class struggle are exhausted and different forms of struggle become necessary.

4

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution is subjected today to the fierce attacks of all kinds of supporters of anticommunism. For some time, White generals, former czarist ministers and leaders of landowning, bourgeois and conciliationist parties were unusually active in anti-Soviet propaganda. Gradually, however, their physical and ideological resources dried out. Sometime at the start of the 1970's, British and American "sovietologists" discovered that "historians outside the USSR are paying little attention to the civil war in Russia" (Peter Kenez, United States), and that lack of fresh works on this topic "is a serious omission" (Richard Locket, Great Britain). In accordance with the political circumstances, the imperialist ideologues urgently undertook thorough work on the problems of the armed struggle in Russia after the October Revolution. The last decade has been marked by an ideological explosion in this area: thick volumes were written by those same P. Kenez and R. Locket, followed by R. Pettybridge, W. Rosenberg, D. Bradley, D. Kipp and other "specialists" in Russian history. In the majority of cases, these authors do not conceal their political sympathies. Actually, they have taken over the bourgeois-Cadet ideas in assessing the civil war.

In their desire to draw lessons from the defeat of the counterrevolution, the bourgeois historians are trying to determine the methods of action of both sides and the errors of the White Guard leadership. Currently the leading "sovietologists" are focusing their efforts especially on the struggle against the Leninist concept of the history of the armed struggle. One of them, Manchester University Professor John Bradley, heatedly argues against Soviet researchers who have exposed the class nature of the civil war in his book "Civil War in Russia 1917-1920," which came out in 1975. This acknowledged Western "sovietologist" also tries to criticize Lenin for "formulating the theory of the class struggle and proclaiming the civil war as its most acute phase." According to Bradley, "this simple political idea created unimaginable confusion in subsequent historical studies and interpretations." In order to unravel these "confused political, military and diplomatic tangles," according to his own and his editors' assertion, Bradley tries "to investigate the conflicting Red and White descriptions of the civil war on the basis of third sources." As such, "in order to check the White and Red inter-related accounts," he chose documents of the military missions of the Entente and the United States attached to the headquarters of the White army in Russia. Obviously, this was a step aimed at the naive foreign reader unaware of the fact that all of these agents of international imperialism attached to the headquarters of the White armies were in the camp of the Russian White Guards. In his soul, Bradley simply repeats the fables of monarchic White empires.

who tried to present the heads of the White Guards as fighters for the "all-national" idea, far removed from any kind of class prejudice.

The royalist general Denikin is presented as a fighter for the will of "the entire nation" in Russia in the works of contemporary Western historians. They focus their attention on this figure because, according to George Brinkley, professor at Notre Dame University (United States), the part of the civil war and the intervention which took place in the south of Russia was the most indicative of the entire events, for it was there that "the most significant formations of military and political forces rose against the bolshevik system" as a result of which "all the problems raised by the civil war and the intervention" appeared in a microcosm (G. A. Brinkley, "The Volunteer Army and Allied Intervention in South Russia 1917-1921." Notre Dame, 1966, p viii).

"As he himself never tired of saying," wrote John Bradley in 1975, "General Denikin was above all a soldier and not a politician. As a soldier, he was neither a liberal nor a reactionary....Whenever a political decision was imposed upon him, he tried to chart a middle course. He trusted neither the extreme right nor the extreme left and did not agree to bind the army to any political program whatsoever" (J. F. Bradley, "Civil War in Russia 1917-1920." New York, 1975, p 131). This original description of Denikin found its way into Bradley's book from the work by his American colleague George Brinkley, which was published as early as 1966 (see G. A. Brinkley, p 257). Denikin is similarly described also in the book by University of California (United States) professor Peter Kenez "The First Year of the Volunteer Army: Civil War in South Russia. 1918" (London, 1971).

This chorus of "sovietologists" might have been able to mislead someone had Denikin's papers not included a correspondence among the leaders of the White Guard, describing the political program shared by Kornilov, Lukomskiy and Denikin. A letter from Lukomskiy to Denikin states that "the Russian people," whose spokesmen, according to their British and American admirers, were the White generals, was confidentially called by the White Guards the "black and dark mass," which could never be allowed the "free expression of the will" without the help of the "four-tail whip for idiots" (such was the White generals' description of the concept of universal, direct, equal and secret elections for the constituent assembly). The type of constituent assembly they had in mind would have consisted exclusively of qualified elements such as landowners and the bourgeoisie; the bourgeois system which it would be permitted to develop under the conditions of a counterrevolutionary military dictatorship would be a purely a constitutional monarchy.

Bradley, Kenez and Bradley could have used Denikin's frank admission that he was not a "political outlook," free from all "party dogmatism," "inherited" from the academic bench to the 1917 revolution. It was based on the "adoption" of a constitutional monarchy (see A. I. Denikin, "Put' Russkogo Ofitsera" [The Road of the Russian Officer]. New York, 1953, p 90).

Denikin also told the correspondent of an American newspaper that "White Guard government is possible in Russia: a czarist or a Soviet," and that under "certain circumstances a constituent assembly, had it not had the same as ours, "could have been an assembly of 500's, led by czarist generals."

a nose ring" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 129). Today's American and British bourgeois historians seem to be deliberately trying to prove that if one were to take the positions of anti-Sovietism and use the prescriptions of White emigre historians, one would inevitably fall into the arms of threadbare monarchism.

In the eyes of the Western "sovietologists," and in their admission, the civil war in Russia remains "the most significant war of all 20th-century civil wars" ("Civil Wars in the 20th Century," Lexington, 1972, p 80). Greater attention has been paid to it in recent years, caused by strictly pragmatic interests. The works of bourgeois historians express the fear that if the lessons of the Russian revolution and the defense of its gains are not studied one may fall into "unprofessional fantasies concerning the Bolshevik Revolution," which could "give us an erroneous view of the dynamics of communist movements in the Third World with occasionally unfortunate consequences in the area of foreign policy" (J. F. Hough and M. Fainsod, "How the Soviet Union Is Governed," Harvard-London, 1979, p 39). The study of the revolutionary movement in Russia, "the development of the Leninist trend of thought in particular," according to American historian M. Fainsod, is of "more than historical interest" to people within his circle. They find it important not only "to understand the roots and dynamism of the system which appeared in Russia after 1917" but, as we are told by political science professor Jerry Hough, "more important in terms of our objectives is the question of the present and the future of Soviet history and the attitude of Lenin's legacy toward it" (Ibid., p 108).

The same social assignment in the study of Soviet history is the purpose of the studies conducted by the imperialist ideologues regarding the political aspects of the leaders of the Russian White Guards, although this may seem unrelated to contemporary practice. Concealed behind such studies is the attempt to identify in the past precedents which could be used to oppose the class assessment of the most savage suppressors of popular movements today, for the Pinochet people, whose admirers do not hesitate to describe them as the "Chilean Kornilovs" (Ibid., p 73), demagogically claim to represent the "middle class," and to be merely "soldiers," asserting that for this very reason they cannot serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie (see "Chiliyskaya Revolyutsiya....," p 58).

Wearing the "democratic" mantle of imperialist servants, in both the past and the present, the ideologues of imperialism blasphemously proclaim as "terrorist actions" the liberation movements of entire nations. In order to remove from the toiling masses the weapon of the Marxist analysis of the class struggle, "sovietologists" and political experts take on the unseemly task of discrediting the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and the concept of the history of the civil war in Russia, which are needed by all those who are fighting imperialism as the concentrated experience in defending revolutionary gains and a means for the exposure of all imperialist falsifications.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

500 }

CSO: 1802/9

JUST COURT AND JUST RETRIBUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 81-92

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor L. Smirnov, USSR Supreme Court chairman]

[Text] The trial of the main Nazi war criminals opened in Nuremberg on 20 November 1945.

The sessions of the international military tribunal were held in the Palace of Justice--a building which had miraculously remained intact among the ruins of the central part of the city caused by American bombing. Within several minutes' walking distance from the Palace of Justice was the stadium designed by that same Speer who was now sitting on the defendants' bench. It was here, at this stadium, that Hitler addressed the SS, the storm troopers and the party bigwigs during "party days," and it was from here that the thousand-year fascist reich was proudly proclaimed.

The participants in the international trial could see every day the ruins of Nuremberg, which they accepted as a symbol of irreversible retribution meted out to the culprits of the criminal conspiracy against peace and humanity.

Soon after the opening of the trial, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, the U.S. chief prosecutor, said in his opening speech: "The proofs we will present will be horrifying, and you will say that I am depriving you of your sleep. However, it is precisely those actions that shook up the entire world and led to the fact that every civilized person stood up against Nazi Germany. Germany became one big jail. The shouts of its victims were heard throughout the world and made all civilized mankind shudder. I am one of those who during this war listened with a feeling of suspicion and skepticism to most of the stories of the most horrifying atrocities. However, the proof which will be admitted here will be so overwhelming that I dare to predict that not a single one of my words will be refuted; the defendants may deny only their personal responsibility or their knowledge of these crimes."

But, Jackson, the Soviet prosecutors had been aware of the truth of the Nazi atrocities long before the defeat of Hitlerism and the beginning of the trial of the main German war criminals....

The first time we discovered this truth was during the bitter days when under the strikes of the Hitlerite hordes the Red Army was forced to retreat. New pages of monstrous crimes opened to us as the temporarily occupied territory of our country was being liberated. The truth of these crimes was known to many millions of Soviet people.

Long before the end of the bloodshedding war a severe warning had been issued to the leaders of the reich and their many subordinates: in his address at the ceremonial session of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies of the Working People, on 6 November 1942, J. V. Stalin said that crimes against prisoners of war and the civilian population could be committed "only by base and cowardly people of no honor, who had sunk to the level of animals....Let these executioners know," Stalin warned, "that they will not be able to avoid the responsibility for their crimes and the punishing hands of the tortured peoples."

The Moscow Declaration, which met with broad response throughout the world, was adopted in October 1943. It sounded like a stern reminder to the war criminals of inevitable retribution: "...Germans who have taken part in the mass execution of Italian officers or French, Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian hostages or Cretan peasants, or who have participated in the destruction to which the people of Poland or the population on the territory of the Soviet Union have been subjected, territory which is now being cleared of the enemy, must know that they will be returned to the place of their crimes and will be judged by the nations against whom they committed such excesses. Let those who have not as yet dirtied their hands with innocent blood bear this in mind in order not to find themselves among the culprits, for the three allied powers will find them even if they go to the end of the world and will deliver them into the hands of their accusers so that justice may be served. This declaration does not apply to the main war criminals, whose crimes are not related to specific geographic locations and who will be punished according to the joint decision taken by the allied governments."

The Nazi ringleaders answered the Moscow Declaration with an explosion of rage. Goebbels shrilly mocked its stipulations in front of millions of radio listeners. Frank, who arrogantly described himself as the first jurist of the Third Reich, mocked them in the press. Ignoring the warnings, they continued to commit monstrous crimes in all territories occupied by the Wehrmacht.

I personally began keeping track of Hitlerite crimes starting in 1941, when I was military prosecutor in the army formations on the Leningrad front which were defending the Karelian Isthmus, the Bulkovo elevations and in the vicinity of the Kirov Plant (actually within city limits), and in the area of the "pocket" on the bank of the Neva which was kept under steady enemy fire.

War is war. Like all of its participants, I saw a great deal of death on the front. However, no sight was more terrible and horrifying than that of death from hunger, particularly when it affected slowly dying helpless children and old people. Nothing enraged us and made us hate the enemy more than the howling of shells flying over the frontline toward the center of the blockaded city. Day after day the well-fed cowardly murderers shelled Leningrad, destroying schools and hospitals, killing civilians for the sake of maintaining a "total deterrent."

It was obvious to everyone who took part in the defense of Leningrad that in the final account we would win. However, no one among us knew whether or not he would live to see the victory. How could I know, as I made my way in the night among the snowdrifts in the dark streets of my native city, which had become particularly close to every Leningrader during those terrible days, that it was precisely I who, 4 years later, would be informing the Nuremberg court of the number of bombs and heavy artillery shells hurled at Leningrad: 257,000! And also to mention publicly the number of people who had died of hunger during the blockade, according to most conservative data--632,253.

Yes, we knew a great deal during the war, but far from everything. However, even that which became known after the liberation of the temporarily occupied territories was more than sufficient to confront the fascist aggressors with a stern bill. It was the international military tribunal in Nuremberg that definitively summed up their crimes. But even before it, trials had been held in our country which had exposed to the entire world a considerable share of the monstrous crimes committed by the Hitlerites.

The Smolensk trial of a group of German military servicemen, who were charged with crimes against the civilian population and humanity, was one such case. I was prosecutor for the state. In the course of the preliminary investigation which preceded the trial, we found more than 135,000 corpses of women, children and men shot to death or murdered in 80 common graves alone, which were opened and investigated by forensic experts in Smolensk and its suburbs. I had taken part in the investigation of Hitlerite war crimes before that time as well. However, two new features were brought to light at the Smolensk trial. For the first time, charges against Nazi physicians who had experimented on living people were legally proved. Medical assistant Modisch, one of the accused, killed captured Soviet officers and soldiers by injecting them with strophantine and arsenic after such experiments. As I was formulating the charges, I could not suspect that subsequently I would be holding in my hands records of experiments involving thousands of Auschwitz inmates, and dozens of people who had been frozen and murdered in ice-cold water or in a pressure chamber in the course of the experiments conducted by SS physician Rascher in Dachau and Auschwitz. These were original documents signed by specific individuals, describing the initial tests with the "death vans" involving sick children, women and old people. I could not predict at that time that only a few months later I would literally meet face to face with one of the principal leaders and organizers of the most inhuman experiments with living people--Standartenfuhrer SS Siewers, and that I would be able to expose not only this "learned" fanatic and sadist but the entire "Anenerbe" special organization he headed. The second feature of the Smolensk trial was the fact that the accused--those who had committed the crimes on the long-suffering Smolensk soil--would include, along with other SS and army subunits, the "Moscow Sonderkomando." At that time one could only guess at the special functions which it had been assigned had the Hitlerites captured the Soviet capital.

A while later, I was already in possession of orders approved by Hitler on the destruction of Moscow and Leningrad and the fact that they were to be wiped off the face of the earth. The crimes in Smolensk were merely a preliminary orientation for the "Moscow Sonderkomando"--the special SS subunit which, as planned by the Wehrmacht, after aerial bombing was to carry out

"the final settlement" of the problem of Moscow by murdering the remaining living population. A similar task had been assigned to the so-called "Einsatz-gruppe," whose target was to locate in the basements and bomb shelters of the city which had been wiped off the face of the earth anyone who had survived and to destroy him.

Therefore, even before the national trial, we had already accumulated a huge amount of data which made the full exposure of the culprits of such monstrous crimes possible. It was with such data that we, the Soviet prosecutors, came to the trial of the ringleaders of the Nazi reich.

II

The first international trial of the main war criminals in the history of jurisprudence opened shortly after 6 months following the defeat of Hitlerism. Within that short period of time the charter of the international military tribunal and the regulation of its activities were drafted. Proof, which was the basis for the prosecution of the ringleaders of the criminal fascist clique, was put together. One month before the trial opened, on 18 October 1945, the international military tribunal in Berlin received from the committee of chief prosecutors the charges in the cases of the main German war criminals and of the criminal organizations created by Nazism: the leadership of Hitler's party, imperial government, supreme command (OKW) and general staff of Hitler's armed forces; the storm units (SA), the secret service detachments (SS), the security service (SD) and the secret police (Gestapo).

The indictment was delivered to the defendants and their attorneys and to the lawyers defending the criminal organizations. It summed up the proofs of the personal guilt of each one of the accused and the criminal nature of the activities of the organizations they had created.

The defendants and the Hitlerite criminal organizations were defended by German lawyers. Most of them were most experienced attorneys with many years of practical experience, including in Nazi courts, and with scientific titles and degrees. Some of them (such as Capt Otto Krantzbuller, Doenitz' defender) had themselves been judges.

Therefore, the first international trial in history opened in accordance with all traditional requirements of any trial, with a view to ensuring its objectivity and comprehensiveness.

The scrupulous observance of the norms of the charter and the regulations, adopted in accordance with the agreement concluded by the governments of the four powers, was an important feature of the entire Nuremberg trial.

On 20 November 1945, opening the court session, the Briton Lord Justice Lawrence, who presided over the international military tribunal, made the following statement: "The trial which is about to begin is unique in the history of world jurisprudence. It is of the greatest social significance to millions of people on earth. For this reason, anyone who is participating in this trial bears a tremendous responsibility and must fulfill his duties honestly and conscientiously without any connivance, in accordance with the sacred principles of law and justice.

"The four parties to the agreement have instigated this trial, and no one who is part of it has the duty to observe strictly the principles and traditions which give justice its authority and raise it to the level it must hold in the affairs of all civilized countries.

"This is a public trial in the broadest possible meaning of the word, for which reason I must remind all those present that the tribunal will insist on the strict observance of the stipulated procedure and will take the strictest possible measures to ensure this."

The persuasiveness of the court examination, the power of the preventive influence of the trial, the arguments of the parties and, finally, the sentence are based on the facts of life itself. Unlike ordinary trials, the Nuremberg tribunal investigated specific proofs of crimes unequalled in the entire history of mankind. However, this did not change traditional court procedures: the comprehensive and objective consideration of each indictment, the thorough investigation of the explanations given by the defendants and the versions given by the defense, the detailed study of the criminal ties and forms of conspiracy among the defendants in the crimes committed, and their individual responsibility. Like any other criminal court, the Nuremberg tribunal determined the causal relations between the actions of the criminals and the consequences. The tribunal was also asked to answer the question of the "guilty consequence": did every one of the accused want the consequences which took place as a result of his actions or was he indifferent to them; could he predict such consequences, and were some of the crimes the result of so-called "excesses of the executors," and what were the motives for the actions of the accused?

On 22 November 1945, asked by the president of the court whether they considered themselves guilty, all the defendants pleaded innocent.

It was then that they were faced with the proofs about which the U.S. chief prosecutor said in his opening speech that they would be so horrifying as to deprive people of their sleep.

III

Long before the outbreak of World War II, Hitler blabbered that "...all those who are not of the superior race on this earth are weeds" ("Mein Kampf"). "We must develop a depopulation technology," the fuhrer stated. "If you ask me what I mean by depopulation, I will tell you that I have in mind the elimination of entire racial units....Naturally, I have the right to eliminate millions of people of a lower race, who are multiplying like worms!" It was this quotation that was cited by R. A. Rudenko, the USSR chief prosecutor, in his opening speech at the Nuremberg trial. Before unleashing the aggression against the USSR, these cannibalistic ideas had been converted into detailed instructions such as the order "On the Special Jurisdiction in the Barbarossa Region and the Special Measure To Be Taken by the Troops" and, subsequently, in orders such as "Nacht und Nebel Erlas" ("Darkness and Fog") or "Kugel" ("Bullet"). Special equipment was created for the physical annihilation of millions of people, and cadres of professional murderers were raised and trained.

The humanity-hating fascist program of aggression and "clearing" the captured territories from "undesirable elements" and the program of "total deterrent" were implemented consistently. To this effect the incredibly cruel and cynical "depopulation technology," which had been preplanned in detail and mastered by its executors, was applied. A method of mass executions by firing squads, the use of "death vans" and cyclone gas, gigantic crematoria in the death camps and the industrial utilization of the remains of millions of murdered human beings was developed.

By the time the turn of the Soviet indictment came, the tribunal was already familiar with the directive of Brigadenfuhrer SS Glucks on the use of human hair in making mattresses and warm socks and the use of the ashes of bodies burned in the crematoria as fertilizer had become known. Shrunken human heads which, like exotic statues, decorated the premises of the SS executioners, had been shown. In Auschwitz alone 7 tons of hair were found, pressed into bales and ready to be shipped to Germany....

The Soviet indictment offered proof of the fact that the utilization of the bodies of the murdered victims was not limited by far to these already known facts which initially had already appeared incredible to the prosecutors themselves. Material exhibits, documents and witness testimony proved that experiments in manufacturing soap from human bodies and the tanning of human skin for industrial purposes had already been carried out under semi-industrial conditions at the Danzig Anatomical Institute. The tribunal accepted as a material exhibit samples of such soap and processed human skin which looked like suede, taken from the bodies of the victims with the help of special tools.

Most of the proof was submitted to the tribunal by the Soviet prosecution, which had tremendous documentary data. During the trial, I was assigned to submit proof of crimes committed by the Hitlerites against the civilian population of temporarily occupied areas in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and crimes against humanity also committed in those countries.

Limiting the addresses on the first topic to eight sessions, from 14 to 19 February 1946, proved to be very difficult even though many aspects had already been covered in the presentation of R. A. Rudenko, the Soviet chief prosecutor, and the presentations by Soviet jurists N. D. Zor and Yu. V. Pokrovskiy, the speeches of the other chief prosecutors and their deputies, and the numerous presentations submitted by their aides.

I pointed out in my report that the amount of proofs at the disposal of the Soviet prosecution was unusually large, for the files of the Special Governmental Commission on the Determination and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Aggressors and Their Accomplices alone contained 54,784 cases of atrocities committed by the Hitlerite criminals on the civilian population of the Soviet Union.

I hope that the readers will forgive me the following long excerpt from the report submitted on Nazi war crimes against the civilian population, summing up proof only part of which could be presented in the court or mentioned by other prosecutors most briefly. It is as follows:

"The Soviet indictment claims, and I am submitting to the court, proof of the fact that along the entire length of the huge front stretching from the Barents to the Black Sea and in the entire depth of penetration of the German-fascist hordes into the soil of my homeland, wherever a German soldier stepped or a member of the SS appeared, unparalleled cruel crimes were committed, the victims of which were civilians: women, children and old people.

"The crimes committed by the German-fascist criminals were discovered as elements of the Red Army progressed in a westerly direction. The legal documents on the crimes committed by the Hitlerites against the civilian population were drafted by officers from the advanced elements of the Red Army, the local authorities and the public organizations.

"The Soviet people were made aware of the crimes committed by the German-fascist aggressors not from the memoranda of the German command, the instructions of the Reichsleiters or the instructions of SS Obergruppenfuhrers, with in-and-out office numbers, mainly, although a large number of such documents were seized by the advancing Red Army units and are at the disposal of the Soviet prosecution.

"The submitted proofs are based on other sources. In returning to their native areas, the soldiers of the liberating army came across many villages, towns and cities which the Hitlerite hordes had converted into 'desert zones.'

"The chain of crimes, stretching, as the indictment of the USSR chief prosecutor justifiably pointed out, 'from the hands of the executioners to the ministerial seats,' became known to the Soviet people from the common graves containing the bodies of Soviet people murdered through 'typical German methods' (I shall subsequently submit to the court proof of these methods and their time breakdown), the gallows on which hung the bodies of adolescents, the furnaces of the gigantic crematoria of those killed in the death camps, the bodies of women and girls who were victims of the sadistic inclinations of the fascist bandits and the bodies of children torn in half.

"These monstrous crimes were based on a specific criminal system. The murder methods were standardized: the gas chambers were identical; there were mass-produced round cans containing the toxic 'cyclone A' or 'cyclone B,' the furnaces of the crematoria, based on the same standard design, the standardized design of the fetid 'death vans,' known to the Germans as 'Gasenwagen,' and to our people as 'murder vans,' and the technical structure of mobile mills for the grinding of human bones all pointed out the prevalence of a single malicious will binding together the individual murderers and executioners.

"It became clear that German heat technologists and chemists, architects, toxicologists, mechanics and physicians were engaged in promoting the efficiency of mass murder on the instructions of Hitler's government and under the leadership of the German military forces.

"It became clear that the 'death factories' had brought to life entire auxiliary industry sectors.

"However, the unity of this will was manifested not only wherever special equipment was used to murder people.

"The unity of this sinister will was manifested also in the unity of the methods applied by the perpetrators of the crimes and the standardized techniques for murdering people even where no special technological systems were used for such murders, which were committed with the help of conventional German army weapons.

"You will see from the proof which will be submitted later that the places where the victims of the Germans had been buried were found by the Soviet forensic experts in the northern and southern parts of the country, separated by thousands of kilometers. It was clear that these crimes had been committed by different individuals. However, the instruments with which they had been committed were identical. The injuries on the victims were the same. The huge common graves, concealed under antitank ditches or trenches, were identically shaped. The murderers used almost identical expressions in ordering the unarmed and helpless victims taken to the site of their execution to take off their clothes and lie face down in ditches dug in advance. The first layer of victims, whether this happened in the swamps of Belorussia or the foothills of the Caucasus, was covered with a coat of lime in an identical fashion, and a second layer of condemned, helpless people was forced by the murderers to lie on top of that corrosive mass mixed with blood.

"This proved not only that identical instructions and orders had been received from above. The murder methods were standardized to an extent which revealed how the cadres of murderers were being trained in special schools and how everything had been planned in advance, starting with the order to undress before the shooting to the killing itself. These assumptions, based on the study of facts, were subsequently proved in their entirety...."

IV

This historically unparalleled trial, in the course of which a huge number of documents was made public, hundreds of witnesses were interrogated and, as the investigation proceeded, made the faces of the defendants, who had declared unanimously at the opening of the trial that they did not consider themselves guilty, more and more frightened and closed, lasted more than 9 months. Their lawyers tried to refute someone's testimony or interpret some documents differently. However, nothing could refute what the defendants said as they exposed their own guilt.

One of the most typical features of the Nuremberg trial, unparalleled in juridical practice, was the self-exposure of the defendants. However, this was not voluntary by any means.

The main criminals and small-fry fascists sitting on the benches of the accused--the executioners, those who carried out the crimes, shared to their misfortune a common feature--excessive vanity. These were animals who believed in their own impunity and seriously thought themselves to be "fair-haired rogues," or supermen, who could, as they understood it, exceed the

limits of elementary human concepts of good and evil in carrying out the fuhrer's plans, and they were also poseurs in their sadistic actions. The immediate perpetrators of the crimes loved to have themselves photographed next to the gallows, during mass executions by firing squad or in murdering helpless women and children. They not only kept the photographs but deemed it possible and pleasant to send them to their relatives, wives or mistresses. A directive forbidding the mailing of such photographs to Germany, for this made their actions known to an excessively large number of people, was submitted as an exhibit.

However, concerned with concealing some crimes for a while, the Nazi ring-leaders failed to realize that they themselves had created a series of unique proofs of their own guilt to mankind.

The main German war criminal--those sitting on the bench of the accused and those who, like Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler were already dead when the trial began--liked, as we know, to make long speeches. The tribunal was presented with the texts of speeches which claimed "the right of the strong" to destroy "inferior nations," calling upon the "Nordic superman" to create a civilization of the elect, turning millions of people into silent slaves and humanoid robots deprived of the right to basic education. They were to be used in full and then destroyed. Such sadistic appeals came from documentaries, books, newspapers and periodicals, where they were described in black and white. The minutes of the speeches of the accused, their private correspondence and their diaries in which they described the plans for their crimes and their satisfaction with the execution of said plans were proof of many of their crimes.

Hans Frank, the "Reichsleiter of all German fascist jurists," president of the so-called "academy of German law," and "governor-general" of Poland, whom I prosecuted in Nuremberg, was a profession jurist who had defended Hitler after the Putsch. When the fascist forces took to the run under the pressure of the Red Army and the Polish forces, escaping from Poland, Frank loaded onto his train not only priceless works of art he had stolen but the carefully bound 36 volumes of his "diary"--documentary proof of the savage crimes organized and perpetrated under his leadership on Polish territory from 1939 to 1945.

Naturally, Frank's crimes could be proved by the wreckage of Warsaw and what was left of Treblinka, which was almost totally wiped off the face of the earth, and the terrible proof of Auschwitz, which Hitlerite bandits, caught unaware, had been unable to destroy. His crimes could be proved by Majdanek and Helmno, the common graves in the areas of the mass murders near L'vov and the dozens of branches of so-called "base concentration camps." This was ineradicable and unequivocal proof. However, it was crowned by the 36 volumes of cynical and extremely frank, pretentious, malicious statements by this sadistic lawyer.

Frank initiated the so-called "AB" action aimed at the destruction of the Polish intelligentsia, including its leading members, as early as 1940. He energized this criminal "action" on 2 October 1943 with the publication of

a new decree according to which individuals of non-German origin who obstructed the measures taken by Germany were to be criminally prosecuted by special security police courts and sentenced to death.

This "most learned jurist" of Hitler's reich and merciless Hitlerite "governor general" of long-suffering Poland was covered from head to toe with the blood of millions of people who had been killed on his orders or with his knowledge and consent.

At the beginning of the trial Frank behaved self-confidently. Like the other defendants he rejected all charges. His thinking changed by the time of his "final words:" he appealed to God, Christian charity and humaneness. Facing the international tribunal was a hysterical person, hiding his shifting eyes behind big dark glasses in a cowardly manner. Frank's "last words" sounded like the heart-rending wail in the face of the approaching retribution.

The "last words" of the other defendants also contained appeals for mercy. Incidentally, let us note a typical feature. In the halls of the tribunal British and American lawyers frequently wondered why such "last words" were needed at all. The British and American criminal procedure is unfamiliar with this principle of Continental law, according to which the defendant is given the opportunity to say his "last words" directly before sentence is passed. He is given yet once again the right to express his attitude toward the proofs studied by the court, to define his role in the crime, to bring up mitigating factors, reassert his innocence and request what he considers to be a just and humane sentence or complete exoneration.

The charter of the Nuremberg international military tribunal, which was set up "for the just and rapid judgment and punishment" of the main German criminals of war, included the stipulation borrowed from the Continental criminal procedure, according to which the defendants have the right to a "final word." For this reason, as the orthodox representative of British procedural law and as a person who in all likelihood also doubted the need for such "final words," the British representative allowed the defendants to make such statements. However, he gave them a limited time and requested that arguments already brought forth not be reiterated.

The "final words" of the ringleaders of the criminal Hitlerite clique were strikingly different from their initial testimony. After the truly murderous proof, the overwhelming majority of which consisted of original documents, handwritten or signed by the defendants, or minutes of official meetings with accurate records of the speeches of the main criminals instigating new crimes, it was no longer possible to deny the crimes against peace, violations of the laws or customs of war and crimes against humanity, as stipulated in article 6 of the charter. Witness testimony and tangible proof provided specific illustrations for this documentary base.

The trial of the fascist evildoers was conducted in accordance with all procedural guarantees. The open, publicized trial of which the president of the tribunal spoke at the very beginning had its effect. In the course of the trial the world found out about monstrous crimes unequalled in the history

of mankind. This was above all a just and objective trial. Each of the defendants was defended not simply by a skilled German lawyer but, in the majority of cases, by someone who clearly sympathized with him. Each of the criminal organizations of Hitler's reich--from the National Socialist Party, the SS, the Gestapo and the SD to the ministerial offices, the supreme command and the storm troops (SA)--had its defense attorneys.

The defense lacked neither professional skill nor the ability to act and to seize even the slightest opportunity in court to block or weaken the charges. However, the proof was incontrovertible. Toward the end of the trial, the defendants made vain efforts to put the blame on the four main criminals who were not in the courtroom. Three of them--Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels--were clearly dead. The fourth--Bormann--was being tried in absentia.

The international military tribunal interrupted the proceedings and withdrew for consultations on 31 August 1946. At that point, the defendants were no longer considering the already familiar articles of the bylaws and the regulations, which dealt with the procedure for the study of the proofs or matters of criminal procedure, but were considering two frightening stipulations which stated that "the tribunal's sentence must include the grounds on which it was passed; the sentence is final and cannot be appealed....The tribunal has the right to sentence the defendant to death or to any other punishment which the tribunal may consider appropriate."

While the tribunal was in consultation, the defendants tried to forget these articles of the bylaws during that month and undertook to write their memoirs for American publishing houses. Meanwhile, the attorneys for the main German war criminals were also engaged in writing various essays on the "lofty" moral qualities of their clients, the chivalrous traditions of the Waffen SS and the magical shrewdness of the SD and the Abwehr. The attorneys were experienced practical people. In the aftermath of Churchill's Fulton speech, they had realized perfectly that the commodity they were manufacturing would soon have customers and fetch a good price.

We, the prosecution, were also busy. Among other things, we had to duplicate a tremendous number of documents.

More than 50 million people died in World War II. The Soviet Union played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitlerism. The immortal exploit of the peoples of our country and of the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition saved civilization and made the just trial of the worst enemies of peace possible.

The Nuremberg trial began when destroyed cities and burned villages were still in ruins, when the ashes in the huge crematoria of the death camps were still warm and, above all, when millions and millions of people who had experienced all the horrors of the war still freshly remembered the monstrous atrocities of the occupation regimes, "total terror," Coventry, Oradour-sur-Glane, Lidice and thousands of similar cities and villages which had been wiped off the face of the earth and living children who had been thrown into the flames in front of their mothers or torn apart.

Mankind was summing up the results of World War II. The Nuremberg trial, like the trial in Tokyo after it, was one such result, for the people on earth would never have accepted the impunity of the criminals who had planned the crimes in cold blood and who had led and trained those who carried out their criminal intents, feeling themselves not only free of responsibility but of the "chimera described as conscience."

Shortly before the end of the trial, winding up the statements of the prosecutors of the allied countries, R. A. Rudenko, the chief prosecutor of the USSR, said: "Mankind has already passed its sentence on criminal German fascism on the battlefield. In the flames of the biggest battles in the history of mankind, the heroic Soviet army and the valorous armies of the allies not only defeated the Hitlerite hordes but asserted the lofty and noble principles of international cooperation, morality and the humane rights of the human commonwealth. The prosecution has done its duty to the high court, to the bright memory of innocent victims, to the conscience of the nations and to its own conscience. Yes, the trial of the fascist executioners by the nations is just and severe."

The trial by the nations ended. The main military criminals were justly punished for their crimes. However, the criminal who had nurtured the Hitlerite executioners remained in the shadows.

As we know, fascism is the offspring of the most reactionary forces of imperialism and the terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which makes use of the most advanced technological facilities for its criminal purposes. It is no secret that Hitler's advent to power became possible only as a result of the fact that he was considered "their own man" by and received the support of the magnates of German financial capital. In precisely the same fashion, the Japanese expansion and aggression in Asia, which was accompanied by a declaration on the exceptional nature of the Japanese nation and its right to create a great empire extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Urals, was the result of the activities of powerful concerns which had allied themselves with the military clique. This must not be forgotten today, when the evil forces of the military-industrial complex, which includes the most reactionary Western politicians, is dangerously manifesting its existence.

The U.S. chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg trial was entirely right when he stated at the beginning of his opening speech that "this trial is important because these defendants represent the evil forces which will be lurking in the world long after the bodies of these people have turned into dust."

However, we must not forget that it was precisely Jackson who set the boundaries which the prosecution was forbidden to cross, for this could have pushed matters too far.

In his indictment of the criminal organizations created by the Hitlerites, one of the noted American jurists, Telford Taylor, who was then U.S. Army brigadier general, came close in his considerations to the hidden motives of the Nazi conspiracy against peace and humanity. "During 9 months," he said, "the terrible story of death chambers, mountains of corpses, lampshades

made of human skin, crushed skulls, experiments in freezing humans and bank vaults filled with gold teeth was heard in this chamber. It is of vital importance to the conscience of the world for all participants in these monstrous crimes to be held answerable to justice. However, horrible as it is, such material evidence is not the foundation of this case. If poisonous fruits were to be removed from a tree, not much would be achieved. It is far more difficult to uproot the tree with all its roots. However, in the final account, only this would be of use."

Subsequently, as the U.S. chief prosecutor in a number of trials held by American military tribunals in the same premises of the Nuremberg international military tribunal, Taylor tried to "prove to the end" the terrible story of Hitlerite crimes by tracing the far-reaching connections of the German monopolies. We know the outcome of this attempt. Brigadier General Taylor was retired and went into law practice.

The Nuremberg trial is a stern warning to those who are once again concocting criminal plans for the outbreak of a new world war. We know that the principles of international law of the tribunal's charter were ratified with a special resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly as a universal legal norm which has remained fully effective to this day. Many of the actions of today's militaristically leaning politicians, who are calling for limited or unlimited war, and who are inflating an unrestrained armament race, fall entirely under the provisions of the article in the charter of the international military tribunal which defines the types of crimes most dangerous to mankind. Not only actions such as an aggressive war but attempts to engage in such actions are criminal.¹

This article on the semi-forgotten horrifying past was written for the sake of the bright future. May it serve the great cause of the struggle for peace at a time when the forces of aggression and evil are increasing the threat of a thermonuclear war which, should the imperialists succeed to unleash it, would inevitably mean the doom of all human civilization.

All people of good will remember the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman: "...Today there is no more essential or more important problem facing all nations than the preservation of the peace and ensuring the first right of every person--the right to life."

1. For details see KOMMUNIST No 13, 1980, pp 115-125--the editor.

COYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

ENEMIES OF CULTURE ON OUR THRESHOLD; EUROPE AS THE 'WORKSHOP OF MANKIND'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 93-104

[Article by James Aldridge, London, January 1982]

[Text] Montesquieu, a philosopher whose ideas were so popular during the Enlightenment, wrote that "Europe is the workshop of mankind." The French philosopher was a believer in geographic determinism and was predisposed in favor of Europe, which he considered a source of wisdom and scientific progress. He was convinced that the future of mankind depended on European culture, for he believed that the geographic location of the continent was ideal for the development of the best qualities in human nature. His views were progressive for his time. In the final account, however, the European expansionists adapted them to their own interests and began to use them to justify imperial conquests and the subjugation of Africa, India and Asia. As a result, Montesquieu's ideas on Europe's global importance were directed toward objectives which were the precise opposite of those aimed at by the philosopher.

Nevertheless, although Europe can today hardly claim the role of the "workshop of mankind" for itself alone, it has been and remains a generator of ideas which enrich all mankind rather than merely a closed group of countries in this small part of the world. There is no country in Europe which has not made a contribution to the cultural heritage of all mankind. This contribution becomes even more remarkable when we trace the history of the individual countries and discover in each language and nation a specific culture, unique in a given geographic area but also inseparable from the achievements of the entire continent.

This has its historical logic. The history of Europe is a history of the closely intertwined destinies of nations and cultures. We have always lived in each other's arms, and although the history of Europe has been a history of wars, national rivalries and constantly shifting alliances, Europe has triumphed not as a result of military conquests but because of its unique cultural achievements. Europe was able to survive as a result of its ability to rise from the ashes of destruction. The cathedral at Reims, the most splendid masterpiece of the Middle Ages, is still striking, with its incomparable beauty. It is a fine, permanent monument to the skill of the craftsmen, builders and engineers who designed and built it. On the surface,

virtually nothing today reminds us of the hundreds of bloodshedding battles which took place in Reims and around it from the times of Caesar through May 1945, when the fascist Field Marshall Jodl surrendered in that city. In one or another form, culture is always superior to decay.

Nevertheless, one could hardly find a town or village which does not remind one of conflicts or fights in Europe and even in England, which has not been invaded since 1066. However, the requirements of daily life keep removing from our memory the thoughts of such struggles. Today we think of Europe in terms of people working in the fields or smoky combines. Our perception of it is related to the elimination of the ruinous consequences of the war and the universal-historical meaning of the struggle which is still dividing the countries on the continent and will continue to divide them as long as the European peoples do not establish a system which will eliminate basic contradictions forever.

We must acknowledge that national boundaries in Europe rest on most realistic and sensible foundations today. However, a boundary has never been a clear line tightly separating one country from another or one nation from another. All of us know how frequently the population of border areas has mixed with "foreigners" and, in the case of Britain and France, divided by the English Channel, we still witness features of the ancient Gallic commonality existing between the southwestern tip of England and the coastal areas of Normandy and Brittany. Naturally, it would be an error to exaggerate such a mixing on the cultural level. However, there is no place in Europe in which a national culture does not reflect the influence of its neighbors, including the results of their cultural "invasions." It is not a matter of language, although languages as well can mix. It is rather a question of the crossing of tremendous social movements, which are once again growing in all Western European societies. Despite long periods of violence, rivalry and oppression, a common European culture, created by the socioeconomic epochs of the Gothic period, the Reformation, the Renaissance, the industrial revolution and so on, has developed. At times, although not always, the durability of national cultures has been the result of the influence of forces which were unwilling to acknowledge state borders and which made a profound penetration into the different cultural strata without destroying their national originality.

There has never been a "pure" national culture. Culture is by far more of a product of the broad influx of ideas than of the narrow lines which we describe as state boundaries. The idea of a "pure" national culture, incidentally, has always been raised by the worst and most dangerous elements in European societies. It took a Hitler for an attempt to be made to create some sort of "pure" Aryan culture for the German nation. Meanwhile, the destruction it wrought was such that not only German but global cultural values were destroyed. It was only thanks to the victory of the Soviet people and of all European nations over Hitler that German culture itself could be rescued from a long period of darkness and decay.

A person of culture in any nation in Europe has always tried to absorb his own national culture. Unsatisfied with this, however, he has invariably looked at the best features of other cultures. Shakespeare belongs to all of Europe and to the entire world, like Beethoven and Tolstoy. We are interdependent.

Only a foolish or hopelessly prejudiced person could claim that any given European country has a richer culture than another.

To Whom Does This Culture Belong?

I have tried to describe the general features of the complex interconnection between our common culture and its local manifestations without trying to dump all of this together. I am doing this because, regardless of state borders and restrictions concerning European culture as a whole, a new danger threatens the cultural treasuries of Western Europe today.

We in England already know that in the Welsh or Cornwall mountains a deep shaft has been dug in which, it is claimed, some of our greatest works of art will be sheltered should nuclear war break out. Furthermore, the idea is to sink such shafts and underground shelters throughout the country, allegedly for the sake of saving our cultural heritage from blasts, fire, radiation and "the insanity of the uncontrolled mob," which, according to specialists, out of contact with the people, would destroy all and everything in an effort to survive.

According to press reports, similar plans for "rescuing" works of art have been drafted in France, West Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden and, possibly, Belgium. At the same time, shelters which would protect small "elite" groups, allegedly able to restore "law and order" after a nuclear blast and control the dying vestiges of the population, are being constructed.

This is not cynical big talk but a serious retelling of what is indeed being said in various state documents whose authors are concerned above all with how to "survive" a nuclear war. This is a conclusion based on official plans and documents. One aspect of such propaganda preparations is the attempt to convince the peoples of Western Europe to reconcile themselves with accepting the unthinkable. The contradictions of this situation are entirely obvious as well as typical. While actually preparing for the destruction of anything that is healthy in the life of the nations, our philistines are trying to prove their "love" for the cultural values of European civilization and are digging shafts in which the great works of art, which they would like to leave to a world unsuitable for human life, would be "saved."

There is something sick, something suicidal in this idea of preserving works of art even after no people would be left on European soil for whose sake they should be preserved. In its time, the Renaissance gave a powerful impetus to the development of science and art. Today, judging by all available information, the bourgeoisie thinks in much simpler terms: *apres nous le deluge*. Realizing the impossibility of "surviving" a nuclear war, it is ready to gamble with the future of its own society, as though having resolved that if it cannot survive nothing else or, in any case, nothing living or useful, should survive.

However, the works of art and the cultural values we have inherited from the previous generations do not belong to the bourgeoisie and it is not up to the bourgeoisie to hide them underground or to own them. The real essence of the

Renaissance, which laid the foundations of contemporary European culture, was never reduced to private possession. The Renaissance encouraged the upsurge of humanistic culture and gave new strength to the great ideological legacy of the classics of antiquity. New scientific discoveries enabled the philosophers of that period to reject the gasping theology of feudalism and scholasticism. Virtually every aspect of life was subject to change thanks to a new understanding of natural phenomena. Nature itself was given a scientific interpretation, which opened possibilities for the development of science, philosophy and art. Our contemporary European life is profoundly rooted in the particular types of rationality which were born during the Renaissance and were subsequently manifested in all European countries.

"This was the greatest progressive change of all changes experienced by mankind until then," F. Engels wrote in his "Dialectics of Nature." "It was an age which needed triumphs and which created triumphs in the sense of thinking, passion, character, ubiquitousness and learning. The people who founded the contemporary rule of the bourgeoisie were anything but bourgeois-limited people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 20, p 346. The intellectual integrity of the Renaissance in Europe was the product not of military campaigns, conquerors or madmen but the result of the activities of artists, philosophers, scientists, craftsmen and peasants. It was precisely this integrity that inspired not only high art and scope of scientific discoveries but also the revolutionary philosophical ideas which appeared at that time.

The preservation of this integrity of European philosophy, art and science was no easy matter. There were times when the best European achievements were not used for good purposes. Such was the fate of most scientific achievements following the appearance of capitalism. We say this not for the sake of casting aspersions on intellectual achievements. This course of events was based on the merciless struggle waged by the bourgeois system for the preservation of its own positions and, following the appearance of imperialism, the clash between monopolistic monsters.

European culture could not fail to oppose its destruction in the interminable struggle between progress and reaction, between social consciousness and social fraud and between the past and the inevitable future. In Western Europe the survival of cultural values frequently depended on the extent to which culture had become the possession of the people or was isolated or used exclusively for consumption by the "elite." The cultural and intellectual life of one country or another always depended on the social circumstances and the general educational standard. The better the social conditions were and the more educated the population was, the more cultured the nation became. Wars and economic crises had an invariably adverse effect on European social conditions and the general educational level rose or declined depending on whether it was a period of stability or depression.

It seems to me that today we are noting in the Western countries a trend toward the establishment of a type of capitalism under which, as its promoters assume, it could function successfully and profitably under circumstances in which one-quarter of the working population could be withdrawn from the area of productive employment and education. Such is precisely the situation in the

capitalist countries today. Capitalism hates full employment and the absence of unemployment. It neither wants them nor works to achieve them. In medieval times, during some periods, about 40 percent of the English youth were members of the priesthood only because the feudal society had no need of an active working population. They were given the opportunity to exist as impoverished parasites surviving on the lowest possible level, for it was only on that level that society could support them. This was a period of darkness and ignorance for all nations with the exception of the "elites." It is precisely this type of fate to which some would like to doom millions of people in Western Europe.

Modern capitalism is planning to get rid of a considerable segment of its toiling population and, having isolated it, to convert it into an ignorant, easily managed and disorganized army of unemployed, who may not die but who, in their despair, could become the material for a new fascism. Such, for example, is the nature of events in England today.

Meanwhile, what is happening with our cultural legacy? England had its "Poor Law" of 1834, which categorized "paupers" as criminals. "Paupers" were people whom the Industrial Revolution neither could nor wanted to use productively. Many of them were sentenced as criminals and shipped to Australia. We do not know what will happen with our contemporary paupers--3 million unemployed. In any case, however, they have little opportunity to become spiritually enriched by being exposed to the great works of art and culture of our society.

In his book "The Condition of the Working Class in England," Engels pointed out that the English proletariat gained the possibility of independent education and that the socialists had performed a true miracle by translating for the English working people the best works of the French philosophers. Their poets, Engels wrote, were Byron and Shelley. This applied to 1844. Today, we have nothing resembling the rapid dissemination of inexpensive and good literature among the working people, something which in its time was part of the struggle against the worst aspect of the then-existing social system. Conversely, efforts are being made today to alienate our working class from the best works of art. It is being deprived of access to high-level literature and only very few good books find their way into the homes of the working people. Our library system is widely used by the working people. However, the economic policy of the Conservative government is bringing about the breakdown of this system as well today.

The real problem is the low level of public education. The offspring of the average worker's family has a very small opportunity for acquiring a good education or entering a university, for which reason the British overall educational standard is declining rapidly. In the first 9 months of 1981, book sales to English and Welsh schools dropped by 4 million copies compared with 1980. Today 40 percent of all British schoolchildren drop out of school at the age of 16 and no longer pursue any further education or vocational training. Some 3,000 university teachers lost their jobs in 1981 and the same fate awaits many others this year. Our society is far from being one in which efforts are made to preserve our cultural heritage. The impossibility of acquiring an education is merely one of the forms of alienation from culture,

for it is quite doubtful that millions of our semi-educated and unemployed young people, totally removed from participation in cultural life, could benefit from the products of the country's intellectual life, not to mention their participation in it. Essentially, they have been sentenced to cultural death.

Our highest school system itself is subjected to dislocation as a result of reduced funds and all possible other restrictions which, naturally, apply not to the rich but to those who do not give up and who, in the final account, can enroll in a university. Tens of thousands of young people will be forced to drop out. The current British government is calmly saying that the country cannot afford to educate all of its youth. Educational expenses are being replaced by huge and steadily increasing armament outlays. In turn, this leads to the fact that instead of showing concern for the fate of peace, views on the subject of war, alien to true culture, are being encouraged along with a slide toward violence instead of exposure to culture.

The Threat to European Culture

The more the common people of a Western European country become alienated from culture, the more serious becomes the danger of its commercial vulgarization. In turn this leads to the aggravation of the threat of war. The old and almost traditional forms of vulgarization of culture have been preserved as an inseparable feature of the existing system. The conversion of culture into a commodity was one of the initial manifestations of the moral decline of capitalism. Today, however, in Great Britain in any case, this situation has been elevated to the rank of government policy. The Conservative government has decided that all national monuments in the country, from the famous Tower of London to the prehistoric Stonehenge, must be turned over to private entrepreneurs and used for profit earning. Thus, the national wealth of England is actually given to businessmen for sale and, quite naturally, they do so without even the slightest pang of conscience.

A considerable share of the greatest works of Western European art, as we know, has always been privately owned. With increasing frequency these works are being bought and sold like soap. Or, to use more modern terminology, they are being bought and sold like shares of stock and other valuables, for works of art are not only a commodity but a good capital investment. For example, if a painting by Poussin can be bought today for \$1 million, unquestionably it will be worth \$2 million in a few years. To the powerful of our world, works of art are the same as money in the bank.

However, it is not only the legacy of high art that has become a commodity in Western Europe. Another product of the mind of great importance to the survival of Western European culture has been converted into a commodity also. This applies to technology, which has become the most profitable component of the capitalist production system. As a result, our professors and scientific associates in the schools are forced to adapt to an increasing extent to the dangerous system which needs their support if it is to survive. Our universities are crowded with weak-willed supporters of a system which, in the final account, is equally threatening to themselves. The scientists face the threat of becoming brilliant nonentities the moment their discoveries and

inventions begin to be used for unworthy purposes. The Western European intellectuals are being strongly urged to stay away from the political forces which decide how the results of scientific efforts are to be used. It is as though scientists no longer bear the responsibility for discoveries which may be dangerous to the future of nations. "This will be our concern," they are told by people who should not be entrusted even with a penknife.

Fortunately, many of our scientific workers, teachers and philosophers are not standing for the type of submissive attitude which they are strongly urged to adopt. The content of scientific and philosophical journals eloquently proves that many scientific minds believe in something greater than the primitive vulgarizing of their intellect and the use of the results of their scientific work to the detriment of mankind. The trouble is that the bourgeois society is trying to isolate such people by converting them into helpless or submissive individuals. However, this is far from always being successful. Despite such efforts, sometimes people are guided by values which frequently stand above their own political credos. That is why we indeed have a very rich cultural legacy in the universities and scientific institutions. This legacy, however, is threatened not only by the philistines who would like to bury the cultural treasures of Europe deeper underground, but by the cultural impoverishment of the common individual, which is characteristic of the current stage of development of capitalism.

In our days anticulture begins with the isolation, demoralization and commercialization of the individual, i.e., with a process whose consequences are the exact opposite of what mankind gained during the Renaissance. In his "Heroes of Action in Meditation," Lunacharskiy described the age which came to replace the Renaissance: "The individual showed himself at the peak of the social ladder in his full strength. He valued himself and felt that by making history he would outlive himself for a long time." A popular reference work states that the Renaissance "marked the upsurge of individualism, the new free thought and behavior and the influence of the individual on every single aspect of human life, from fashion in clothing to efforts to determine the nature of both this and the transcendental world. A sharp interest in everything surrounding man was characteristic of that period."

In our time, the individual in the bourgeois society is encouraged in all possible ways to consider himself alone with his own destiny, man in the existentialist meaning of the term, lost in the chaos of his environment, man who is persuaded to look for his own salvation only within himself. The bourgeoisie has converted the individual into the direct opposite of what the Renaissance had made him. As a result, instead of the liberation of his capabilities, he becomes a prisoner of his environment. Man is already doubting his own value (social and historical) and has become alienated from the rest of mankind.

Such are the circumstances which face the individual in Western Europe today, which he must oppose and fight, although many individuals are frequently unaware of the source of their problems or of the problems' political underlining. At the same time, the mass of the population, alienated from culture from the very beginning, has found itself in the position of a most helpless

victim. Violence, scandals, pessimism, cynicism, cruelty, pornography and open political fraud are poured on the masses every day from the pages of the so-called "popular" press in the Western European countries. The British press as well, with its mass editions, has unquestionably sunk particularly low in this respect. The ordinary Briton can see on our television nothing but killing, cruelty and violence committed by the police, implausible spy stories, coarse sex and idiotic comedies. The better programs shown on television are openly aimed at those who stand above the broad masses, which are doomed to exposure to all possible kinds of trash. This equally applies to motion pictures, books, works of art, music and the theater. Most so-called "popular" culture has been reduced to the lowest possible common denominator. Everything indicates that its creators are trying to convince the people that violence is deeply inherent in their nature, that they are stupid and unworthy of the concern of those who hold the political power or, at best, that they are no more than clowns in a big circus which is a substitute for real life and real drama.

It is not so easy to express or to organize the opposition of the broad masses to the so-called "mass culture." A society which crams cultural refuse down the throats of the broad popular masses rigidly controls all aspects of the dissemination of culture and information. In other words, the working man can turn off his television set and not watch a program which he does not like or throw away a newspaper he does not care to read. However, this can have very little influence on the powerful mass information media. Whereas the bourgeoisie is educated well enough to be able to use the advantages of our great European cultural heritage, the level of education of the working class in some Western European countries clearly proves the great alienation of the working people from general cultural problems. In order for the working man to be able to appreciate high culture, he must not only surmount his limited educational level but somehow cross a difficult social barrier.

A Stranger on Our Threshold

Recently, the British GUARDIAN wrote that today "the young absorb anything related to Hollywood and New York as naturally as breathing air." The point is that a considerable percentage of the entertainment and programs shown on London's television come from the United States and conceal a great deal of ideological influence, although occasionally this is not realized in Great Britain. Naturally, far from all manifestations of American influence on European culture have been adverse. On the contrary, Europe has benefited a great deal from its exposure to the best products of American culture. However, the United State itself faces today the same problem we are facing in Western Europe. The best representatives of American culture are also engaged in a steady and hard struggle for the salvation of the great heritage of American culture. This struggle involves the same forces and problems of the European capitalist countries. The same type of people in America have the privilege to benefit from the advantages of culture and the same type of masses are practically isolated from them.

The article in the GUARDIAN states that "the warmth of the fraternal embrace (between the United States and Great Britain--the author) triggers its own

illusions. Even people with culture, judging from everything, fall for this chicanery." The article goes on to say that American programs on the television screens are like "a voice from another planet....Under the conditions of a changing world, this difference is of decisive importance. We may have a common heritage; we speak the same language and have similar character traits, which help to judge us accurately; we may largely rely on this common experience; however, a look in depth at the structure of our societies shows us to be quite different from each other."

Almost every passing day, as it looks at its past and its present, Western Europe realizes that it is different from the United States. Nevertheless, the culture of every single Western European country is increasingly absorbing American influence. The effects of this invasion are frequently negative. Whereas the best created in the United States comes to us in limited amounts, let us not forget that far more frequently we receive the worst and that it is precisely this worst that creates the real problem. This process has a long history. Nevertheless, the question is still frequently asked, why is it that the cheap American mass culture has been able to penetrate so deeply into Western European life. The answer seems to be quite simple. In America, its production has been organized on a mass basis and is quite profitable, and America can not only leave any Western European country far behind in the volume of such output but market this pulp the moment it is produced. In other words, America has tremendous financial resources with which to organize the production of real mountains of such pseudoculture and to flood any Western European market with them.

Frequently it is quite difficult to define specifically the consequence of the existing situation in terms of our national culture, for the import of American ideas raises problems not only of culture but of political influence and military presence, and occasionally all these sources of influence become indivisible from one another. After World War II the history of Western Europe was shaped by American influence to such an extent that in the period of the Cold War Western Europe submissively obeyed even the slightest whims of American policies directed against the Soviet Union, regardless of the type of government running the country.

Prior to the Cold War, traditional cultural exchanges between America and Europe were quite fruitful. However, the Cold War turned America into a graveyard of culture. To a certain extent, this affected Western Europe as well. Furthermore, American political intervention in Western European affairs was totally one-sided. The master gave his orders to his servant. The American periodical RAMPARTS reported (as was subsequently confirmed) that Americans had regularly funded the British National Students Union and at least one of our noted "intellectual" journals. Such "aid" was received by many other Western European organizations and publications which, in exchange, were asked to extend to Europe the McCarthyist witch hunt. Generally speaking, the Americans got what they wanted for their money. The Cold War mentality caused terrible damage to Western European cultural life, although this assumed a form different from the one in America.

A recent article by R. Rowd in the GUARDIAN on the Cold War in Western Europe opened as follows: "A small group of neo-orthodox art experts in Italy and France formulated a theory according to which American cultural imperialism had made fools of us in the 1960's and made us believe that the abstract expressionistic trend in painting at that time was an important trend in contemporary art." That group, Rowd wrote, let it be understood clearly that that operation was financed with American money, including some from the CIA budget. Rowd does not agree with this viewpoint. Nevertheless, he retells the increasingly popular belief regarding American influence on Western European culture during the Cold War. The CIA spent millions of dollars to finance its attempts to influence Western European intellectuals and artists, to persuade or to frighten them to such an extent that they would be forced to accept the American views on the global situation, which consisted of pure hatred of the Soviet Union.

Today matters are somewhat different. The American influence remains, but it has assumed more refined and by far more convincing forms than in the 1960's. However, it has retained its predatory, mercenary and vulgar trend. Currently, in the area of cultural exports to Western Europe, the Americans are supplying us mainly with their own samples of cruelty and violence. One evening after another, our television screens expose us to American crime, murders, drug addiction, coarse sex and the hypocritical inclination of the middle class to complain of its fate. When the GUARDIAN writes of the influence of Hollywood and New York on the youth, it discusses immorality and filth in sex as presented by Hollywood and the prevalence of violence and cruelty in New York. A total of 1,100 murders and 70,000 street muggings were officially registered in New York in the first 9 months of 1981. We see this on the television every evening. The American crime series "Starsky and Hutch," which describes two New York policemen who wear blue jeans and worn-out jackets and tennis shoes and who make a rather sloppy impression, is a typical example. In each program, which has been presented to us weekly for a number of years, Starsky and Hutch invariably resort to violence in performing their police functions. In America this always ends the same way: big-caliber and deadly pistols are pulled out, for this is the only means for resolving all conflicts overseas.

A British program which is quite similar to Starsky and Hutch is "The Professionals." Instead of sloppily dressed policemen looking for criminals, the "heroes" of our program catch spies every week, for the British establishment is in the throes of a spy mania. In this program as well, however, we see that same merciless violence and, sometimes, something even worse: sinister, dark, coarse, sometime savage samples of "our defenders" give such a frightening impression that had they been true to life they should have been kept under lock and key to protect us from their violence.

If we consider the reason for all of this, the logical conclusion is that this is an effort to convince the people that they must tolerate the striking inclination toward violence and crime in the American way of life and must accept them as an acceptable side of human life in both American and Western European capitalist society. We are then given the idea that the American way of life is perfection worthy of all emulation. The American television

"model" of the way of life is advancing step by step in Western Europe, for our young people are becoming increasingly exposed not only to the cult of crime but to the peculiar religious cults originating and financed in America, which offer a moral justification for revelry and violence. However, it is no longer a question of television but of an entirely tangible, material export from the United States of the actual carriers of home-grown religious derangement of mind, which is characteristic today of the American petit bourgeois.

The objective of the American religious sects is to turn our young men and women into emulators of the models of the "ideal" American young person--fanatical, ignorant and merciless, yet entirely capable of becoming a one-dimensional personality, whose outlook is based on primitive McCarthyism, i.e., which is thoroughly imbued with a profound hatred of the Soviet Union, communism, socialism, liberalism, science and even ordinary generosity in our daily life. These religious organizations are fabulously rich, for as a rule they are supported by millionaires. They have already gained substantial influence in American political life and are now trying to expand it to Western Europe. One such sect was created by the South Korean entrepreneur Moon, who has specialized in the manufacturing of weapons. To his admirers he is a kind of "holy anticommunist" who, however, in ordinary life owns a daily newspaper in New York. Today Moon has 7 million followers in various countries, mainly in the United States. We see his young American followers in our streets in London--neatly dressed Americans whose entire appearance seems to be calling upon us to join the religious campaign against communism which, in their concepts, is identical to anything which could lead to having "liberal" convictions, and to displaying humanism and ideological tolerance. The members of this sect, like other similar sects--there are about half a dozen of them--preach a common "political religion" of hatred of the Soviet Union and of everything progressive, not shying from using the old clerical weapon of accusing of "subversive activity" anyone who dares to question the validity of the Old Testament story of the creation of our world from nothingness.

In the longer term, the opposition of the Europeans to such new and even exotic sources of influence, which carry within them a rejection of the humanistic legacy of European culture, will depend on our own European common sense. However, efforts are being made to deprive us of this as well. When a transatlantic system of permanent space television communication, with the help of earth satellites, will come to be in the near future, the question will arise of the beginning of a new stage in the American invasion of our culture, for American television stations will be given the opportunity to transmit any kind of propaganda material directly to the television-equipped home of every resident of Western Europe without relay facilities. One of the first tasks of the American space shuttle, which is greatly talked about, will be precisely to put into orbit American television satellites belonging to private monopolies, whose owners could transmit anything they wished.

The United States is already preparing to use this system for the dissemination of its cultural surrogates and propaganda in other countries as well. The objective is to achieve a maximally profound penetration into the minds

and consciousness of the Europeans. Some people in our country are already seriously worried by the American plans. THE SUNDAY TIMES recently wrote that "the prospect that Europe will be drowned in the output of multinational television corporations is beginning to frighten the authorities." Nevertheless, this new potential opportunity for American penetration in Europe is based on the identical class aspirations of the reaction in the United States and in Western Europe. If American exports of dangerous religious insanity and the cult of violence develop further, thus entirely drowning the Western European market, the reason will be that this ideological "commodity" from overseas will be welcomed by our own spiritual "brothers" of the American bosses, by the same type of philistines, who intent to bury deeper underground our cultural heritage.

Where Politics and Culture Meet

The policy of alienating Western European countries from culture, which is promoted in the Western section of our continent by American capitalism, is no longer limited to the area of social influences. It goes further, threatening us with the catastrophe of nuclear war. This precisely is the gravest danger threatening European culture today. The belief of the current rulers of the United States that they could win a "limited" nuclear war in Europe, the neutron bomb they have developed, and their plans for deploying cruise missiles in Europe are creating the gravest threat not only to European culture but to life itself on the Continent.

The cynicism with which Washington speaks of "limited" nuclear war, from which the United States would be spared, is conceived in Europe above all as proof of the absolute scorn for the basic vital interests of the Western European nations. It is also a vivid manifestation of the total absence in American ruling circles of any understanding of the importance of the age-old history of European civilization and European culture in terms of global development. Such is the logical end of the anticultural policy of monopoly capital.

Actually, can we view as cultured people who do not exclude the possible destruction of Europe for the sake of their own imaginary safety? Or could it be that they are trapped by their blind aspiration to impose upon all of us the defeatist cult of violence and a dangerous and even insane social system, regardless of how many lives this would take or the losses to human culture this would cause? What should we think of those Western European government leaders who are showing their readiness to sacrifice millions of lives of their citizens to an alien policy which threatens themselves with annihilation? Could they be described as cultured? Perhaps it would be more accurate to describe them as nuclear philistines who are ready to gamble with the fate of an entire continent for the sake of helping a dangerous ally in his role of global policeman, even if this involves the threat of universal annihilation?

With every passing day the Western European nations are becoming increasingly aware of the choice they face. The huge peace demonstrations in Bonn, Amsterdam, Paris, Rome, London, Madrid and Athens express not only the resolve of an increasing number of people to defend peace but also indicate their

readiness to fight for the preservation of the achievements of civilization and for saving once and for all mankind from ignorance, violence and exploitation. Today the people who march on the streets of our towns protesting the further growth of nuclear arsenals are the best forces of Western Europe. We must also say that on the other side of the Atlantic a similar struggle is developing, although it is quite difficult for the Americans to do so. They are being subjected to a tremendous and most naked pressure. They must find their way through a thick forest of violence and artificially promoted hatred. Above all, they must rise above the moral credo of immorality which identifies loyalty with the rejection of virtually everything for which every educated person in Western Europe and the United States has always fought.

After a visit to Europe, the well-known American publicist and critic E. Hubbard wrote in the journal PHILISTINE in 1901: "The only enemies who threaten America are those from within: ignorance, prejudice and incompetence." Today one could hardly accuse the United States of incompetence. However, ignorance and prejudice remain America's enemies. To the extent to which Europe still intends to consider itself the "workshop of mankind," it will have to help its American friends to get rid of these dangerous shortcomings. If it is to be spared a nuclear catastrophe caused by ignorant and greatly prejudiced people, immediate action is necessary.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

WHAT IS 'NEW' AND OLD IN WASHINGTON'S POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 105-115

[Article by V. Zorin]

[Text] The slogan which the U.S. Republican administration, headed by Ronald Reagan, chose for itself in taking over the leadership of the country in January 1981 and proclaiming far-reaching changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the biggest capitalist country was "A New Start."

To a certain extent such loud slogans are a tradition in American political life. For decades every new U.S. president has tried to come up with a brief, one could even say advertising formula which should express the core of his governmental program. The beginning of this tradition dates back to F. D. Roosevelt, who announced the policy of the "New Deal," followed by Truman's "Fair Deal," Kennedy's "New Frontier," Johnson's "Great Society," Nixon's "Law and Order" and Carter's "New Horizons."

Nevertheless, it was obvious in this case that the "new start" was not merely an homage to tradition. This slogan reflects both the political philosophy and the specific programs of the current Republican Party leadership, considered by it as an answer to the circumstance of U.S. political and economic life at the beginning of the 1980's. It has already become clear, on the basis not only of the words but the actions of the Reagan administration during the past year, that this slogan is not merely a tactical amendment of the course pursued by different administrations over a long period but an attempt to make a strategic turn in politics, and to replace with new concepts doctrines which had long been used by both Democratic and Republican administrations. However, the extent to which this attempt will prove to be viable and express the long-term orientation of American ruling circles is a different and quite important matter.

The appearance in the White House of members of the conservative right wing of the Republican Party, as was the case in January 1980, is nothing exceptional in U.S. political practices. For most of his career, President Nixon was considered one of the leaders of the right-wing Republicans. Ford was also right of center for quite some time. However, like Nixon, it was only after he entered the White House that he gradually converted to centrist positions. However, it would be erroneous to draw here any kind of parallel, for

the circumstances in which the Nixon and Ford administrations operated were substantially different from the present situation. The innersprings which determine the political line of the new administration, both domestic and foreign, cannot be seen without looking into the deep political and social processes which are taking place in the United States. For example, it is quite characteristic that in 1981 it was not merely a question of the fact that a group of conservatives had settled in the White House and the government. Conservative Republicans were also able to seize control over the Senate, which is now playing a considerably greater role in shaping Washington's political course compared with the relatively recent past, and substantially to strengthen their positions in the House of Representatives. The members of so-called liberal groups found themselves considerably restricted to the second and third levels of power. For the first time in the last 50 years, the right wing of the Republican Party was offered some opportunity to claim that it has been given the mandate to rule by significant American voting strata (let us add that this does not mean by far the absolute majority, as it claims).

The reason for this situation is an entirely clear shifting of the axis of the country's political life to the right, backed by objective data. For the time being, not only the support of many influential big business groups, which have always been distinguished by their extreme conservatism, but the support of various groups within American society ensure the present Republican Party leadership the support of its slogans and its course, which is also supported by the most influential mass information media, ideological and political centers and rather large population groups.

I

The Reagan administration assumed the direction of the country and began its activities in a situation in which the major changes in U.S. political and economic circumstances, which had been ripening and were being felt with increasing clarity during the 1970's, had become quite obvious. During several decades, the economic activities of the consecutive administrations were under the influence of Keynesian and neo-Keynesian ideas. Preference was given to economic and political measures aimed at abating the consequences of economic crises with the help of a widespread system of governmental intervention. Bourgeois-liberal or so-called "middle way" concepts prevailed in the socio-political areas (the creation of more or less widespread social security systems, public projects, unemployment aid, aid to the aged and the poor, etc).

Naturally, this was not a manifestation of good will on the part of the American monopoly bourgeoisie but a reflection of the desire to toss a few crumbs to the working people in answer to their demand under circumstances which were essentially favorable to American capitalism.

During most of the past 50 years, Democratic Party administrations were in power in the United States. Their mass base was an amorphous but nevertheless entirely real voting bloc, which had been set up as early as the beginning of the 1930's, consisting of the trade unions, the black organizations, the liberal intelligentsia and a number of women's, youth and other mass associations. This coalition, which had developed under Roosevelt's "New Deal,"

proved to be sufficiently durable, as a result of which it was able to survive until very recently. During times when Republicans replaced Democrats, their administrations essentially followed a course similar to that of their rivals in domestic policy. They followed the ways of the Democrats and continued to develop and to modify the "New Deal" ideas and programs. The attempt on the part of the so-called "traditional" right wing of the Republican Party to assume control over the government, which was made in 1964 with Goldwater's presidential nomination, resulted in a severe defeat for the party.

However, whatever was still green in 1964, when the U.S. economy was operating under more or less satisfactory conditions, came to maturity 16 years later. The 1980 elections made clear not only the widespread discontent with many actions of the previous administration and the lack of popularity of Carter, its leader, and were not simply a change of administrations between parties. As the study of domestic political, economic and social processes occurring in the United States indicates, they marked a political turn determined by objective factors, which meant, regardless of the fate of the present administration and the results of its activities, an end to the period which was started with the "New Deal" and its subsequent political and economic modifications.

In the economic area this turn was predetermined by the fact that the methods of governmental economic control used in the past became largely ineffective. The measures in whose omnipotence and universal application bourgeois government and business leaders in the United States believed entirely, and with the help of which they were able to influence the course of the economic process to a certain extent, began to misfire one after another in the 1970's. The crises which followed each other were not accompanied by a subsequent substantial upsurge in output. Inflation no longer responded to state control measures. The serious undermining of the positions of American monopolies on the world market and the successful competition on the part of Japanese and West German monopoly groups created among the influential circles in the United States an atmosphere of severe disappointment in the methods the effectiveness of which had not been questioned in the past.

According to American economists, in 14 years (1965-1979), the growth rates of U.S. labor productivity dropped by one-half compared with the postwar period. Whereas in 1976 the U.S. gross national product increased by a 5.4 average, it increased by an average of 4.8 percent in 1978 and 3.2 percent in 1979. In 1980, however, the gross national product not only failed to increase but even declined by 0.2 percent. For comparison's sake, let us point out that in 1980 the gross national product increased by 1.8 percent in the FRG and by 5 percent in Japan.

The deployment of forces in the social area changed substantially. The positions of U.S. population groups classified in America as "middle classes," based on their income level, had become considerably strengthened in the preceding period. We must always remember that the exploitation of many countries and nations by American monopoly capital gave it the potential for providing more or less privileged material conditions to a certain segment of the U.S. population. Thus, the deep poverty in which tens of millions of

people live in Latin American, Asian and African countries, exploited by the American neocolonizers, is directly related to the higher living standard of many American social strata, compared with other countries. According to American political experts, currently 30 million American families, or 53 percent of their total number, belong to the so-called "middle class" in terms of income.

Equally important is the fact that by virtue of these reasons, in terms of its income a certain percentage of the U.S. working class was equal to the "middle class." This had inevitable consequences, social as well as political. Thus, the relatively low level of strikes, particularly when compared with previous decades or with the scope of strike actions in other capitalist countries, the fact that strikes were triggered by strictly economic demands and the increased conservative mood of the organized labor movement were characteristic features of the situation in the country.

The appearance of a stratum of labor aristocracy is nothing new in the history of capitalism. In discussing the labor aristocracy stratum which every imperialist great power can and does bribe, V. I. Lenin emphasized that this stratum "is just about the main social support of the bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 193). He pointed out especially that the "economic break-off of the labor aristocracy stratum in the direction of the bourgeoisie has ripened and taken place. The political form of this economic fact, of this change in relations between classes, may be defined without any particular effort" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 175). Lenin equally noted that even then the labor aristocracy was playing a special role precisely in the United States. "The main historical reasons which determined the particular prominence and (temporary) strength of the bourgeois labor policy in England and America is the long period of political freedom and unusually advantageous conditions for the development of capitalism in depth and in width compared with other countries. These conditions resulted in the development of an aristocracy within the working class, which gravitated toward the bourgeoisie, betraying its class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, p 232). To this day, despite all the changes which have taken place during the past decades, this perspicacious Leninist view helps us to understand many of the political processes occurring in the United States.

We cannot ignore the fact that today the United States is virtually the only large capitalist country in which trade union membership is substantially declining rather than growing. Thus, over a 20-year period--from 1958 to 1978--it dropped from 33.2 to 24 percent of the active population; by the middle of 1981 it had dropped to 21 percent. The trade union bosses are deliberately keeping out of the unions the bulk of unskilled and underskilled workers, a considerable percentage of young people and women and members of ethnic minorities.

The greatly increased role of the "middle classes," which, in addition to the middle and petite bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, the workers in the service industries, members of the so-called liberal professions and, at least in terms of the level of their income and instilled self-awareness, some workers and farmers, has substantially changed the social image of the country.

The American bourgeoisie, particularly as represented by the leadership of the Republican Party, was able to detect these processes as early as the first half of the 1970's. During his presidency, Nixon himself formulated a slogan clearly aimed against progressive trends of relying on the "silent majority," i.e., on the "middle-classes," which, allegedly, determined the political weather in the country. However, these processes became fully apparent only with the 1980 elections. According to many qualified American observers, the fact that more than one-half of all American families consider themselves "middle class" played a decisive role in the outcome of the elections.

Most of those who voted for Ronald Reagan were recruited from the prosperous population groups. Whereas up to a point they agreed with the view that it was expedient to make some material sacrifices for the sake of the preservation of social peace in the country, the economic crises and inflation triggered in this segment of the population feelings of concern which favored the promotion of a program of substantially curtailing social expenditures. "The middle class," wrote BUSINESS WEEK, the journal of the business circles, "is despairing at the erosion of its way of life caused by the fatal combination of a durable inflation and steadily rising taxes...."

The leadership of the right wing of the Republican Party made skillful use of this concern. One of the main elements in the Republican electoral platform and the economic plan of the Reagan administration included suggestions which called, on the one hand, for a drastic reduction in social programs and, on the other, the lowering of taxes.

The petit and middle bourgeois and the other members of the "middle classes," given their philistine consumerist outlook, proved also to be receptive to extreme nationalism and chauvinism in foreign policy. The leadership of the right wing of the Republican Party is artificially and maliciously playing on the chauvinism of the philistine raised on the idea of American superiority and American "exclusivity." The pride of the representatives of these circles, which was hurt by Washington's humiliating foreign policy failures, was also used as capital by the right-wing Republicans.

As we know, in its time the ignominious defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam encouraged a healthier assessment of the realities of today's world and the understanding that the United States could no longer act in the international arena as it deemed fit, relying on its power, by the American public. A great deal was said and written on the subject. However, the impact of this "national humiliation," as tirelessly proclaimed by American reactionary propaganda, on the growth of chauvinistic and nationalistic moods among some segments of the American population--moods which were inflated and encouraged by U.S. reactionary circles which opposed the policy of detente--was studied considerably less. The fact that today the leaders of the Republican administration are faced with the need "to surmount the Vietnam syndrome," i.e., the negative attitude of the broad public circles toward the possibility of new aggressive actions on the part of the U.S. military, is the result of the corresponding indoctrination of population strata contaminated by chauvinism and by appeals for a "restoration of America's former power," strata which are also under the influence of the propaganda myth of the "Soviet menace" and the "communist threat."

Whereas the fears and prejudices of the "middle classes" in American society gave the right-wing Republicans a more or less widespread base which enabled them to win the elections and, coming to power, to formulate the most conservative and aggressive long-term program, the political power on which today's Washington leadership rests consists of some big business circles, big corporations and, mainly, the military-industrial complex. The leaders of concerns which are profiting from the arms race are those who opposed detente in the '70's, fearing the loss of their unfair profits. During the period in which, under the influence of the course of events, a more sober approach to contemporary reality predominated in Washington, the ideologues and politicians who reflected the views of the most aggressive American capitalist circles had not abandoned their targets and concepts in the least. Pushed into the background by the development of events, they continued to do everything possible to undermine detente, while waiting for better times.

Let us point out that far from all big American corporations are closely involved in war production. Representatives of business circles played a certain role in the formulation of a more circumspect and unfrenzied U.S. militaristic foreign political course. However, by the end of the 1970's, these relatively soberly thinking big business circles were experiencing a rising feeling of disappointment by the economic course pursued by the various administrations in Washington, the lack of economic stability and the decline of U.S. economic power and influence in the world.

Given such circumstances, the "simple" solutions to complex problems, as suggested by the right-wing Republicans, proved to be attractive to a considerable number of U.S. business leaders who no longer believed in the numerous governmental programs for "improving the health of the economy." They were bribed by the promises of the leadership of the Republican Party that they would reduce the direct intervention of the state in controlling the country's economy and would give greater freedom to private enterprise.

According to the ideologues of the present Republican administration, state control cannot resolve American economic problems, for which reason freedom of action must be returned to the private corporations which, it is claimed, will pull the U.S. economy out of the mire in which it has been floundering for many years. Let us recall that similar concepts had already gained the upper hand in the United States in the period which preceded the "great depression" of the beginning of the 1930's. Therefore, we cannot speak of anything new in the economic course of the current American governmental leadership. It is a question of something else--of attempts to return to the methods which preceded the Roosevelt period in the history of American capitalism under circumstances governed by disappointment in the political course, and the illusory concept that the elimination of some governmental economic functions could result in the elimination of current difficulties.

Indeed, the Reagan administration charted a course not simply of correcting but sharply changing the nature of governmental economic policy. Hundreds of laws governing the activities of private corporations were abolished. A

program for a 30-percent tax reduction, which benefits mainly the biggest monopolies, was initiated. Plans for significantly curtailing allocations for social needs play a special role in the Reagan program. The size of this action, directly aimed against the poorest American toiling strata, can be imagined by considering that in this fiscal year social programs will lose \$35 billion. This includes unemployment compensation, food stamps, which help feed poor families, school lunches, medical care, education, the vocational training of young people from poor families, etc.

In implementing the social instructions of the monopolies, the leaders in the administration hope that such measures, planned and implemented, will yield comparatively quick results in terms of boosting the economic situation. It is precisely the economy and its sick problems that were the focal point of the 1980 electoral campaign waged by the Republican Party, and it is precisely these problems that remain at the center of the Reagan administration during its first year in power. Had it been a question merely of a foreign policy turn toward the Cold War, it is likely that the monopoly bourgeoisie would not necessarily have replaced so many members of its Washington team. The Carter administration, particularly in the final period of its stay in power, had shown its complete readiness to act according to the scenario of the most aggressive U.S. monopoly groups. The American monopolies needed new leaders and new concepts above all because of the serious economic difficulties they were facing in the country.

However, when President Reagan announced his economic program, some American specialists already began to express serious doubts concerning its applicability. They pointed out that it was based less on economic realities than on speculative political considerations. As more time passed the skepticism felt by U.S. business circles increased, and by the end of 1981 it had reached such a scale that the American press began to speak of a conflict between the administration and influential big business circles, Wall Street in particular, caused by the concern which the economically unsubstantiated voluntaristic administration program had created.

Nor should we underestimate the influence of a number of failures which the foreign policy of the ruling U.S. circles has experienced on the deployment of forces in the Washington leadership. This course was based on the false concept that the policy of detente is not an objective necessity determined by the existing deployment of forces in the world but an error which allegedly benefited the socialist countries. This premise led to the prejudiced conclusion that it was necessary to turn back to the time of the notorious "intransigent course" which allegedly was to help the United States to regain its lost positions and assert its global hegemony. Now, however, 1 year later, many observers and a number of American political figures are reaching the conclusion that the United States is not achieving any kind of real success along this way. Furthermore, this policy has begun to experience tangible breakdowns which have forced Reagan occasionally to resort to a previously atypical peace-oriented phraseology. However, the aggressive nature of the foreign policy course charted by the White House has remained unchanged. This is confirmed, in particular, by the provocative political-propaganda campaign urged on by Washington in connection with the Polish events. With the help of this

campaign, its organizers are trying to draw the attention of the American people away from the difficulties they are facing and that of the international public from U.S. actions which threaten peace, as well as to bring the allies into line and preserve the tension which is needed for the further development of military programs.

One of the basic reasons for this course is the existence of an unbreakable connection between the foreign policy programs of the leadership of the right wing of the Republican Party and its foreign policy concepts. It is precisely this tie that led the most aggressive American monopoly circles to the decision to rely on politicians who proceed on the basis of utopian hopes that they will be able to restore to capitalism its irreversibly lost youthful energy.

A noteworthy circumstance which affects the course of the current U.S. administration is the fact that it is substantially influenced by so-called "young" American capital groups, which began to develop separately in the 1950's and which enjoy certain advantages in their competitive struggle against the old group on Wall Street. A considerable share of their capital is invested in the most advanced sectors--electronics, aerospace, aviation, computers and computer systems, etc. The "young" monopoly groups have less strong ties with their Western European partners and smaller capital investments in multinational and foreign companies, as a result of which they are particularly profit oriented.

A circumstance noteworthy in this respect, related to the activities of the Reagan administration, is the fact that the golden rain of military orders, triggered by the sharp increase in Pentagon budget allocations, has poured to a large extent on the military corporations belonging to the "young" groups, the military concerns based in California above all. Bearing in mind that Reagan himself and many people holding key positions in his administration are most closely linked with California businessmen who came to Washington, which is today one of the centers of American military business, there are abundant reasons for thought and summations on this score.

III

The question of attainability, of whether or not the suggested program is a reflection of purely subjective aspirations on the part of one or another monopoly group influential in the United States and of its political agents, or else it is based on something objective inherent in the situation which has developed today in the capitalist world, is of major importance in relation to the changes which Reagan has made in the political targets of his administration, both domestic and foreign.

Let us note above all that the "new start" proclaimed by the Reagan administration is developing under circumstances of an actually existing deployment of forces in the world, which is far from advantageous to American imperialism. In this case the power of real socialism--of the Soviet Union and its allies--is a decisive factor. The hopes of imperialism that it would be able to stop or hinder objective revolutionary processes and national liberation movements by increasing the U.S. armament potential have no future.

Unlike their predecessors, the leaders of today's Washington administration do not conceal that they are relying on gaining "military superiority" over the Soviet Union. However, as the Soviet side has repeatedly emphasized, they will have to acknowledge the impossibility of disturbing in their favor the military-strategic balance with the USSR. Incidentally, this is already being realized by many noted American personalities. Thus, M. Toon, the former U.S. ambassador to the USSR, reflects the viewpoint of many American political experts and personalities when he writes that "we cannot achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union for the simple reason that our opponent will not tolerate it."

The rejection of the policy of detente is seriously concerning influential members of the ruling circles of Western European allies of the United States and Japan. These circles, which have acquired considerable economic power and experienced the benefits of detente, are clearly cool to the idea of unconditionally following in the wake of Washington's adventuristic policy, which threatens their countries with incalculable catastrophes.

Recent events and the fact that, despite initially proclaimed intentions, the representatives of the American government have actually been forced to return to talks with the USSR are quite eloquent and significant, although to this day Washington is continuing to avoid looking for a basis for a mutually acceptable agreement at the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear weapons, formulating the so-called "zero alternative" for the solution of this most important problem, which entirely contradicts the principle of equality and identical security.

Major doubts, although stressed rather quietly as yet, are being experienced by some U.S. political circles as well in connection with Washington's desire to gain some advantages of a global nature by allying itself with the Beijing leadership. The thought is being expressed with increasing frequency that the United States may lose control over the situation and become merely a trump in Beijing's play. In this connection, R. Klein, an associate at the Center for Strategic Studies of Georgetown University, a noted American specialist, wrote recently that "the strategic embrace of Washington by the Chinese is unquestionably more favorable to Beijing's interests, rather than our own, and is of questionable benefit."

As we pointed out, substantial concern has been expressed by various U.S. political and business circles on the subject of the economic program of the Reagan administration. American business is increasingly concerned by the reliance on granting maximum freedom of action to the big corporations and freeing them from official governmental control. The economic machinery of monopoly capitalism in the 1980's, as is well realized at monopoly headquarters, functions differently from the first decades of the 20th century. To assume that American capitalism at the end of the 20th century can do without the crutches of state monopoly, the public treasury and the mass redistribution of the national income means, in the final analysis, to create gaps in the functioning of the national economic mechanism which will result in difficulties greater than those it has faced in the recent past.

It is no accident that many major American experts are criticizing the economic programs of the Republican administration. Thus, Prof W. Leontief, a leading U.S. economist, recently wrote that "these tremendous leaps in military expenditures will mean higher inflation indicators, an increase in the balance of payments deficit, reduction in industrial investments, a rapid increase in interest rates, higher taxed and depreciated currency and, on a longer-range basis, greater unemployment....An economic catastrophe is arising. The stakes of this game are very high."

The pessimistic feelings of many representatives of the American business world caused by Reagan's economic program are confirmed by the results of a survey conducted by U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT of entrepreneurs and economic experts. According to the journal, most of them have reached the conclusion that the present course of the administration will not only make it impossible to surmount the difficulties of the economic decline but will even aggravate the crisis. "The study of the economists, who have taken into consideration the potential effect of the recovery program," the journal writes, "has indicated that few of them believe in any substantial improvement in the American economic situation."

As early as October 1981 President Reagan was forced to acknowledge that the country is in the throes of a new economic slump. According to the specialists, this year's crisis will be "deep and serious." Characteristically, even D. Stockman, the head of the Office of Management and the Budget of the Reagan administration, admitted in a talk with a correspondent of THE ATLANTIC that, as they say, the government's economic program is cracking along all the seams.

The program of economic "recovery" has become a heavy burden borne by the working people. Millions of people who are most needy in terms of food, medical care and aid to education have suffered as a result of the cuts in the social budget. Meanwhile, the corporations have mounted an offensive against the working class, demanding the surrender of a number of gains achieved by the working people in the course of their persistent struggle under the threat of mass layoffs. The number of officially registered unemployed in the country reached 9.5 million by the end of 1981. As early as September 1981 the scale of the mass objection to the economic policy was confirmed by a huge demonstration of working people held in Washington. Equally indicative was the November convention of the AFL-CIO, whose leadership was forced to condemn the antilabor and anti-union policy pursued by the White House under membership pressure.

According to many American observers, unless the Reagan administration is able to control completely inflation, the drop in labor productivity and the weakening of the positions of American monopolies on the world market within the next 2 to 3 years, it will have to face the disappointment of the business circles which are supporting it today and the strata among the American population which are still nursing certain illusions on this account. The "middle classes," i.e., the middle and petit bourgeois environment in American political life is, as is the case throughout the capitalist world, a rather shaky base, whose political moods are subject to constant fluctuations. What

appears to be mass support today could not only dry up quickly should the economic programs of the Reagan administration fail, but even generate widespread opposition, which will be strengthened by the negative consequences of the abolition of partial social aid programs for the poor implemented by the previous administrations. The increased discontent of these strata at whose expense the administration is trying to resolve economic problems--a process recently begun--is fraught with the aggravation of class tension also as a result of the fact that some voters who supported Reagan in the 1980 elections have switched over to the camp of the active opposition.

The political "new start" slogan formulated by the Republican administration, covering both domestic and foreign policy, was brought to life by views on today's world quite distant from reality. In domestic policy it is based on groundless hopes that the worsening economic difficulties of the country can be eliminated through promonopoly measures which harm the interests of the broad toiling masses in the United States without being able, in the final account, to satisfy the business world. The accelerated arms race, which had a temporarily stimulating effect on the economy at a certain stage, is beginning to affect it more and more adversely.

However, it will take some time before the disparity between the expectations of the Republican administration and the spirit of the times becomes obvious to the majority in American society. It is difficult as yet to determine the time which this process of sobering up will take. However, there is hardly any doubt that the more or less popular illusions nurtured in the United States today regarding durable economic prosperity will disappear, something which will have political consequences.

Equally groundless are the hopes of the leaders of the present U.S. administration for pursuing a successful intransigent course in the international arena, particularly in relations with the Soviet Union. Neither Reagan nor those around him are the first to try to address the Soviet Union in the language of power. The results of such attempts are fairly well known. The overall ratio of forces which has developed in the world is an objective reality which the present U.S. leadership will have to take into consideration sooner or later. Meanwhile, the policy of detente is a course in which the American people are as interested as the Soviet Union. Attempts to demand of the Soviet state concessions as "payment" for detente ignore both existing realities and U.S. national interests.

The turn which the Republican administration has tried to take in domestic and foreign policy is not only consistent with the views and biases of various political leaders but also has been the result of the objective difficulties encountered by American imperialism, difficulties which, after a long period of growth, became particularly grave at the beginning of the 1980's. In seeking ways to surmount such difficulties, the monopoly circles of the U.S. bourgeoisie are trying to formulate a long-term course aimed at enabling American capitalism to regain the positions it held in the first postwar years by assuming more rigid positions domestically and abroad.

However, such a program, which has been embodied in the course charted by the Republican administration, is based not on the realities of today's world or the situation in America and in the international arena but on bad desires and aspirations of these circles. The obviously unrealistic nature of this program and the objective impossibility of turning the clock of history back make attempts at such a turn historically futile. The American people are indeed interested in a "new start," but not in the type of start offered to them. This will become obvious sooner or later.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 116-119

[Review by S. Vasil'yev of the book "Ot Kapitalizma k Sotsializmu. Osnovnyye Problemy Istorii Perekhodnogo Perioda v SSSR. 1917-1937 Gg." [From Capitalism to Socialism. Basic Problems in the History of the Transitional Period in the USSR, 1917-1937]. In 2 volumes. Vol 1: "Victory of the Socialist Revolution. Beginning of the Transitional Period, 1917-1927," 519 pp; Vol 2: "The Expanded Building of Socialism in the USSR, 1928-1937," 440 pp. Nauka, Moscow, 1981]

[Text] The history of the transitional period in the USSR is one of the major scientific problems which are drawing the increasing attention of the social scientists. This is explained by the fact that the scale and nature of socialist changes which have taken place in our country and are of tremendous international significance can be interpreted more fully and profoundly from the heights of real socialism. On the other hand, a comparison between the experience of the USSR and that of other countries which have followed this road under historical circumstances makes it possible to determine the dialectics of the general and the specific in the building of socialism. Finally, the countries which are not taking the path of socialist construction find in the collective experience of the socialist comity the most rational methods for the solution of their socioeconomic, political and cultural problems.

During the 1960's-1970's, Soviet historiography was enriched by a cycle of major monograph studies on the main stages of the transitional period and the radical changes in various areas of social life on a national, republic and regional scale. The publication of the two-volume collective monograph under review on the transitional period in the USSR is a noteworthy phenomenon in this research cycle.

Aware of the scope of the subject, the authors concentrated on the summarized description of the main problems. They singled out and discussed the main ways of development of events, which reflected the most characteristic features of the process of assertion of new relations in various areas of social life. This is an attempt at a comprehensive study which shows the interrelationship among revolutionary changes under the conditions of laying the foundations of socialism. The authors have followed the chronological principle, which has

been reflected mainly in the structure of the work. Volume 1 deals with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the defense of the gains of the revolution from the White Guards and the interventionist, the restoration processes and the beginning of socialist reconstruction. The second volume, which covers the period from the end of the 1920's to that of the 1930's, discusses the expanded building of socialism--the solution of the main problems of industrialization, the socialist reorganization of the countryside and the cultural revolution.

The monograph is characterized by the problem approach to historical events and their clear ideological and theoretical analysis and the aspiration of the authors to express and substantiate the party and class viewpoints and to expose the positions of our ideological opponents in all cases. The effectiveness of this approach is quite clear in the study of a number of most important problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

This applies mainly to the nature of the transitional period itself. V. I. Lenin frequently pointed out that the objective of the proletariat is to build socialism. This objective "will require a rather lengthy transitional period from capitalism to socialism, both because reorganization of the production process is a difficult matter and because the making of radical changes in all fields of life requires time..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, pp 385-386).

The monograph brings to light and describes the directions along which the main problems of the transitional period were resolved.

They were, first of all, the solution of the political problems of the transitional period. It is a question of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the creation of a state of a new type, the establishment of proletarian democracy and the solution of the national problem on a countrywide scale.

Second, this involved the making of economic changes. The seizure of command positions in the economy by the state was ensured. In the very first months following the victory of the October Revolution, banks, transportation and large-scale industry were nationalized following the nationalization of the land. After the civil war, as the necessary conditions developed, cooperatives of petty owners in town and country were set up. The material and technical base of socialism was created--a powerful industry and socialist agriculture developing on the basis of a single plan. The country's mixed economy was eliminated and the total rule of the new, collectivistic production method was established.

Third, problems related to the breakdown of the social structure of the exploiting society and the creation of new social relations were resolved. The exploiting classes were eliminated. The members of these classes were involved in the process of socially useful labor. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry was strengthened systematically.

Fourth and last, the Leninist plan for a cultural revolution was being successfully implemented. The party established the dominating status of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the creation of a truly democratic and popular culture.

The essence of the transitional period is described precisely through the study of all of these closely interacting aspects of the revolutionary process. The main trend of this process is related to the social development of the working class and the ability of its vanguard--the Leninist party--to determine the proper correlation among the various aspects of revolutionary change at each stage in the revolution and at each steep historical turn, to earmark prospects clearly and to define the levels reached.

The working class was the leading force of revolutionary change in the Soviet Republic. The monograph convincingly proves that despite its relatively small size, it confidently assumed the power, for it enjoyed the broad support of the poorest urban and rural strata. The profound understanding which the proletariat had of its historical role was manifested also in the formulation of the new principles of organization of the production and distribution process, direct participation in the administration of governmental affairs, active aid to the toiling peasant masses and the passing of numerous laws in accordance with the policy of strengthening the friendship among the peoples of our country. There was no single area of social life unaffected by the creative and constructive genius of the working class or where the working class did not play the role of the main character. The monograph extensively proves that the party invariably relied on the working class in the organization of the Soviet state and economic machinery and in the course of its advancement, organizing the Red Guard and, subsequently, the Red Army, in carrying out the most important economic and political campaigns and in ideological work among the masses. The class consciousness of the workers was the converter which turned the party's words into the actions of millions of people in town and country, triggered unparalleled enthusiasm and heroism on the battlefield and in peaceful toil and cemented the unity of the people, which no enemies of socialism could undermine.

One of the most important indicators of the maturity of the revolutionary movement is the ability of the leading class (in terms of revolutionism) to take into consideration the sum total of social interests, draw over to its side and turn into allies population groups whose basic vital interests could be realized in the course of the revolution. The consistent democratic striving of the working class in our country was made immediately apparent, as the authors indicate, through the creation of soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies, the promulgation of the decrees on peace and land on the second day of the revolution, the organization of the military and political alliance among workers and peasants during the civil war, the strengthening of this alliance on an economic basis following the conversion to peaceful construction, the policy of decisively supporting the interests of the rural poor in the struggle against the kulaks and black marketeers, the use of bourgeois elements during the NEP and the active recruitment of the various detachments of old specialists. Lenin perspicaciously foresaw the truly global importance of the Soviet experience in ensuring the firm alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry. The practice of other countries which took the path of building socialism confirmed the accuracy of this conclusion.

While broadening or somewhat changing the socioclass aspects of its policy during individual stages of the transitional period, the communist party was invariably guided by the interests of the working class, doing everything possible to upgrade its leading role as the vanguard of the entire toiling people in the struggle for socialism. It was precisely this policy that was a prerequisite for the successful surmounting of the tremendous difficulties facing the land of the soviets and ensuring the successful building of a socialist society. The views on complex social phenomena in USSR history, such as the civil war in general and the economic policy of that period in particular, the conversion from war communism to the NEP and from the restoration of the national economy to its reconstruction and, subsequently, the overall socialist offensive, and others, fully agreed with this methodological principle of singling out the main trend of social development.

The Soviet state was the main instrument in the realization and defense of the interest of the toiling masses. The experience of the transitional period made the substantial development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist state possible. The radical changes which were made in all areas of social life, related to the objective law of socialization, which included the area of state administration, revealed that the role of the state will be growing steadily in the course of the building of socialism and that its functions will become increasingly complex and varied. The authors trace the way at one or another stage in the transitional period priority was given to individual specific problems such as the formation of the soviet and economic apparatus, the resistance to the White Guards and the interventionists, the strengthening of the economic merger between town and country, the acceleration of industrial construction and the management of the collectivization process, the preparation of the country to rebuff the aggressors, etc. The function of all-round strengthening of the socialist economic sector and ensuring its leading role in the national economy and the leading role of the working class in society remained permanent and decisive.

Under the circumstance of the fierce struggle waged against the domestic and foreign counterrevolution, the force of the Soviet state greatly depended on the practical qualities and loyalty to socialism of the cadres of the state apparatus, and the efficiency with which the legislation and the judicial and punitive organs, the army and the militia were used. The systematic development of democratic management principles was combined with a decisive and consistent struggle against the class enemy.

As pointed out in the monograph, the strengthening of the Soviet state was paralleled by an increasingly clear demarcation of functions between state and public organizations. Despite the exceptional difficulty created by a very grave class struggle, led by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party clearly defined the principles governing the establishment and activities of trade unions and their role in protecting the interests and enhancing the political and production activities of the working people and the education of the masses in the spirit of the socialist ideals. In this case, the cornerstone principle was the stipulation that the trade unions acknowledge the leading role of the party and are its assistants in the building of socialism. In the course of the debate on the trade unions launched by the Trotskyites, in his addresses at

the 10th party congress Lenin firmly rebuffed the anarcho-syndicalist attempts to amend this status of the trade unions and to allow them to take over leading areas of social management completely such as, for example, the management of the national economy. The persistent struggle which the party waged in subsequent years for the assertion of the democratic principles governing the activities of the professional organizations and for upgrading their role in the building of socialism was combined with the strict observance of the Leninist principles of interrelationship among the party, the state and the trade unions.

One of the outstanding features of contemporary Soviet historiography is the characterization of the theory and practice of the building of socialism in the USSR in their unity and reciprocal influence. This resolves one of the most important problems of the interpretation of the revolutionary process--the description of its creative nature, the steady development of the theory of scientific socialism and the search for the most effective means for its implementation. A number of chapters in the monograph under review have successfully interpreted the laws governing the improvement of party and state management and the formulation and implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, the economic policy of the Soviet state in particular. The study of a number of alternating forms of economic policy, which corresponded to the various stages of the transitional period, made it possible to set the landmarks of major theoretical discoveries related to the interpretation of the role of the state in the organization of economic life of the new society, the choice of forms and methods of economic management and the formation of its socialist mechanism.

At the same time, the practice of the functioning of the real socialist society made a number of corrections in concepts about socialism possible. The Bolshevik Party reached conclusions regarding the further development of the alliance between friendly classes under socialist conditions--of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry, the various forms of socialist ownership, on the need for the further strengthening of the socialist state, on the use of commodity-monetary relations, and many others. These stipulations played an exceptionally important role in interpreting the nature of socialism as the first phase of communism and the ways leading to its development into the higher phase of the communist system.

The study of specific historical and theoretical problems in their unity enabled the authors to provide a profound interpretation of the correlation between the universal and specific features of the revolutionary process, its laws and its historical, national and other characteristics. This problem is systematically considered in the chapter "The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Transitional Period from Capitalism to Socialism," while individual aspects of the topic are discussed in several other chapters.

In recent years, it has become fashionable in the circles of bourgeois ideologists and various opportunists not only to criticize but also to abuse the "Soviet model" of socialism, contrasting it with an as yet never achieved model of "humane," "pluralistic," "people's," "democratic" and other types of "socialism." The very possibility that the already gained real political and socio-economic experience and example of the country of the October Revolution can be useful is rejected.

The authors justifiably point out that Lenin never made a fetish of the national characteristics of the transitional period. On the contrary, clearly aware of all its characteristics and differences, he emphasized its general features (see Vol 1, p 21). These features are described briefly and accurately in Lenin's article "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of Proletarian Dictatorship." Subsequently, as the work under review points out, the scientific concepts regarding the transitional period became immeasurably richer and gained a specific content. They were developed in the theoretical concepts of the general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism in different countries. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said the following regarding the scientific, the Marxist-Leninist understanding and utilization of the general laws and specific characteristics of the building of socialism: "Now we not only know theoretically but have been convinced practically as well that the way to socialism and its main features are governed by common laws which are present in the development of all socialist countries. We also know that the effect of the general laws is manifested in various manners consistent with specific historical conditions and national characteristics. Socialism cannot be built without relying on the common laws and taking into consideration the specific historical features of each individual country."

The authors scientifically substantiate their interpretation of participation in the building of socialism and management of the state during the transitional period of the Marxist-Leninist party, as the leading force of the new society, and the other parties. They draw the accurate conclusion that under the conditions of the transitional period several parties may continue to function if they support the building of socialism and the policy of the ruling Marxist-Leninist party (see Vol 1, p 45). As the experience of a number of socialist countries indicates, such parties may remain within the political system of the state even after the victory of socialism. They express the interests of one social stratum or group of working people or another and ensure their active participation in the creation of the new society.

The new social relations were established in the course of the difficult confrontation with the forces and traditions of the old system. The historical experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries proved that after the victory of the socialist revolution the class struggle does not come to an end or become any less fierce but that it only assumes new forms. We must not forget that under the conditions of the transitional period, and not only at its beginning, the counterrevolution has a social base supported by international imperialism. Furthermore, if the general laws governing the development of the new society are violated, serious deformations develop in socio-economic policy and the struggle against bourgeois ideology becomes weakened, this base is consolidated and expanded and the antisocialist elements can consolidate and mount an offensive, thus threatening socialist gains, as the events in Poland have shown. Lenin's warning remains topical: "The transition from capitalism to Marxism is an entire historical age. Throughout its duration the exploiters inevitably hope for a restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 264).

We know that Lenin singled out the five most important tasks and, respectively, the five new forms of class struggle inherent in the transitional period in

the materials he used for the pamphlet "On Proletarian Dictatorship." The authors describe the content, conditions and periods of their withering away (see Vol 1, pp 34-36). They emphasize that the most important, unconditional and general law of the transitional period is suppressing the opposition of the exploiters and developing a socialist labor discipline as a form of the class struggle against the vestiges and influence of capitalist ideology. As Lenin wrote, the purpose of this struggle is also to protect the interests of the working class from the handfuls, groups and strata of workers who stubbornly support capitalist traditions and continue to maintain a state of dependence in their relations with the Soviet state (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 90).

One of the major problems which the authors have tried to resolve is that of defining the criteria of socialist maturity and, on this basis, the determination of the point at which it has won the victory, thus marking the completion of the transitional period. The process of revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist into a socialist society, which takes place during the transitional period, ends with the conversion of the socialist system not only into a leading system but into a fully ruling system. It would be premature to speak of completion of the transitional period before reaching this objective. Another criterion of the conclusion of the transitional period and the victory of socialism is not merely the establishment of public ownership of productive capital but reaching the type of actual level of production and labor socialization which ensures a scientifically controlled development of the national economy and the creation of a major scientific and technical potential in the country. It is precisely this that offers the opportunity to subordinate the entire economic strategy of the country's development and all its resources to the main objective of socialism--the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people.

The study of the historical experience of the Soviet people in building socialism is interesting and instructive. It enables us not only to appreciate the greatness of accomplishments but also helps other nations to follow the path of building a new society confidently. The purpose of this fundamental collective work produced by the USSR Institute of History is the creative depiction of this topic.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

ON THE ROAD TO BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 120-125

[Review of Ye. Glazunov of the book "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi (1975-1981 Gg.)" [Selected Articles and Speeches, 1975-1981] by Le Duan. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 328 pp]

[Text] The date 30 April 1975 marks an outstanding event in the history of Vietnam. It was precisely then that the long and courageous struggle waged by the Vietnamese people ended in a brilliant victory and in the liberation and reunification of their homeland. It is logical and symbolic that the new collection of works by Comrade Le Duan, noted leader of the international communist and national liberation movements and Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee general secretary, published by Politizdat, opens with his speech on the occasion of this historical victory, which opened broad prospects for the entire country's progress toward socialism.

"This victory," Comrade Le Duan pointed out, "marked the glorious end of the war for national salvation, which lasted 30 years, since the August 1945 revolution, and which put an end forever to the 117-year period of imperialist domination of our land and which ended with a national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, defended the gains of the socialist revolution in the north and marked the beginning of the era of brilliant development of totally independent, free, united and socialist Vietnam" (pp 31-32).

The victory in the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists not only brought Vietnam independence and freedom but made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. The defeat which the Vietnamese people inflicted on American imperialism and the victories of the peoples of the three countries in Indochina strengthened the positions of socialism in Southeast Asia and contributed to the profound change in the ratio of forces in favor of peace and social progress in the area.

In stressing the historical significance of the victory over American imperialism and its puppets, at the Soviet-Vietnamese friendship meeting in Moscow on 29 October 1975, Comrade Le Duan emphasized that "the victory of the Vietnamese people is a vivid triumph of the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is the victory of the accurate political, military and diplomatic line of Vietnam's Lao Dong Party. It is a victory of Vietnamese-Soviet

fraternal friendship and close unity and of the joint exploit of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, who always stood shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against the common enemy, defending the independence and freedom of their countries. It is the joint victory of the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movements, the national liberation movement and the democratic and peace-loving forces the world over" (p 23).

The collection covers a relatively short period of modern Vietnamese history (1975-1981)--from the April victory to the eve of the Fifth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress--a period richly saturated with events.

The sound of battle is heard no more and the Vietnamese people have undertaken the implementation of major and difficult tasks in their effort to heal the wounds of the war, to surmount the consequences of neocolonialism and to lead the country along the path of socialism as rapidly as possible.

During the recent decades major successes have been achieved in the area of socialist reorganization and the building of socialism. However, the economy as a whole, particularly from the viewpoint of its material and technical base and structure, was still on the level of small-scale production and was only at the initial stage of transition to large-scale socialist production. In the south, which was only recently liberated from neocolonialism, although a certain development of capitalism had taken place, small-scale production essentially remains. Comrade Le Duan points out that "as long as we have not built a system of large-scale socialist production with an industrial-agrarian structure, based on large-scale machine production, which will help to make radical changes in our backward agriculture, we shall not have socialism, despite the total elimination of exploiting classes and the establishment of public ownership of productive capital. Today, from the viewpoint of the political and social system as a whole, our country is in the ranks of the leading countries of the world, although a great deal remains to be done to improve it. However, the advantage of our system has not as yet been realized fully as a result of the very low standard of our material and technical base, which is weaker compared with that of the developed countries" (p 81).

That is why, in all his speeches and articles, Comrade Le Duan invariably pays great attention to problems of the upsurge of the national economy.

In countries which are converting to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, socialist industrialization determines the victory in the struggle waged under the conditions of the transitional period under the "who-whom" slogan. That is why the party has defined socialist industrialization in Vietnam as the main task of this entire period. The creation of an industrial structure based on heavy industry means that all economic sectors, agriculture above all, must be supplied with new equipment. Manual labor must be replaced by mechanized labor and a conversion must be made from petty and backward to large-scale modern production. However, this can be achieved by establishing proper correlations between industry and agriculture and between large-scale and small-scale production. The extent and nature of foreign economic relations must be accurately determined in accordance with the possibilities and needs of the country's national economy. Such are the basic

problems of the process of economic construction in the SRV. In the course of strengthening and perfecting the new production relations, Comrade Le Duan points out, we must not only link changes in ownership relations with changes in the management and distribution system, but also comprehensively develop a material and technical base, accelerate the development of the production process, and improve labor productivity and economic effectiveness.

The policy, which is based on the actual condition of the economy, pursued by the Vietnamese communists, presumes the need to retain for a while a mixed economic structure in South Vietnam, which includes the state, cooperative, state-private, private and petty commodity sectors. The definition of the methods and pace of the solution of a problem such as the elimination of the bourgeois class is also dictated by specific circumstances. The class of the bourgeoisie in South Vietnam is not a single bloc, for which reason it is important to distinguish between the industrial and the mercantile bourgeoisie and between the big and petite bourgeoisie. As to private capitalist trade, it is being eliminated and replaced by a state trade system. The enterprises of the mercantile bourgeoisie and its members are being shifted to the production area to the extent to which this can be achieved. As to private capitalist industry, the policy of the Communist Party of Vietnam is aimed at its reorganization while seeking all possible ways for using the possibilities of the former owners for the restoration and development of the economy. The big enterprises are being converted into mixed state-capitalist enterprises. As to the petite bourgeoisie, it is being made part of cooperative enterprises. Some private enterprises have been allowed to continue their entrepreneurial activities under governmental control. Artisan work is being reorganized and the artisans are being involved in collective labor units such as cooperatives and production groups. Naturally the petty merchants will take up production activities while those in the service industries will be able to continue their work under proper legal control. Socialist changes in the towns are being paralleled by cooperativization of agriculture.

Therefore, as Comrade Le Duan has pointed out, the party's policy in the transitional period is consciously based on the fact that five different economic systems exist in South Vietnam. When the forces of the revolution have achieved absolute superiority and when the socialist economic system, the state sector above all, is growing and strengthening, the use of private capitalist and petty commodity systems, within certain limits, not only does not harm but contributes to the cause of the socialist revolution.

The Communist Party of Vietnam is pursuing a course of building a socialist economy through the priority rational development of heavy industry based on the all-round upsurge of agriculture and light industry and the establishment of a industrial-agrarian economic structure, combining economic growth with the strengthening of defense and expanding economic relations with socialist and other countries, based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and reciprocal interests.

Today's Vietnamese industrial-agrarian structure is an integral unit which includes a centrally and locally administered economy. The course of their simultaneous development is dictated by the objective and legitimate requirement of the direct transition from small-scale to large-scale socialist

production. It guarantees both the centralizing of the single socialist economy and the all-round enhancement of the creative activeness of the rayons and enterprises. The aim of this policy is to mobilize the country's entire resources and manpower reserves and to achieve the extensive redeployment of social labor and the development of all sectors in order to enhance social labor productivity and ensure the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, both those common to the entire country and local needs, in accordance with the possibilities, specifics and customs of the different areas.

The Communist Party of Vietnam pays great attention to creating and perfecting a system of collective economic management, "which represents the most profound renovation of the social system" (p 164). As Comrade Le Duan has repeatedly pointed out, the system of collective socialist economic management is in general a universal characteristic of the new system. It is part of the structure of the new society. The essence of the system of collective economic management is the fact that the people become the masters of society in all areas such as politics, economics and others; they become the masters of society, nature and themselves, the masters of the entire country and of each area and enterprise. The alliance between workers and peasants is the class foundation of the collective economic management system.

Comrade Le Duan emphasizes that the process of organization of a collective economic management system represents above all a process of self-education of the working class, the elimination of phenomena which conflict with the class morality and behavioral norms of the members of the new society and the education by the working class of the other toiling classes and strata on the basis of its own example. The Fourth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress pointed out that the right of the people to be the collective masters of the country is achieved mainly through the activities of the state and the mass social organizations. In exercising this right, the working class and the toiling peasantry take over all of the country's natural resources, labor tools, material resources, funds, etc. They are also given the full rights and opportunities to organize the production process, the management of the national economy and the distribution of material and cultural values.

The idea of collective economic management is the spirit of the new SRV constitution and is part of its entire fabric.

After the liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country, the CPV has paid great attention to problems of state construction and the improvement of activities of the entire governmental and economic apparatus, with a view to ensuring the more efficient solution of the problems facing the country in laying the material and technical foundations for socialism. These topics are extensively discussed in Comrade Le Duan's speeches and articles. They consider the problems of establishing the organizational structure of the state, consistent with its nature. They raise the question of drastically upgrading the efficiency of the state apparatus as a system of administrative organs and mainly as a system of economic management organs.

The structure of the state as an organ in charge of economic management and control must be defined on the basis of the principles of socialist management and planning: democratic centralism, combination of sectorial with provincial management and planning, combination of central local planning, organizing production and distribution, paying constant attention to upgrading labor productivity, production quality and economic effectiveness, continuing technological improvements and increased individual responsibility and struggle against bureaucracy.

The improvement of economic management is considered a matter of prime importance in terms of the implementation of the party's overall policy. The economic plan is considered the "second party program."

Party leadership is the highest guarantee for the development of a socialist collective economic management system, for the party's objective is the building of socialism and communism and securing for the working people the right of collective economic management. This stipulation has been reflected in the country's constitution. The Vietnamese people, who had to fight for their liberation for more than 50 years, deeply understand and believe that this great cause could not have been crowned with success without the communist party. "Our party," Comrade Le Duan says, "combined the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, which is the peak of human intelligence, with inordinate revolutionary energy, the inexhaustible strength of our people and their best traditions creatively and successfully. It indicated the true, independent and autonomous road. It mobilized and developed the country's entire potential and popular forces. This, combined with the forces of the age, formed a comprehensive force capable of defeating any foe" (p. 5).

The author stresses in many of his speeches the fact that the Vietnamese working class is a battle vanguard, armed with a scientific and revolutionary ideology--Marxism-Leninism--the only ideology which can illuminate the objective laws of social development and help the people to break the chains of imperialism and establish a new society and a new life in their country. The Communist Party of Vietnam is precisely such a party and vanguard.

Comrade Le Duan develops and substantiates the thought that the role which the party acquired in the history and life of the Vietnamese people was not the result of a combination of circumstances and subjective factors. It is objectively based on historical necessity, the interests of national and class liberation and the legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people fighting for independence, freedom and a new life.

Today the party's leadership covers all the facets of Vietnamese life and activities. In this connection, the party faces the task of profoundly mastering Marxist-Leninist theory, particularly as applicable to the transition from small-scale to large-scale socialist production, mastering contemporary science and technology and creatively applying the acquired knowledge under the actual circumstances of present-day Vietnam.

Thanks to the policy of properly combining class with national interests, the Communist Party of Vietnam--the party of the Vietnamese working class--has

been unquestionably acknowledged as the leader of the entire nation. From the very first days of its appearance it was able to rally the overwhelming majority of the people, the peasantry above all, under its banner--the banner of national independence and progress toward socialism. The party invariably held this banner high throughout its half-century struggle. During the period of a national people's democratic revolution, which spread throughout the country, and during the period of simultaneous implementation of the two strategic tasks--the national people's democratic and the socialist revolution--as well as now, after the country has been entirely liberated, the Communist Party of Vietnam has firmly held and is holding high the banner of national independence and socialism.

Although living under the conditions of peace, Vietnam is forced to be always ready to rebuff the aggression of Beijing's reactionaries today. The Chinese ruling circles, which have entered into a conspiracy with the American imperialists and other reactionary forces throughout the world, are pursuing extensive subversive activities directed against the SRV.

In his address to the cadre workers of Lang Son Province, Comrade Le Duan pointed out that Beijing considered the defeat of the United States in Vietnam as its own. Independent and united Vietnam, closely linked with the socialist countries, became a major obstacle blocking China's expansionism in Southeast Asia. It is as of then that Beijing openly adopted a hostile policy toward Vietnam.

The volleys of the anti-imperialist war waged by the Vietnamese people had barely ended when the Chinese reactionaries mounted an aggressive war along Vietnam's southwestern borders using the Pol Pot and Yeng Sari clique. In order to undermine Vietnam from within, they provoked the flight of the Chinese element from Vietnam to China, raised a stir about "persecutions" and deliberately created a reason for terminating their aid and recalling their specialists, in an effort to hinder the building of socialism in Vietnam.

"By committing an aggression against Vietnam--a socialist, independent and sovereign state," Comrade Le Duan states, "the Beijing reactionaries dropped their counterrevolutionary mask. They betrayed the traditional friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China, the great Chinese people and the true Chinese revolutionaries. They are masking themselves as revolutionaries in order to fight the revolution. They are using Marxism-Leninism as a cover for their great-power and expansionistic plans. They are trying to implement their dream of global domination. They keep praising war, boasting that they are the 'Oriental NATO,' and the 'poor friends' of America and the capitalist West. They are doing everything possible to conspire with the most reactionary forces, directing the wedge of their struggle against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, the independence of the peoples, socialism and communism" (p 180).

Despite the severe defeat they suffered in the hands of the Vietnamese people, the Chinese reactionary rulers have still not abandoned their aggressive intentions regarding Vietnam. However, as has been pointed out repeatedly, the SRV is prepared to normalize relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, reciprocal respect of the independence,

sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two countries and the solution of all disputes through talks. However, Beijing is unwilling to listen to such constructive suggestions and is continuing to inflame the tension around Vietnam.

Because of such circumstances, the Communist Party of Vietnam is forced to increase its vigilance, strengthen its national defense and maintain the country in a state of constant combat readiness.

The works included in the collection deal extensively with the foreign political activities of the party and the state. In addressing the sixth session of the SRV National Assembly in June 1976, Comrade Le Duan pointed out that "the main task of our foreign policy is to continue to hold high the banner of national independence and socialism, to combine true patriotism with proletarian internationalism closely, to struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and bourgeois and petit bourgeois nationalism, to defend our independence and sovereignty and, at the same time, to strengthen our unity with the forces of socialism and national independence, to aim the wedge of the struggle at imperialism, headed by the imperialists in the United States, comprehensively to fulfill our duty to our people and, at the same time, to fulfill our international duty to the other peoples" (p 58).

All of Comrade Le Duan's speeches on the international situation emphasize that the main reason for the appearance of hotbeds of tension in the Near and Middle East, in Southwest and Southeast Asia and other parts of the globe is related to the policy of the American imperialists, their militancy and their desire to unite the reactionary forces of all hues, the arms race pursued by the United States, the course of exacerbating international tension and a return to the Cold War. The alliance between American imperialists and the reactionary group in Beijing's ruling circles and the unleashing of a frenzied struggle against the revolutionary forces, motivated by unbridled expansionism, are threatening the peace, independence and freedom of the peoples.

However, the efforts and plans of the imperialists and of the entire international reaction to remake the world to their liking are futile. Even the most treacherous traps and plans will be unable to turn back the desire of the peoples for liberation and their struggle for a new life. In his speech at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade Le Duan emphasized that "by rallying and uniting our ranks under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we shall unquestionably win new victories in the struggle for national independence, socialism and peace" (p 300).

The Communist Party of Vietnam has the right to be proud of the fact that from the very first days of its existence and during the entire 50 years of struggle it has always been and remains a party of proletarian internationalism. This is confirmed by everything it has accomplished and the entire experience it has gained.

"Our people are deeply aware of the fact," Comrade Le Duan said, "that the Vietnamese revolution is part of the global revolution and that all its victories are closely tied to the sympathy and support of the working class and

the peoples the world over. In turn, as in the past, our party and people will continue comprehensively to support the international socialist and workers movement and the just struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress" (p 24). Together with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is waging a just struggle for a lasting and just peace in Asia, for peace and stability in Southeast Asia above all.

The General Secretary of the CPV has frequently stated in his speeches that the Vietnamese people understand that the revolutionary victories they won under the leadership of the Communist Party, which was founded and tempered by Ho Chi Minh, are not only the result of their own efforts. They are rooted in the Great October Socialist Revolution and are inseparably related to the heroic exploit of the Soviet people in the war against fascism and the founding of the world socialist system. Without the tremendous changes which took place in Lenin's homeland, without the noble exploit of the Soviet people, who sacrificed the lives of tens of millions of their sons and daughters, without the grief of their mothers, and without the international aid of the first socialist country in the world, the profound changes which we have witnessed could not have taken place, and a small country such as Vietnam could not have defeated the biggest imperialist predators and entered the era of independence, freedom and socialism.

"Believing that the path he had chosen would make his nation free and independent and his compatriots happy, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, crossing mountains and seas, came to Lenin, to the Soviet Union, and laid the cornerstone of the great friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. For more than half a century the peoples of our two countries have taken deep breaths together, their hearts have beaten in harmony, and they have always been together in bad and good times. The fraternity between our two peoples united by a common ideal was strengthened and tempered even further in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle. Like the revolutionaries throughout the world, from the very beginning the Vietnamese communists have considered the Soviet Union the homeland of socialism and have deemed it their international duty to defend the gains of the October revolution and to support the Soviet Union" (p 21).

Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the CPV-SRV.

"At all stages of this combat road," writes the CPV Central Committee general secretary, "the Vietnamese people always had on their side a powerful friend brimming with the spirit of proletarian internationalism--the heroic Soviet people....The Soviet Union gave Vietnam generous, comprehensive and effective aid, helping Vietnam to increase its combat capability on the battlefields, ensuring the life of the population in the rear and, at the same time, providing powerful support of the just position taken by Vietnam in the international arena. The USSR has helped in the construction of major economic and cultural projects and in laying the foundations for socialism in our country. It trained thousands of scientific and technical specialists and skilled workers for Vietnam. This is a valuable capital in building and defending

our country. In periods of particular hardships, caused by the consequences of the war and the ceaseless natural disasters, the Soviet Union generously helped Vietnam with prime necessity goods and valuable materials for the restoration and development of the production process. Soviet specialists, despite all difficulties and privations, are sincerely helping the Vietnamese cadres and workers in the building of their homeland. The Vietnamese communists and the entire people will always be grateful to the party, the government and the people of the fraternal Soviet Union, generation after generation" (p 234).

The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, which was concluded between the USSR and the SRV in Moscow on 3 November 1978, was greatly appreciated in Vietnam. The conclusion of this treaty, Comrade Le Duan states, marked a new stage strengthening the combat solidarity and unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. The treaty creates conditions for the tireless development of political relations and for comprehensive cooperation among our countries and mutual support in the defense of peace and in constructive toil. "To follow the Leninist course and to unite and engage in comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union is the firm road taken by our party and state. The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty concluded between the SRV and the Soviet Union gave new scope and depth to relations of comradeship and brotherhood between our countries" (pp 301-302).

As Comrade Le Duan has repeatedly pointed out, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has played a great role in the strengthening and development of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship. The Vietnamese communists and the entire nation refer to him as "the outstanding leader of the communist party and the Soviet state, the loyal heir of Lenin's cause today, the outstanding leader of international communist and workers movements, the tireless fighter for peace and friendship among people and the great friend of the Vietnamese people" (p 251).

The study of the works of the Communist Party of Vietnam general secretary (many of them published in Russian for the first time) increases our familiarity with the life and struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people and the problems and tasks facing the SRV.

Today the Vietnamese people are engaged in resolving the major and complex problems related to the creation of the material and technical foundations for socialism and the defense of their homeland from the encroachments of the Beijing expansionists. Many difficulties exist along this road. However, the Vietnamese people firmly believe that with the tremendous and effective aid of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, they will not fail in implementing the decisions of the Fourth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress, to surmount the difficulties they face, to build socialism successfully, to create a new life on Vietnamese soil, to foil all aggressive plans, reliably to defend the sacred soil of the homeland, to fulfill their international duty fully, and to make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples on earth. Comrade Le Duan's speeches and articles are imbued with this confidence and spirit of historical optimism. The same

optimism filled his statement delivered from the rostrum of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at the ceremony on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

"Having profoundly clarified the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, making creative use of the aggressive strategy, in the entire wealth of its means and methods applicable to the specific situation of each individual country and in accordance with the new conditions of contemporary reality, above all the tremendous growth of the revolutionary movement, and uniting and interacting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the communists and the peoples of all countries will mandatorily complete the cause of global revolution, which was initiated with the Great October Revolution" (p 159).

With its entire heroic history the party of the Vietnamese communists proved that its words match its deeds. This experience gives us the confidence that under the leadership of a tried vanguard such as the CPV, the Vietnamese people will build a prosperous socialist Vietnam, an advanced position of socialism in Southeast Asia.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

TRUTH VERSUS DECEPTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 82 pp 125-128

[Review by V. Korionov, PRAVDA political correspondent, of the books "Otkuda Iskhodit Ugroza Mira" [The Source of the Threat to Peace], Voenizdat, Moscow, 1982, 80 pages, and "Ugroza Yevrope" [The Threat to Europe], Progress, Moscow, 1981, 88 pages]

[Text] One year has passed since our party formulated the peace program for the 1980s at its 26th congress. Explaining the program, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our struggle for strengthening peace and intensifying detente is mainly a struggle for providing the Soviet people with the necessary external conditions for resolving their constructive problems. We are also simultaneously resolving a problem of truly universal nature, for today there is no more essential or important problem for any nation than preserving the peace and guaranteeing the prime right of every person -- the right to life."

Time has proved that the foreign policy ideas and suggestions formulated at the 26th congress are effectively clearing the way for a fruitful political dialog. Unquestionably, without the daring major initiatives formulated by the CPSU and the Soviet state, the situation today would have been fraught with an even greater danger of war.

The adventuristic imperialist circles, whose flag bearer today is the Reagan Republic Administration is exacerbating the international situation while trying to conceal from mankind the true source of the threat to peace. It is concealing the essence of its intentions with the help of demagogy, hypocrisy and cynical deception of the peoples. The broader the popular strata which realize that the source of the danger threatening mankind is the aggressive and irresponsible policy pursued by the United States and its allies become, the more the ruling circles of these countries try to whitewash their man-hating line and to slander and to distort the consistently peace-loving foreign policy course pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state.

This is above all the purpose of the "lie of the century" -- the fabrications concerning the "Soviet military threat." The criminal views of the inspirers of this old slanderous stir were exposed by V. I. Lenin as early as 1919. He said that "There are stupid people who are yelling about red militarism; these are political swindlers who pretend to believe in this stupidity and throw such accusations left and right using their legal skill of fabricating

false arguments and throwing sand in the eyes of the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 50).

Today, the hackneyed myth of the "Soviet military threat" is being inflated to fantastic proportions in the West. It is being updated with panicky thoughts on the alleged sudden discovery of the "lagging" of the United States and NATO in the military area, the mysterious "windows of vulnerability" in the American armed forces and other fabrications. The pamphlet "Soviet Military Power" published by the Pentagon in 1981 is one of the most impudent examples of such fabrications.

Under circumstances in which fear and prejudice have become dangerous enemies of peace, showing the nations the true source of the threatening shadow of a nuclear cataclysm becomes particularly important. Two books recently published in the Soviet Union are a useful contribution to the solution of this problem. One of them was published by the USSR Ministry of Defense Voyennoye Izdatel'stvo. The second, published by Izdatel'stvo Progress, is the work of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament.

The value of these works is undeniable. Using facts and figures, they expose the adventuristic circles of American imperialism for preparing the greatest possible crime against mankind -- nuclear war. These facts and figures are unquestionable. They were selected and studied by very competent people. Furthermore, some materials from the London Institute of Strategic Studies and official American sources were used in writing "Otkuda Iskhodit Ugroza Miru." Many facts and figures have never been published previously in the Soviet press. The unquestionable merit of "Ugroza Yevrope" is the fact that it was written as a dialog between a Western opponent and his Soviet interlocutor. This dialog, in which the Soviet interlocutor relies on facts and common sense, has made it possible to present convincingly the viewpoint of our public on the grave problems of European security.

American imperialism is the main inspirer of the hostile course of undermining detente, urging on the arms race, suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples and interfering in foreign affairs. Apparently, the object lessons of the defeat of fascism by the Soviet Union and the other freedom loving peoples failed to bring to reason the imperialist hegemonists overseas, who are claiming the role of "leaders of the planet."

However, the Soviet Union, which has achieved strategic parity with the United States, stands as an unsurmountable obstacle on this way. The parity was a gain of historical significance. It restrains the imperialist aggressive aspirations and helps to safeguard peace. That is why the American imperialists have undertaken to eliminate the existing military parity and to ensure for themselves superiority over the Soviet Union.

Washington has openly proclaimed a new military strategy of "open confrontation" between the United States and the USSR on a global and regional scale. This is a strategy of aggression and robbery. The core of the U. S. military doctrine is reliance on being the first to launch a nuclear strike. "All presidents," writes Daniel Ellsberg, formerly an official of the U. S.

Department of Defense, and the author of the notorious "Pentagon Papers," in discussing preparations for the military aggression in Vietnam "have refused to assume the obligation not to be the first to launch a nuclear strike, although the Russians have repeatedly suggested taking such a step within the framework of a bilateral obligation.... The NATO plans have always been based most unequivocally on the consideration that the United States will be the first to use a nuclear weapon...."

Presidential Directive 59 of 25 July 1980, public statements by high Washington officials on the acceptability of local "limited" (to Europe) nuclear war, claims of the possibility of winning it and the course aimed at turning Western Europe into a bridgehead for launching a nuclear attack on the socialist countries clearly prove that the American military is making practical preparations for striking first in a war, using the most barbaric mass destruction weapons. According to the Brookings Institutions, between 1946 and 1975 the question of using nuclear weapons was raised 19 times, including four times on using them against the USSR.

The line pursued by the ruling U. S. circles, hostile to the cause of peace and cooperation among nations, is clearly apparent today also in the obstructionist attitude on the subject of international treaties and agreements, even those signed by American presidents. Here again we see two essentially different approaches. When the USSR signs one international treaty or another, it indicates its firm resolve to observe the letter and spirit of the document strictly and in full. Suffice it to recall the fate of the SALT II Treaty, which was blocked by Washington, and the scornful attitude toward other treaties signed by the United States in the 1970s. For example, Haig has cynically stated that "We are not particularly concerned with the 1972 agreements, although they were accepted by both sides."

Washington's grossest intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign Poland, in open violation of the Helsinki agreements, is equally clear proof of the shameful U. S. line regarding international obligations.

The works under review are a thorough study of the operations of the American militaristic machine, its industrial base and the influence of the military-industrial complex on all aspects of American life, and provide convincing proof to this end.

At the start of the 1970s Washington had initiated the development of 23 of the 25 new major weapon systems in the world. Thus, the United States developed the atom bomb in 1945, while the USSR developed it in 1949. The U. S. intercontinental strategic bombers appeared in 1948, while those of the USSR appeared in 1954-1955. The United States launched nuclear-powered submarines armed with nuclear missiles in 1960, while the same type submarines were launched by the USSR in 1968. The increasing number of such "initiatives" as has been newly confirmed by the development of cruise missiles and neutron bombs and the increased production of chemical weapons. G. Kennan, the noted American diplomat and politician, convincingly appealed to his compatriots, saying "Let us not cause darkness at noon by ascribing all responsibility to our opponents. Let us remember that it was precisely we, Americans, who initiated the further development of such (nuclear -- the

author) weapons at each turn. We were the first to develop and test these systems, to raise the level of their destructiveness by developing the hydrogen bomb and to develop multiple warheads. We have rejected every single proposal to abandon the principle of "first nuclear strike" and have been the only ones, may God forgive us, to use this weapon against other people, against tens of thousands of helpless civilians."

The abundant factual data cited in the works irrefutably prove that the myth of the "Soviet military threat," intensively disseminated by the military-industrial complex propaganda machine, aims mainly at drawing the attention of the peoples away from the course followed by American imperialism of gaining military superiority over the USSR so as to be able to impose its will on other countries, to blackmail them and to mount new military adventures.

The United States already has a huge military potential. Suffice it to say that the American armed forces have 1,053 launching platforms for intercontinental ballistic missiles, 411 nuclear bombers, 40 nuclear-powered submarines armed with nuclear missiles, 20 aircraft carriers, etc. The United States maintains more than 1,500 military bases and sites in 32 countries, mainly near the USSR borders.

A new huge program of all-round increase of strategic offensive forces has been launched overseas. The arms race is entailing truly astronomical military expenditures. The U. S. military budget rose by 19 percent in 1981 alone and a sum in excess of \$340 billion is being planned for 1985. All in all, \$1.5 trillion will be spent for such purposes over the next 5 years.

As to the Soviet socialist state, by virtue of its very nature it has never considered, nor does it intend to consider attacking the United States or any other country. "If the American capitalists do not bother us we shall not bother them," Lenin said ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 145). This view remains basic in our relations with the United States.

The Soviet Union has power, a great deal of it. By defeating fascism the Soviet people performed one more great exploit as it deprived American imperialism of nuclear monopoly. The changed ratio of forces to the detriment of imperialism and the military parity reached between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO is a historical gain of socialism and a priceless contribution to the safeguard of world peace. The fact that there has been no "big war" in the planet over the past 36 years is not due in the least to any change in the nature of imperialism but to the fact that the aggressor knows that should he hurl himself at the Soviet Union he faces a crushing rebuff. No oceans, underground bunkers or flying headquarters such as the President's airplane nicknamed "Doomsday," could save those who decide to press the fatal button. The retribution would be inescapable!

However, the power of the Soviet Union threatens no one. As to the measures taken by the Soviet Union to secure its reliable safety, let us remember above all the fact that such measures have always been imposed upon it and have been a response to external danger. Let us also not forget the following figures: the borders of the USSR are about 67,000 km long, including

more than 20,000 on land. They must be protected and defended on the West from the threat of the NATO bloc, on the east and the south, bearing in mind existing American military bases and China, with its growing nuclear potential and largest army in the world and increasing Sino-American military cooperation based on frenzied anti-Sovietism.

As the data cited in the books under review prove, in terms of military possibilities the USSR and the United States and the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact have reached a point of relative balance. This is having a stabilizing influence on the international circumstances and remains an objectively important prerequisite for detente. The security of our state and the safeguard of universal peace imperatively demand that existing military parity be maintained. As to the Soviet people, they have stated most clearly that no one will be permitted to disturb the existing military-strategic balance or to achieve superiority over our country!

The USSR firmly opposes any "military-power" confrontation. It favors a dialogue without prejudice, lies and hatred. It favors talks, which are honest and equal and which respect the principle of identical security, consistent with the basic interests of the peoples as confirmed by life itself. No one should have the illusion that the USSR would accept NATO conditions aimed at holding talks with the socialist world from a position of strength.

"The Soviet Union," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in answer to the questions of the journal DER SPIEGEL, "is not asking for preferential treatment. We only insist that the United States and the NATO Alliance as a whole use the same scale in assessing their security as in assessing ours and that of our allies. In our view, the purpose of the forthcoming talks is to translate the principle of equality and identical security into specific obligations on the part of both sides. The Soviet Union would like the talks to end in a reduction instead of a rise in the level of confrontation and that a way to further steps in military detente in Europe be open."

As soon as they were published the books under review triggered a most lively interest at home and abroad. The extensive and varied amount of accurate information, objective assessments, depth and frankness of the arguments cited are particularly interesting. It is indicative that even American newspapers such as THE WASHINGTON POST or THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, which could hardly be suspected of sympathy for the USSR have noted the unquestionable merits of the book "Otkuda Iskhodit Ugroza Miru."

In a way these books pull down the screen behind which imperialist propaganda is trying to hide the feverish militaristic intrigues of the United States and NATO, which are threatening mankind. The works call for waging active and decisive struggle against the arms race and the threat of war and for strengthening peace in Europe and the entire world.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1982

5003

CSO: 1802/9

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

MAY 6-82