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JPRS 81303

16 July 1982

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 7, May 1982

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USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 7, May 1982

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

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 7  
May 1982

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : May 1982

Signed to press : 28 Apr 1982

Copies : 807,000

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"Kommunist", 1982

L.I. BREZHNEV'S ANSWER TO A QUESTION BY PRAVDA'S CORRESPONDENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 p 3

[Text] Question: In a talk with newsmen, U.S. President Reagan mentioned the possibility of meeting with you in New York. This statement has triggered conflicting comments. What is your view on this matter?

Answer: Indeed, the statements made by the President have created a rather vague impression.

Going to the heart of the matter, in my report to the 26th CPSU Congress, I already mentioned the usefulness of an active dialogue with the United States on all levels. I particularly emphasized that the decisive feature here would be a meeting on the highest level. We still favor such meetings. Understandably, the meeting between the American President and myself should be properly prepared and held on a substantive basis rather than in passing, on the occasion of one or another international meeting.

Specifically speaking, we favor the type of Soviet-American summit meeting which would be consistent with the high responsibility which our countries bear for the situation in the world and which would justify the hopes placed in it.

As to the place and time of my possible meeting with President Reagan, I would say the following:

The meeting may take place in any third country, Finland or Switzerland, for example, naturally with the preliminary agreement of the respective government. In my view, this autumn, the month of October, for example, could be a suitable time.

This is my answer to your question. I believe it to be entirely clear and definite.

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BASIS OF THE PARTY, THE POLITICAL NUCLEUS OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 4-17

[Article by I. Kapitonov, CC CPSU Secretary]

[Text] All activities of our party and Soviet people are determined today by the ideas and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The postcongress period convincingly proved their vitality and great mobilizing power. Guided by the congress' stipulations and conceiving of their implementation as a profound personal matter, the Soviet people are concentrating their forces on the implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Production, science and culture are progressing steadily. A number of important social measures have been implemented despite certain difficulties. The inviolable unity among all nations and nationalities in our country and their joint work for the implementation of the great tasks of the building of communism are clearly manifested in the year in which we are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the firm Leninist, outstanding political and state leader, and enthusiastic fighter for the peace and happiness of the people, are the combat headquarters of the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The CC CPSU decrees and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses at the November 1981 Central Committee Plenum, the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress and the ceremonies in Tashkent offer a profound analysis of the work under way and provide clear stipulations regarding basic economic and social problems. This gives the activities of party, state and economic organizations the proper purposefulness and upgrades the political and labor activeness of the masses.

The primary party organizations play a primary role in resolving the major and varied problems formulated by our dynamic period. As the basis of the party, they represent the main force which leads the masses to the implementation of our party's plans. The further strengthening and enhancement of the communist party's leading role in the socialist society are directly related to the increased combat capability of the primary party organizations.

The problem of the primary party organizations or party cells, as they were known until 1934, is one of the key features in the Leninist theory of the party of a new type. Our party has paid very close attention to their creation and consolidation ever since its founding. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, the local, the plant party cells in particular, headed by frontranking workers who maintain direct ties with the masses, have become the main feature in the foundation "on which we built the inflexibly firm nucleus of a revolutionary and social democratic workers movement" ("Poln. Sobr Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 17, p 7).

The party organizations faced combat tasks of revolutionary action from the very first days of their organization. As early as the pre-October period Lenin pointed out that each cell and workers party committee must become a stronghold for agitation, propaganda and practical-organizational work among the masses (ibid, p 373). After the victory of the Great October Revolution, he reemphasized that "...these cells, closely interlinked and linked with the party's center, must systematically develop comprehensive work. They must develop themselves, the party, the class and the masses by exchanging their practical experience and engaging in agitation, propaganda and organization decisively in all areas of social life and among all the various subdivisions of the toiling masses" (ibid, Vol 41, p 191).

Our party's entire historical experience confirms the tremendous vital force of Lenin's concepts regarding the primary party organizations. To this day they are our reliable compass and are respectively codified in the CPSU bylaws. As the party and society develop, the activities of the primary party organizations became increasingly comprehensive and acquired a new content. Their tasks at the present stage have been clearly formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches at the 23d, 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. Putting together the stipulations expressed at these congresses, we can say that they offer an expanded program for primary party organization activities under mature socialist conditions.

As the basic unit in the system of the CPSU's organizational structure, the primary party organizations are making a tremendous contribution to the implementation of the Leninist party construction principles and to all party activities. All processes of interparty life originate and develop within them. It is here that new CPSU members are accepted and that the party members gain political training and prove themselves active party fighters. It is here that the training of elective leading party organs begins. In a word, one way or another, their activities reflect and refract all party life, successes and failures, and everything which pleases or saddens us.

The primary party organizations operate in the very thick of the people, where the constructive process is directly taking place. With their broad network of shock organizations and party works, they play a decisive role in the implementation of the party's policy and the upbringing of party members and all working people. They closely link the party with the masses. This determines their position as the political nucleus of the labor collectives, which are the primary cell in our social organism.



The new USSR Constitution grants broad rights to labor collectives in areas such as participation in the discussion and resolution of governmental and public affairs, problems of enterprise and management administration, production planning and social development, cadre training and placement, improvements in working and living conditions and utilization of funds for the development of production, sociocultural measures and material incentive. The labor collectives promote the socialist competition, contribute to the dissemination of progressive labor methods and to the strengthening of labor discipline, educate their members in a spirit of communist morality and are concerned with upgrading their political consciousness, standards and professional skills. The primary party organization is called upon to focus all its efforts on the full exercise of constitutional stipulations. It is fully responsible for the activities of the labor collective and for the creation of a healthy moral climate within it. Through their organization and educational work, the primary party organizations contribute to the development of the labor and social activeness of the people. They unite them closely on a profound ideological basis and the principles of comradeship, mutual aid and high responsibility for the common cause.

The primary party organizations are in a constant stage of development and motion. This is dictated by the objective needs of the building of communism and the tasks formulated by the party. Today the CPSU has almost 18 million members rallied in 419,700 primary organizations. During the past 15 years the number of primary party organizations has increased by more than 80,000. Their number in leading production sectors, scientific and design organizations and other decisive socialist economic sectors is growing particularly rapidly. In scientific institutions, in particular, the network of primary party organizations increased by 67.9 percent, and more than doubled in construction within that period of time.

The increased number of party organizations in rayons in which major territorial-production complexes are taking shape has been a characteristic feature of late. For example, in Tyumenskaya Oblast, which has become the largest energy base in the country, over the past 15 years the number of primary party organizations increased by 67 percent, including double their number in transportation and an increase by a factor of 4.6 in construction. The number of party members in the oblast party organization increased by a factor of 2.2, while the number of workers in it tripled. Similar processes are taking place in the Yakutskaya and Komi ASSRs, Krasnoyarskiy Kray, Pavlodarskaya Oblast and many other areas. As the party's ranks grow, the primary party organizations are increasing in terms of their composition and their structure is becoming broader. Over the past 15 years the number of shop party organizations and party groups throughout the country has increased by a factor of more than 1.7, totaling, respectively, 469,000 and 639,000.

Therefore, covering virtually all labor collectives, and increasingly penetrating into the thick of the masses, the primary organizations are broadening and strengthening their influence in all areas of our life without exception, in all social groups and Soviet social strata--among workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals and in decisive economic, cultural and state construction sectors. This determines their growing role and high responsibility for the

practical implementation of the party's policy and the communist upbringing of the working people.

In terms of the quantitative aspect, the party nucleus in our labor collectives remains relatively small. Suffice it to say that throughout the country party members account for approximately 11 percent of the working people. However, the power and influence of this nucleus are determined not only by the number of party members but, above all, by its organizational and ideological-political unity and ability to work among the masses. The party organizations firmly rely on the trade union and Komsomol organizations, the people's control groups and posts and the other social organs. They direct and coordinate their activities and develop through them the working people's initiative and activeness.

Inherent in our society, which is building communism, is a high dynamism at all levels, and the full-blooded functioning of the political system. This year as well is saturated with major events. The 17th Congress of Trade Unions, which rally 130 million members, was held recently. It convincingly proved the high creative mood in the society and the unanimous support of the party's policy by the working people. The outstandingly inspiring speech which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered played a key role in the congress. With Leninist depth, he formulated central problems of trade union activities at the present stage. The stipulations and conclusions contained in the speech reveal the essence of the party's leadership of the trade union movement under socialist conditions and the importance to the communist cause of the united and coordinated work of the party, the state and the trade unions.

The 19th Congress of the Leninist Komsomol, which rallies more than 41 million boys and girls, which will be held in May, will be a major event. Elections for local soviets of people's deputies--the most widespread system of governmental rule--will be held in June. More than 2.2 million deputies will be elected. Extensive preparations are under way for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. All of this will unquestionably contribute to the systematic development of socialist democracy and give a new, powerful impulse to the further strengthening of unity between party and people and to the enhancement of the creative activeness of the masses.

Understandably, this varied socioeconomic, political and social life in the country is specifically reflected in the activities of the primary party organizations and defines the broad range of problems they handle. However, the firm implementation of the single party line under the specific conditions of each labor collective was and remains the linchpin of their work.

## II

Economic management is the core of all party activities in the socialist society. The CPSU focuses its main efforts on ensuring the conversion of our socialist economy to intensive development and achieving a steady upsurge in production effectiveness and work quality for the sake of improving the people's well-being. This is the long-term line followed in CPSU economic policy.

The main forces of our party are focused in the area of material production. Here 175,000 primary party organizations are functioning, including more than

49,000 in industry, 31,300 in construction, 23,000 in transportation and nearly 48,000 in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. These are also the biggest party organizations, which constitute the party's main support. Today the average party organization number 102 members in industry, 38 in construction, 48 in transportation, 68 in sovkhozes and 59 in kolkhozes. As a whole, three-quarters of all employed party members are involved in material production. These tremendous forces are focused on the all-round strengthening of the party's influence on all economic life.

The party organizations daringly undertake the implementation of major long-term assignments and lead the labor collectives to major accomplishments. Their initiatives are manifested particularly vividly and broadly in the organization of the socialist competition, which has become a real mass movement. Today the number of competition participants has reached 108 million. Patriotic initiatives aimed at the successful implementation of annual and five-year plans are steadily originating in the primary party organizations and in labor collectives. The most valuable among them are approved and supported by the Central Committee and the local party organizations. After the 26th CPSU Congress, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the kraykoms and obkoms alone have supported about 700 various initiatives. This ensures their extensive dissemination and yields substantial national economic results. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's congratulations to frontrankers, production innovators and best collectives have a great inspirational impact on the entire course of the competition.

The Central Committee, which ascribes great importance to the further development of the socialist competition and to upgrading its effectiveness in the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, recently considered the work of the Minskaya Oblast Party Committee in this respect. After giving a generally positive assessment to the experience acquired in the oblast, the Central Committee faced the party organizations of enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes with the task of turning the competition toward the quality aspects of production and reaching high end results with lowest possible outlays.

The requirement that "the economy must be economical" has been given priority at the current stage of our development. It is a question of making efficient use of the country's tremendous material potential. This is the purpose of technical progress, the policy of capital investments, and improvements in the planning and economic mechanism. This opens a broad field of action to the primary party organizations. They make use of ways and means for the solution of this problem, which yield faster returns. Thus, at Moscow enterprises such as the Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev, the Krasnyy Proletariy Machine Tools Building Plant, Zarya Shoe Manufacturing Association and others the efforts are focused on the accelerated utilization of the achievements of science and technology with a view to saving on labor, material and energy resources. The party organizations at the oilfields in Tyumenskaya Oblast are successfully striving toward reaching the level planned for the end of the five-year plan--the extraction of 1 million tons of petroleum and 1 billion cubic meters of natural gas per day.

The most characteristic feature of the party organizations in industry is giving priority to basic problems of enterprise development. The practice of formulation and implementation of comprehensive plans for the socioeconomic development of collectives has become widespread. The program-target approach to higher labor productivity, improved production quality and increased economy is a new aspect. It calls for the coordination of all organizational, technical and mass political measures at each sector and shop and throughout the enterprise. Cooperation between production and science is becoming increasingly close.

As to construction projects, the party organization at the Saratovgesstroy is providing a clear example of initiative-minded work. The party members initiated the development and utilization of a system of controlling capital construction effectiveness. It includes the comprehensive solution of problems related to improving the planning and organization of construction work, raising their technical standard and quality, and ensuring the organizational and ideological support of the implementation of production plans. All this has made possible considerably to shorten construction time and lower the cost of construction and installation work.

The Central Committee and the local party organs firmly rely on the primary organizations in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the solution of the food problem, which is central to this five-year plan. Naturally, the party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses play an important role in this connection. Their role as organizers and educators of the collectives was clearly manifested last winter. Thousands of party members joined the livestock farms and set examples of selfless toil.

The rural party organizations must contribute to the effective utilization of the land, the equipment, the fertilizer and other material resources and to increasing the returns from the major funds invested in this sector. As was pointed out at the November CC CPSU Plenum, stable results are being achieved by the farmers in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania and many oblasts in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia. The task is to ensure stable work in all climatic zones in the country. This faces the rural party organizations with new and stricter requirements. The responsibility of the party organizations in sectors related to agriculture must be comprehensively enhanced and their efforts must blend with those of the kolkhoz and sovkhos working people.

Concern for the individual and his needs and requirements is the most important principle governing our party's activities. The CPSU Central Committee directs the primary party organizations toward studying closely problems of improving working, living and recreation conditions. The party organizations at trade and public catering establishments, health care and educational institutions and consumer services can and must exert a serious influence on everything which determines the well-being and moods of the people. Raising the standard of population services is a task of major political importance. We must react more sharply to cases of inattentive attitude to the daily needs and requirements of the working people and make principled assessments of manifestations of bureaucracy, callousness and arrogance.

Generally speaking, it is in the course of the implementation of major tasks that the great opportunities of the party organizations in all economic sectors become apparent. These opportunities are of organizational and political nature and require no additional outlays. This reserve must be used more completely in order to improve matters and eliminate shortcomings. We still have collectives which work below strength, which fail to fulfill their assignments and socialist pledges and who allow substantial losses in working time and material resources. The party organizations of these collectives appear to be trying to correct the situation. Many meetings and sessions are held, special measures are earmarked and various commissions are set up, but no progress is made. Why? As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev quite accurately pointed out in the course of his talk at the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, the answer to this question should be sought in the lack of concreteness and efficiency in the organizational and ideological-educational work of the party organizations. Self-criticism is also clearly in short supply.

The systematic implementation of the right to control administrative activities is an effective means with which the primary party organizations can influence the fulfillment of assignments and the life and activities of labor collectives. Having codified this right in its bylaws, our party proceeds from the fact that control is not an inspecting but an important political and organizational function of the primary organization, based on the party's leading position in society. The purpose and meaning of this control is to expose and eliminate shortcomings promptly and always to watch out for the party and state interests without violating the principle of one-man command, interfering in the operative and executive functions of or replacing economic managers, while upgrading their responsibility for assignments.

As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, in matters of cadre problems, implementation of economic plans or improvements in working and living conditions, the party organizations must display principle-mindedness. They must not follow improperly acting administrations. In a word, they must firmly promote the party line.

It is from this viewpoint that the CC CPSU analyzed the work of primary party organizations at industrial enterprises in Voronezh. The study indicated that control over administrative activities can seriously improve matters. At the same time, in a number of cases it is poorly directed toward the solution of specific problems of production intensification and strengthening of organization and discipline. The decree includes recommendations which are being extensively used by the entire party. The CC CPSU recently approved a new regulation on commissions set up by primary party organizations on implementing the right to control administrative activities. The Central Committee emphasized that the commissions must see to it that party work comes even closer to the practical tasks of economic and social development and the development in leading cadres and rank-and-file workers of high responsibility for affairs in their collectives and the observance of national interests.

The implemented measures are a structural component of the extensive work being carried out in accordance with the CC CPSU decree "On the Further Improvement of Control and Supervision of Execution in the Light of the

Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress." Its purpose is to ensure the organic combination of control with the practical implementation of party and government directives and to develop in all party organizations an atmosphere of strict exigency and efficiency, criticism and self-criticism and intolerance of shortcomings.

The influence of the party organization becomes stronger the closer the unity among ideological-political, educational, organizational and economic activities becomes. This raises strict requirements regarding the organization of ideological work in the labor collective. Such work must be ideologically saturated, closely related to life and extremely specific. It is important to develop in the party members and all working people high-level political consciousness, which is manifested daily in the conscientious fulfillment of their duty to society.

The primary party organizations have developed a specific system for exerting ideological influence. Virtually all party members and many nonparty working people attend political and economic training circles and courses. About 9 million people are political informants, agitators and tutors. More than 26 million lectures are delivered annually to the collectives by members of the Knowledge Society alone. Unified politics days and other measures which make it possible to react effectively to the problems of the working people are practiced extensively. Individual educational work is particularly effective. Success is achieved when the primary party organization takes properly into consideration the characteristics of the people, their needs, demands and capabilities and is able to reach the mind and heart of every single person.

As we know, the frank and clear nature of agitation and propaganda is of great importance in working with people. "It is very important," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "for propaganda not to circumvent sensitive topics or fear the discussion of so-called difficult problems. Our party's policy is clear and we are ready to answer any question which the Soviet people may ask. We must do this more daringly, remembering that if we do not answer them the enemies of our country will try to use this fact to slander socialism."

Under contemporary conditions, when the class opponent's propaganda activities and his attempts to corrupt the Soviet people have intensified, the organization of efficient and aggressive counterpropaganda, which can provide a firm rebuff to all ideological diversions and substantively expose hostile plans, requires a great deal of attention. The primary party organizations have extensive opportunities to do so, which should be used more completely. They are called upon to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, friendship among the peoples, proletarian internationalism and intolerance of bourgeois ideology and of any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Greater attention should be paid to the struggle against manifestations of philistine and consumerist mentality. Specific work must be conducted with those who violate our moral code, engage in drunkenness and behave improperly.

The creative intelligentsia plays a major role in shaping the outlook, moral convictions and political and spiritual standards of the people. The party committees are always concerned with upgrading the political maturity and

responsibility for the ideological content and artistic value of creative works. They rely on the primary party organizations in creative unions and on ideological institutions.

### III

The extent to which the party organization influences the collective is directly related to the condition of its internal life. Its improvement is being steadily pursued along two main directions: on the one hand, the ever broader development of interparty democracy; on the other, the strengthening of party discipline and upgrading the responsibility of every party member for the state of affairs within his organization and the party at large. The firm observance of the principle of democratic centralism and of the Leninist norms gives strength to the party organizations.

Their first priority is concern for improving the qualitative structure of party ranks. The recruitment of a new generation of party members is a statutory function, with the implementation of which the party organizations exert a tremendous influence on shaping the structure of the CPSU. This determines their high responsibility for the acceptance of new members and the political training and education of the young communists. In recent years better use is being made of the candidate member stage in testing the practical and moral qualities of the new members. The comprehensive creation of young party member courses, attended by about 760,000 people, has proved its value.

For many years the progressive representatives of the working class have held a leading position in party reinforcements. Today they account for 59.5 percent of the new CPSU membership. As a result, currently workers and kolkhoz members account for 56.3 percent of party membership in terms of social structure. This contributes to the further strengthening of the party's ranks and the growth of its prestige among the people.

Upgrading the vanguard role of the party members and the development of their activeness in production and social life are some of the key intraparty tasks. This greatly determines the influence of the party organizations on the masses and the circumstances and moods in labor collectives. Lenin believed that we have absolutely no need for ostentatious party members and that "the most energetic, direct and open participation in party affairs is the characteristic of the party person" (ibid, Vol 24, p 79).

Soon after the 26th congress, the CPSU held a special discussion on the work of the Samarkandskaya Oblast Party Organization on this problem. It was emphasized that the training of the party members as political soldiers of the party is the primary task of all party organizations. The continuing extensive use of tried methods, such as hearing reports submitted by party members at party meetings and party bureau and committee sessions on the implementation of statutory obligations, individual talks with party members, and systematic control over the implementation of party assignments was recommended. At the same time, the CC CPSU called for a stricter and more exacting attitude toward those who violate party and state discipline and defame the high title of communist through their behavior.

The activeness of the party members increases when the party organizations follow strictly the democratic norms of internal life and ensure all the necessary conditions for every single party member to fulfill his statutory rights and obligations in full. In this case the party meeting, which is the supreme organ of the party organization, plays a special role. Practical experience proves that the work of the party meetings cannot be truly effective if such meetings are held irregularly and the party members attend them only for the sake of making their presence noticed and to hear the scheduled speakers. The 26th CPSU Congress directly stated that the party meeting, like the plenum held by any party committee, is a place in which all vital problems must be discussed profoundly and seriously.

Control over the regularity of meetings has been intensified of late. Above all, the party organizations are trying comprehensively to improve the practice of their preparation and holding, so that the meetings become more efficient and take place under circumstances of reciprocal exactingness and attentive attitude toward the views of the party members; they must maximally contribute to the mobilization of the working people for the implementation of the party's policy and resolutions. In this respect the results of the last accountability and election campaign are indicative. The party meetings were attended by 95.7 percent of the membership. About 9 million people participated in the discussions on the accountability reports. Almost half of the speakers in the production organizations were workers and rank-and-file kolkhoz members. The substantial number of suggestions and remarks made proves the constructive nature of the discussions. In Moscow, for example, more than 310,000 of them were made; about 120,000 were made in Belorussia and almost 100,000 in Georgia. We must see to it that the level at which accountability and election meetings are held, which are thoroughly and comprehensively prepared as a rule, may become characteristic of the other meetings as well, so that each one of them may become a true school for the political education of party members.

The elective leading organs are the organizing force of the primary party organizations. They set the tone in the work and in the implementation of the Leninist principle of collective leadership. Today a total of 4.5 million people, the party members who are most authoritative and influential in their collectives, have been elected members of party committees and bureaus, secretaries and party group organizers. With every passing year the elected aktiv is increasing and its political and practical standards are rising. This contributes to the strengthening of the party organizations.

The role of the party committees which, as we know, head the large primary party organizations, is increasing steadily in party life. Over the past 10 years their number has increased from 32,400 to 41,500, while the number of party committees of shop party organizations has nearly tripled. The largest party committees, totaling 974, have been given the status of raykoms in terms of membership enrollment, affiliation of party members and candidate members, and consideration of individual cases of party members. The creation of a party committee is paralleled by the expanded functions of shop party organizations which are given a primary organization status. Currently such status is enjoyed by more than 321,000 shop party organizations, or more than two-thirds of the total number. This multiplies the opportunities of the party organizations to carry out a variety of projects and initiatives.



The activities of party committees in the big collectives have created new organizational forms. The practice of setting up expanded party committees is becoming increasingly popular. During the past 5 years their number has increased from 78 to 385. The nature of such party committees and their type of operation are exemplified by the party organization at Moskovskiy Elektrolampovyy Zavod Association. Its party committee has 44 party members, almost one-half of them workers. It also includes economic managers, leading engineering and technical workers, economists, and shop party organization secretaries. This has made the party committee more representative and has considerably expanded relations with party members and production subdivision collectives. The party committee has a 13-member bureau which meets two to three times monthly and efficiently considers problems of CPSU enrollment, implementation of decisions and the work of shop party organizations and party groups. General meetings are usually held twice every quarter. The most important long-term problems of association activities are discussed at such meetings. The expanded party committee membership enables it to resolve problems more competently and to take better into consideration production requirements and the collective experience and views of the various categories of working people. The party committee deserves great credit for the fact that the association is steadily achieving high production results. Over a 5-year period its volume of output has nearly doubled. The entire increase was achieved as a result of higher labor productivity. The production of superior quality goods has increased ninefold.

The current possibilities of our party make it possible to formulate and resolve qualitatively new problems related to directly increasing the party's influence on the primary production levels. These problems become particularly topical as a result of the dissemination of the brigade method, which must become the basic work method this five-year plan. The important role of cost effectiveness brigades was vividly and convincingly described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress. Most party organizations have actively joined in the development of this progressive form of labor organization. They are trying to strengthen the brigades with party members. They are creating party groups in the largest among them. This is having a positive impact on the work of the brigades and is helping them to increase their role in production development and the upbringing of the people.

The variety of conditions under which the party organizations operate requires the search for other work methods. In construction, in particular, and in seasonal operations, the creation of temporary party groups is extensively practiced. Party organizers are appointed to work among small collectives. All new developments in party life are being thoroughly studied and put to a practical test.

The tireless search for more effective work methods is a confirmation of the creative activities of the party organizations. The improvement of intraparty relations is an important means for the consolidation of party forces and for intensifying their influence on all communist construction sectors.

#### IV

The primary party organizations are in the center of the concern and attention of the party organs. This helps them to operate within the general policy channel, effectively and with an understanding of the problems being resolved centrally and locally.

The management of the primary party organizations is provided by the gorkoms and raykoms which are the closest to them. The standards of this work are rising. The gorkoms and raykoms rely firmly on the primary party organizations. They try to penetrate deeply into their activities and to help them comprehensively. The leading personnel of party committees are visiting the party organizations more frequently. They consult with the party members and address them.

The raykom and gorkom attention and support mean a great deal to the primary party organizations. However, the party committee's help is still not always sufficiently skilled. Some party workers are able to expose shortcomings but are sometimes unable to issue clear and specific recommendations on how to eliminate them and how to organize the work.

In this connection, let us emphasize the important role of raykom and gorkom instructors who are in daily close contact with the primary party organizations. As a rule, these are trained people, most of them economic specialists with higher education. More people with experience in elective positions in the primary party organizations should be assigned such work. The organization of the training and instructing of such cadres leaves something better to be desired. Also, they should not be replaced frequently.

The work of the party committees with secretaries of primary party organizations and their selection, training and supervision are a most important area of management. This is of great importance in terms of the activities of party organizations and the overall training of party cadres. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said that to be a party manager is a very complex matter. The manager must be distinguished by a broad outlook, creative attitude toward the work and, naturally, most profound belief in the justice of the party's ideals. The true party leader is highly characterized by a thorough knowledge of life, the moods of the people and the ability to listen to the comrades' views. The true party leaders is involved. He has a feeling for the new and always aspires to make the present better than the past.

As a rule, today our primary party organizations are headed by trained and initiative-minded party members. The overwhelming majority among them are honorably justifying the trust given to them. They work conscientiously and have prestige in their collectives. Nearly two-thirds of all secretaries have higher or incomplete higher education. Their structure has become noticeably more stable in recent years. Reality proved the correctness of the 1966 decision of voiding the limitation of the term of service of party members as primary party organization secretaries. Today approximately 25 percent of all secretaries are replaced in the course of accountability and election meetings, rather than 60 percent as in the past.

Currently primary party organization secretaries are being trained on a systematic and differentiated basis. Gorkoms and raykoms regularly organize for their benefit seminars on topical problems of party work and exchange of experience, and theoretical and practical science conferences on party construction problems. Many secretaries also attend party-economic aktiv courses and evening Marxism-Leninism universities. Secretaries of party committees with raykom status are trained at republic and interoblast courses offered by higher party schools. Released primary party organization secretaries attend monthly courses organized by obkoms, kraykoms and central committees of communist parties of union republics. Last year along, about 27,000 people attended such courses. Here every year as many as many as 30,000 nonreleased secretaries attend 7-10-day training seminars.

Production concentration and the advancement of the economic management system demand of the party committees to pay greater attention to the structure of the party organizations. The party organization must be most suitable to the conditions in which the party organizations operate. It must contribute the proper deployment of party forces and the effective efforts of the leading organs.

Today problems of organizational structure and work methods of party organizations under the conditions of production associations in industry have been resolved for the party at large. Practical experience has proved that the existing organizational structure, with its three basic variants, meets the variety of conditions in which the party organizations in associations operate. The councils of party organization secretaries have proved their usefulness as coordinating organs. Such councils have been created in 923 associations. Unlike the party committees, as we know, the councils of secretaries do not pass mandatory resolutions but collectively formulate recommendations which are carried out by the party organizations of all subunits within the association. As practical experience has indicated, the activities of such councils are most effective in the party's management of production affairs, work with cadres, the organization of the socialist competition, and the formulation and implementation of plans for the social development of the labor collectives. They have initiated a number of useful projects. For example, based on recommendations issued by councils of secretaries, extensive efforts to conserve raw materials, materials, fuel and energy were made at the Svetlana Electronic Instrument Manufacturing Association in Leningrad, the use of the brigade form of labor organization at the Moscow Worsted Association, etc.

Councils of secretaries have appeared in the countryside as well as a result of the development of specialization and cooperation agricultural production and the creation of agroindustrial and other types of associations. At the Talsy Agroindustrial Association in the Latvian SSR, for example, the council of secretaries is actively engaged in the application of progressive experience and industrial technology, the organization of technical services to the farms, the training and retraining of cadres of specialists and workers in mass professions, and in promoting the socialist competition. This is having a positive influence on the results of the association's economic activities.

The councils of secretaries are used as a form of party work also when the coordinated actions of party organizations of enterprises belonging to different

sectors are required. Here is an example: Labor cooperation among the collectives of seamen, railroad workers, truckdrivers and rivermen has developed at the Leningrad Transportation Junction. Its purpose is to upgrade the effectiveness of freight haulage. In order to unify the efforts of these collectives better, not only the creation of a coordination council of economic managers was needed but also a council of secretaries of party organizations of transport enterprises. The council has been functioning for the past 3 years and has done useful work in providing party-political support for the implementation of combined haulage plans.

Improving the structure of the primary party organizations is a permanent project. Naturally, unjustified reorganizations should not be allowed. There have been cases of automatically combining primary party organizations of related enterprises and establishments on the scale of a large city or rayon. This changes the status of the primary party organizations by turning them into shop party organizations, limits their rights, disturbs relations with party raykoms and gorkoms and, in the final account, weakens their work among their collectives.

Similar shortcomings were manifested in the course of the study of the structure of the party organizations of ministries and departments. In some of them, in violation of party bylaws, the party committees have taken over the party members working in subordinate enterprises, organizations and establishments which enjoy economic autonomy.

This drew the attention and efforts away from their main objective and hindered their effective influence on the activities of the apparatus. The CC CPSU and the local party organs are taking measures to eliminate such shortcuts.

The Central Committee pays constant attention to problems related to the party organs' guidance of the primary party organizations. In recent years, for example, the work of the Zlatoust City Party Committee in managing the party organizations of industrial enterprises and construction projects and of the Novosibirsk Obkom's management of the party organizations in transportation enterprises were studied. Such problems are being thoroughly discussed when the work of the central committees of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms is reviewed. The CC CPSU maintains a variety of direct relations with the primary party organizations. In the period following the 23d CPSU Congress, the Central Committee has heard a total of 30 reports submitted by party organizations of industrial and construction enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, ministries, scientific research institutions and VUZs. The Central Committee instructions and recommendations provide guidelines for the work of all primary party organizations and focus their efforts along key directions.

With the help of the local party organs the CC CPSU sums up the remarks and suggestions expressed by the party members at accountability and election meetings and conferences, and in the course of discussions held in primary party organizations of the results of Central Committee plenums and other matters. Corresponding resolutions are passed on the most important suggestions. The letters sent by party and nonparty people are a steady channel

of information from below. The strengthening ties with the primary party organizations help the Central Committee to feel on a daily basis the pulse-beat in local areas and to react promptly to new problems.

In accordance with Central Committee instructions, the local party organs in turn are intensifying their leadership of the primary organization. After the 26th CPSU Congress, many of them discussed problems of developing the activeness of primary party organizations. In Moscow, in many oblasts of the Russian Federation, in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Latvia, oblast republic and sectorial conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations were held. Special publications are issued for the benefit of secretaries and party group organizers.

Our party lives a rich life filled with major accomplishments. True collectivism, exigency and principle-mindedness have been established firmly in its life and democratic principles are being developed comprehensively. All of this is having a most positive impact on the work at all party levels and in the accomplishments and feelings of the people.

The unity, cohesion and joint work of the party's leading nucleus--the Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev--is one of the important prerequisites of the party's successful activities as the leading and guiding force in our society. Leonid Il'ich promotes in the party a spirit of comradeship combined with high principle-mindedness and practical exigency, through his active efforts. He guides the country and directs the efforts of the entire people for the solution of the major and difficult problems of the building of communism with Leninist wisdom.

The situation in the party contributes to the fruitful activities of all CPSU organizations, the primary ones above all. They are in the front line of the struggle for the implementation of the party's policy at all stages in the building of communism. They are the strongholds of political, organizational and economic work. It is important for all primary party organizations to act to the fullest extent of their forces and possibilities as the organizing and guiding nucleus of labor collectives. They must act as generators of the collectives' healthy spirit and activities. This is a guarantee for the further strengthening of the leading role of the CPSU in society and for resolving the problems of the building of communism.

In accordance with the established practice of reciprocal consultations and exchange of experience among fraternal parties, the regular meeting of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, which dealt with problems of organizational party work, was held in Prague in March-April. A comprehensive exchange of experience in upgrading the role of the primary organizations in the implementation of party policy and of socioeconomic problems earmarked by the fraternal parties at their congresses, took place in the course of this efficient and constructive meeting.

As the discussions indicated, the parties have acquired a great deal of experience in this area. The main emphasis was put on strengthening the party's influence on the economy and the education of the people and on the comprehensive strengthening of relations with the people. The importance of the

stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the concepts and conclusions found in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and subsequent addressed was emphasized in terms of the activities of the fraternal parties and the struggle for peace and detente. The conference reflected the great concern shown by the fraternal parties for strengthening the primary party organizations, comprehensively energizing their activities and improving the means and methods of their work.

After considering and positively assessing the results of the conference, the CC CPSU suggested, on the basis of the specific circumstances, that it take into consideration the views expressed on the work of the primary party organizations in terms of practical activities and scientific research. This approach is consistent with the firm line followed by our party of further strengthening the friendship and cooperation, increased interaction with the fraternal parties along all lines, and attentive study and extensive utilization of their comprehensive positive experience. Practical experience indicates that this contributes to the further advancement of the activities of all party organizations.

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## WHILE READING MEGA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 18-29

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Malysh]

[Text] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, were born in Germany. It was their homeland. After the defeat of the 1848-1849 revolution, expelled from their homeland, the great revolutionaries and brilliant philosophers lived and worked in England. Marx is buried in London's Highgate Cemetery. The urn containing Engels' dust was thrown into the sea near Eastbourne, the English city. They justifiably considered that country their second homeland, although here again they were not spoiled by fate and the authorities were far from being kind to them.

However, the communists the world over could consider Russia, the Soviet Union, as another of Marx' and Engels' homelands. It was precisely in Russia that their works and ideas, even during their lifetimes, became more widespread than anywhere else. Marx himself wrote, for example, that his "The Poverty of Philosophy" and "On the Critique of Political Economy" "nowhere found such a large market as in Russia. The Russians were the first foreign nation to translate 'Das Kapital'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 32, p 472). Marx was "exceptionally pleased" (ibid, p 140) by the news that the first volume of "Das Kapital" was to be published in Russian soon in Petersburg. V. I. Lenin, the Russian Marxist, dealt annihilating blows at attempts to revise Marx' and Engels' ideas, mainly on the part of the right-wing German social democrats. He comprehensively developed Marxism in terms of the new historical conditions. Lenin's party led the Russian proletariat to the greatest practical triumph of Marxism--the victory of the first socialist revolution in the world in October 1917.

The merits of the CPSU in collecting, preserving and publishing the works of Marx and Engels are also inordinately great and universally acknowledged. On Lenin's suggestion, in December 1920 the RKP(b) Central Committee decided to organize a Marxist museum in charge of the preparation for and publication of the collected works of Marx and Engels. One month later, it was reorganized as the special K. Marx and F. Engels Scientific Research Institute. An actual international center of Marxist thinking, engaged in extensive and comprehensive activities, appeared in Moscow. Today this center--the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism--owns approximately 10,000 documents of Marx and Engels, in

originals or copies, all first editions of their works, and virtually all newspapers and journals to which they contributed, as well as the overwhelming majority of sources from which they drew data for their works and a library on the history of socialism and the workers movement. This is the richest repository of literature in this field of knowledge in the world.

Quite recently, in 1981, the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism completed the 50-volume collected works of Marx and Engels, as decreed by the Central Committee. So far, this is the most complete and, from the scientific viewpoint, the best publication of their literary legacy. Its scale is confirmed by the following fact: whereas the first Russian edition, which was the most complete in its time, consisted of 28 volumes (33 books), the second totaled 50 volumes (54 books). Dozens of works and hundreds of letters were published for the first time in the Russian language or in general. A major scientific reference was developed on the basis of prime sources, consisting of editorial prefaces, notes and various indexes. Let us particularly note the two-volume subject index. The second Russian edition was the basis for similar editions in many other languages both in the USSR and abroad. It is currently the basis for an English-language edition, also in 50 volumes, currently being issued by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, with the participation of the publishing houses of the communist parties of Great Britain, the United States and Izdatel'stvo Progress (in Moscow).

The second edition of the works of Marx and Engels tremendously contributed to the dissemination of Marxist knowledge and to the ideological tempering of the Marxist-Leninist parties. It was a very substantial contribution to Soviet and world Marxist studies.

However, with all its unquestionable merits, this edition suffers from some shortcomings. First of all, unfortunately, it is still not complete. Secondly, it is not very convenient for use as a basic publication in preparing publications in other languages, for it is a translated work. Even the German edition, which was published in the GDR on its basis (Marx-Engels Werke), can be considered as an original only partially, in terms of authorship texts. The German language accounts for no more than 65 percent of Marx' and Engels' published texts. The balance consists of English, French, Russian and ancient Greek texts, Latin, etc. Marx and Engels were polyglots who read and wrote in many languages and who developed a scientific terminology on the basis of several languages. Naturally, even the most perfect translations cannot render fully the fine aspects of their style and their creative process. Furthermore, the second edition does not include letters by third individuals, which frequently hinders our understanding of the letters written by Marx and Engels. Nor is the content of their letters which have not reached us given. Finally, because of certain gaps in the translation, the second edition has not properly "insured" the documents in the archives which are spoiling as well as sources used by Marx and Engels which are disappearing without a trace in many foreign libraries.

Taking these and some other aspects into consideration, the demands of the scientific public, the publishers, the curators of archives and library stocks and our social scientists had to be considered. The solution to the problem



was found. It is based on the previous activities of our party in the field of Marxist studies, available experience, the cadres and material facilities of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the real participation of the fraternal parties, the SED above all.

The abbreviation MEGA, which appeared as early as the 1920's, and which stands for the German name of the complete collected works of Marx and Engels in the original languages--Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA)--became quite widespread among the world scientific public, particularly in the socialist countries and in all Marxist-Leninist parties, at the beginning of the 1970's. Today this is a publication of the entire literary legacy of K. Marx and F. Engels which has reached us. It is being done jointly by the scientific collectives of the CC CPSU IML and the SED Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. So far, 11 volumes (16 books) have already been published. Each volume (and book) consists of two parts with different covers. The first contains the editorial preface and the authors' texts. The second is the referential apparatus (history of the published texts, notes, indicator of variants and others).

The question is frequently asked: What are the new facts discovered about Marx and Engels?

Naturally, today it would be difficult to hope that some previously unknown masterpieces could be found, such as K. Marx' "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," F. Engels' "Dialectics of Nature," etc. The manuscripts of the more or less finished writings of Marx and Engels have been thoroughly studied and published, although partial findings are not excluded, minor though they might be. The most essential new feature may be found on a different level.

I would be no exaggeration to say that it is mainly the MEGA that accounts for this new feature. Its novelty is based on its completeness, on the inclusion of materials which were either never published before or were published in translation only (with natural deficiencies inherent even in most perfect translations), the parallel publication of versions of the same works revised by the authors, and the wealth and variety of the scientific apparatus. Like all brilliant classics, Marx and Engels are, if we may use here the words of V. G. Belinskiy, pertaining to A. S. Pushkin, "to the eternally living and moving phenomena, which do not stop at the point of their death, but which continue to develop in the awareness of society. Each age passes judgment on them and, however accurately it understands, it always remains for the next age to say something new and more accurate."

With the publication of the MEGA, the institutes of Marxism Leninism of the CC CPSU and the SED Central Committee are meeting essentially the requirements of many generations of revolutionary workers. Speaking of this, it would be suitable to cite an excerpt from the article on the occasion of Engels' death, published in its time by the Austrian newspaper VOLKSTRIEBUNE: "The loyal adviser of the proletariat has left us, and his remains have been buried. However, may his spiritual being remain with us. At his grave we would like to express the single wish that the legacy of Marx and Engels, the two great men, be confidently organized and thus made accessible to the proletariat the world

over." The international workers movement found this "competent hand" in the institutes of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU and the SED Central Committee, which could accomplish the tremendous task of publishing the MEGA. The CC SED IML also involved as partners groups of scientific workers and teachers at the universities in Halle, Berlin, Leipzig, Jena and the pedagogical institute in Erfuhrt-Mulhausen. An international collective of MEGA like-minded people and enthusiasts has been developed. The party institutes of the fraternal parties, the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and many libraries and archives in different countries are being very helpful in this publication.

The MEGA project, which was announced for the purpose of informing the broad international public, seeking its approval and the expression of rational wishes, triggered a large number of lively and excited responses. This is understandable.

Not only the communist vanguard of the workers movement is interested in such a publication. The theoretical discoveries and summations made by Marx and Engels are of great cultural value to all progressive mankind.

The energizing and expansion of the efforts to find and collect still unknown documentary materials related to Marx and Engels, letters addressed to them and all possible other documents pertaining to the lives and activities of the founders of Marxism, are of prime importance in connection with the MEGA publication.

As we know, Marx bequeathed all his papers to Engels and to his youngest daughter, Eleanora Marx-Eweling. After their deaths, most of the archives of the creators of scientific communism became the property of the central board of the German Social Democratic Party. The long domination of reformist elements in the party's leadership, followed by its defeat by Hitlerite fascism, almost led to the destruction of the priceless manuscripts of Marx and Engels, the letters sent by their numerous correspondents and other materials from their family archives and personal libraries.

The Comintern Executive Committee and our party's Central Committee took most energetic steps to buy or at least temporarily take care of Marx' and Engels' documents in the archives of the German social democrats. Members of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute repeatedly met with representatives of the German Social Democratic Party on this subject. However, all of our suggestions were rejected. The negative position of the then SDPG, as is now frankly admitted by social democratic historians, was dictated by the "political attitude of the Socialist Workers International and the German social democrats toward the Comintern" (ARCHIV FUR SOZIALGESCHICHTE, Vol VI/VII, Hannover, 1966/1967, p 109). According to the same historians, the "party's leadership which subsequently emigrated made a poor deal" (ibid, p 147). It treated the legacy of Marx and Engels as ordinary office papers. K. Kautskiy who, generally speaking, if not directly then indirectly, greatly contributed through his ideological influence to the threat of irretrievable loss of the archives of Marx and Engels, wrote in the mid-1930's that the fate of their literary legacy was an entire epic. "A new Richard Wagner could create a series of dramas based on the vicissitudes of the fate of Marx' and Engels' legacy, similar to the old

Wagner's series based on the vicissitudes of the fate of the treasuries of the Nibelungen" (ibid, p 154).

The social democratic leaders preferred to sell the documents of Marx and Engels in their possession in the United States. For some reason, however, there were no buyers and the deal was not struck. For a while, these documents were sheltered in the safes of the Credit Lyonnais bank and then in a bank in Amsterdam. Finally, in 1938, they were sold for virtually nothing, they were virtually given to the Amsterdam International Institute of Social History, today part of the Netherlands Academy of Sciences. The IML is establishing and maintaining cooperation relations with this institute.

Between 1933 and 1938, part of Marx' and Engels' manuscripts were simply stolen. The international police (Interpol) is aware of this and has even tried to trace the thieves, so far in vain. From time to time, individual manuscripts by Marx or Engels are auctioned in West Germany, Switzerland and England at fabulously high prices, in the course of which they are sold by some anonymous individuals to other anonymous individuals. Research has now established that about 1,400 letters and documents belonging to Marx and Engels and about 1,000 books from their libraries are still untraced. The remaining documents are scattered among various countries, including Japan, South Africa and, possibly, Australia, not to mention Europe and America.

The IML of the CC CPSU and CC SED rely also on the help of other socialist countries, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in particular, in collecting such documents. We have repeatedly received documents with the help of the fraternal institute in Budapest. In June 1974 Comrade Gustav Husak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary, sent to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, for presentation to the IML an original letter written by Marx, dated 24 November 1871, and addressed to the editors of the newspaper FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG UND HANDELSBLATT, describing his activities in the First International.

A total of 477 documents was received between 1968 and 1978 from Marx' great-grandchildren who live in France. They include the French edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital," with numerous notes and corrections made by the author; part of the original manuscript by Marx--instruction to the delegates to the Geneva Congress of the First International in 1866; letters sent to Marx by members of his family, and others. The IML also received a substantial number of documents from the collection of the now deceased French Marxist historian and French Communist Party member Emil Bodigelli. They include 11 original manuscripts by Marx and Engels (excerpts from books they had read), and 7 letters written by Engels. Photographic copies of 225 letters from the correspondence among members of Marx' family were also received.

In 1979 scientific associates of the IML looked over the stocks of the libraries of Brussels University, the library and archives of the Vanderwelde Institute, the Royal Library and the General Archives of the Belgian Kingdom. Another copy of the French edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital" with remarks by Marx was discovered. Also discovered was a five-volume catalogue of books which Marx used during his stay in Brussels, which made a number of important

clarifications on his work where possible. Files from police archives containing important information on Marx and Engels and their activities in the workers and democratic movements were also studied. Entire files of many noted leaders of the 19th-century workers and democratic movements have been preserved. The MEGA volumes published so far reflect the results of such preliminary research and the thoughtful and scrupulous study of available documents.

The plan calls for no less than 100 volumes of the MEGA edition, divided into four parts with separate consecutive numbering of the volumes in each part, as follows:

- I. Historical and philosophical works and political journalism;
- II. Preliminary drafts of "Das Kapital" (starting with the "Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858");
- III. Correspondence;
- IV. Summaries, excerpts, marginal notes and other working drafts and materials of Marx and Engels.

The editorial prefaces to the volumes are an exceptionally important and particularly responsible part of the MEGA. They describe quite thoroughly the historical significance of the respective works by the founders of Marxism on the general theoretical level and on the level of their immediate significance in the revolutionary activities of communist and workers parties which are transforming the contemporary world. Naturally, such emphasis on the relevance of the works of Marx and Engels should not be considered as the simplistic requirement of finding and arranging quotations of immediate interest. However, the prefaces do not ignore problems of the criticism of the positions of our ideological enemies. There are no direct polemics but an implicit consideration of the basic trends and content of the current ideological struggle.

In addition to works familiar to the readers, volume 1 of the first part (MEGA, erste abt., Vol 1, Berlin, 1975), includes for the first time a more than 400-page section on the "literary attempts" of the young Marx (1836-1837): one act of a play, part of the novel "Scorpio and Felix," "Book of Love," dedicated to his bride, Jenny von Westphalen, poems to his father, ballads, sonnets, epigrams and his version of German, Lithuanian, Italian and Finnish runes.

The volume also includes a first publication of four editorials written by Marx in November 1842 for the RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG, on the occasion of a debate on the communal problem, recently discovered in a Koln library. These articles are of interest in assessing the active life stance and democratic convictions of the young Marx. They prove that, as the editor of the newspaper, he directly participated in the public debate on a problem which excited the Prussian public at that time.

Let us draw attention in the second part to the first publication in the original language, as a single work, of all manuscripts "On the Critique of

Political Economy (1861-1863)," totaling six books of the third volume. This is essentially the second of the author's drafts of "Das Kapital" (the "Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1857" are considered the first draft). So far, essentially only the "Theory of Added Value" has been published out of this huge manuscript (about 200 printer's sheets!). In the MEGA edition, the "Theory of Added Value" covers the second, third and fourth books of the third volume of the second part. The first, fifth and sixth books are the same as volumes 47 and 48 of the "Works of K. Marx and F. Engels," in the second Russian edition. The publication of this manuscript by the MEGA offers at least the following advantages: The text is not broken up into parts as decided by the editors but is given precisely in the author's original sequence; this manuscript offers a very clear idea of the application of Marx' method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete, the interdependence and certain parallelism between the logical and the historical, and the combination and correlation between research and presentation; the reader is given the opportunity to trace the development of the conceptual apparatus, terminology, origin of the individual terms and concepts and overall ideas such as the theory of added value, and the theory of average profits and production cost. This study is not distorted by faults of translations, including those into German; the manuscript is multilingual, for which reason even German is not the original language of most of the text. The publication of the MEGA manuscripts is of invaluable importance in the preparation of publications in different languages.

The third MEGA part--the part which deals with the letters of Marx and Engels--also includes letters sent by others to them and some letters written by their relatives, fellow workers, friends and acquaintances to one another, providing that they contain facts and statements of certain interest in terms of the lives and activities of the founders of Marxism. Quantitatively, the volume of such letters will be 2½ times greater than the letters written by Marx and Engels themselves.

Many letters by third persons are either answers to Marx and Engels or occasions for answers by them. They frequently mention, cite or describe letters by Marx and Engels which have failed to reach us, and important statements made by them on theoretical and political problems, unknown to us from other sources. Some letters sent by third persons to Marx and Engels contain references to other correspondence.

Marx and Engels paid great attention to the communications and views of their correspondents. They frequently exchanged such letters and thoughts regarding their content, viewing them as a valuable source of information on current political events and events in the international workers movement. These letters are historical documentary proofs of the lively and constant contacts which Marx and Engels maintained with the outstanding people of their time--revolutionaries, political and social leaders, scientists, writers, etc. These letters alone definitively debunk the legend of Marx and Engels as strictly ivory tower scientists and philosophers who lived like virtual hermits, had a limited circle of relations and had no significant contacts with the working class and the leaders of workers organizations and, in the final account, had almost no influence on the development of the labor movement. Now, anyone who wishes can see that Marx and Engels invariably kept their hand on the

pulsebeat of social life and were well acquainted with all its aspects, that they were sincerely respected by leading minds and were the instructors and acknowledged leaders of the international proletariat.

The first volume (MEGA, dritte abt., Vol 1, Berlin, 1975) includes correspondence from November 1837 (the date of Marx' familiar letter to his father) to the end of April 1846. The volume contains 93 letters written by Marx and Engels and 122 letters written to them; 2 of Engels' letters to his sister Maria and 15 letters written to Marx and Engels are published for the first time; 10 letters by Marx and Engels and 19 letters sent to them are published in full for the first time. The special index provides an extensive list of so far untraced letters by Marx and Engels to specific individuals and their approximate dates (ibid, pp 889-896). The fact that these letters were written and sent (or received) is confirmed by indirect data; they are mentioned or cited in a variety of reliable sources.

Unquestionably, the publication of the two variants of the letter which L. Feuerbach wrote to Marx between 6 and 25 October and the final draft of the letter sent out of Bruckberg to Marx in Kreuznach, dated 25 October 1843, are of unquestionably great interest in terms of the history of philosophy. These documents reveal that Marx suggested to Feuerbach that he write an article on Schelling, clearly for the "German-French Yearbook." Although he thanked him for the honor, Feuerbach most respectfully rejected Marx' suggestion to provide a "new characterization" of Schelling, for personal reasons related to the recent death of his brother and the conflicting nature of Schelling's personality --a philosopher who "demonstrates the power of politics instead of philosophy and the power of the lie and fraud instead of that of truth" (ibid, p 419).

Volume 2 of the third part contains correspondence from May 1846 to the end of 1848: In addition to letters by and to Marx and Engels, it includes letters to the organizations they headed as well as those written on their instructions.

Problems related to the completion of the manuscripts now known as "German Ideology" and attempts to publish them accounted for a great deal of Marx' and Engels' correspondence in 1846-1847. The manuscripts were written between November 1845 and June 1846. In them Marx and Engels criticized post-Hegelian philosophy--L. Feuerbach, M. Stirner and B. Bauer--as well as "true socialism." Marx and Engels developed the basic ideas of scientific communism, the materialistic understanding of history in particular.

The usual version of "German Ideology" is that in the spring of 1845 Marx and Engels decided to write this specific book and undertook serious work on it in the autumn of 1845. The materials published in the second volume (MEGA, dritte abt., Vol 2) convincingly prove that Marx and Engels had a different plan.

Initially, they planned to publish these manuscripts together with articles by Hess, Bernais, Weert and Daniels, in a special "Quarterly" edited by Marx. Because of the opposition of the "true socialists" this plan failed. Other vain efforts were made subsequently to find a publisher in Switzerland or Germany. In the second half of 1847 on Engels' critique of the book by Gruen "On Goethe From the Human Viewpoint" and Marx' review of the book by the same author "The

Social Movement in France and Belgium" were published among the manuscripts which were to make up the collection on German ideology (MEGA, dritte abt., Vol 2, pp 83, 120, 334 and 883). The manuscripts were published in full only posthumously as "German Ideology" in the USSR in 1932.

The second volume of part III sheds additional light on one more page in Marxist history.

In the winter of 1846-1847 Marx wrote the book "The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by Mr Proudhon." According to Engels, by then Marx had "definitively determined the basic features of his new historical and economic views" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 21, p 180). The author's preface is dated 15 June 1847. Here Marx personally describes himself as a German economist publicly and for the first time.

The idea for the "Poverty of Philosophy" had originated earlier. In a letter dated 2 June 1846, sent from Paris to Brussels, publicist P. V. Annenkov, Marx' Russian friend, already mentions Marx' "threat" to send him a "long letter" (MEGA, dritte abt., Vol 2, p 215). This "threat" was carried out with the now-famous and truly long letter of 28 December 1846, in which Marx expressed the basic concepts to be included in his future work (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 27, pp 401-412; MEGA, dritte abt., Vol 2, pp 70-80). The immediate answer to it was Annenkov's letter dated 6 January 1847, included in the MEGA (the correspondence was conducted in French). "You have made me heavily indebted with your splendid letter of 28 December," Annenkov wrote. "The truthfulness, clarity and, particularly, tendency toward realism in your views helped me to understand Proudhon's work. His concepts are frequently lost among tempting abstractions, and how frequently attempts are made to amaze us with false blinding fabrications of a mind concerned exclusively with itself, presenting itself as the latest word of science and speculative philosophy! The friendly voice which I have just heard and which takes you to economic and historical facts which you describe in terms of their real development, which is entirely different from the development of pure categories and logical contradictions and which, finally, undermines the exaggerated and excessively complex foundation of a system which is outside of life, history, and true science, is a voice which deserves our gratitude....You, my dear Mr Marx, have fully redeemed your long silence with this last letter, which I keep rereading" (ibid, p 321).

On 8 December 1847 Annenkov told Marx of the success of his book in Paris: "I do not as yet have your pamphlet on Proudhon and his doctrine, for the only copy available in Paris belongs to Herveg and is being passed around from hand to hand. I shall study it most attentively when it reaches me" (ibid, p 377).

The third volume of the third part of MEGA contains the correspondence conducted by Marx and Engels in 1849-1850. It includes 62 letters written by Marx and Engels to one another and to third individuals (41 by Marx, 17 by Engels and 4 written jointly) and 392 letters addressed to Marx and Engels or to the organizations they headed--the NEUES RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG in Koln, the Central Committee of the Alliance of Communists, the Committee for Aid to German Exiles, and the Social Democratic Emigre Committee in London. One of

the letters written by Marx and Engels is published for the first time; 15 are published in full for the first time and 3 are published in their original language for the first time.

The letters covering the first half of 1849 included in this volume reflect the activities of Marx and Engels at the final stage of the 1848-1849 revolution--their direct participation in the mass revolutionary struggle, the publication of the NEUES RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG, and their contacts with the participants in the workers and democratic movements. The letters addressed to them are documentary proof of the trust of the leading workers in Marx and Engels, the tremendous authority they enjoyed and the trust in the organizations they headed.

The letters covering the second half of the 1849-1850 period are characterized as the theoretical work done by Marx and Engels during that time--the interpretation and summation of the experience of the 1848-1849 European revolutions, and the further development of Marxist theory on the basis of this experience, as well as their revolutionary-practical activities: the gathering and unification of revolutionary forces and the organization and training of proletarian cadres for future revolutionary battles. Yielding to the pressure of superior bourgeois reactionary forces, the fighters of the revolution were expecting effective support from Marx and Engels, which they always received.

The fourth part, the purpose of which is to acquaint the reader with the preparatory materials used by Marx and Engels and the basis of primary facts used in their literary works and the profound secret of their creative laboratory plays an important role in the MEGA structure. It is a question of extracts, summaries, brief records of thoughts in notebooks, notes in the text and on the margins of books they read, dedications of their own works, etc. Marx left a particularly substantial number of such materials to his descendants. We shall try to describe the nature and significance of these materials by taking as an example the second volume (MEGA, vierte abt., Vol 2, Berlin, 1981).

Many years of work were required to decode the multilinguistic drafts, to systematize their content, to determine the original text included in summaries and frequently to identify individual words by Marx and Engels, and to coordinate extracts from sources or lines of ideas with concepts found in familiar works by Marx and Engels, as well as to trace the very sources of their great thoughts. Let us not even mention the complexity of the referential apparatus. Thus, the index to this volume contains approximately three times the number of names in the average volume of the second edition of their works. Frequently individuals they mention cannot be found even in rare references, although their names could not be ignored.

Virtually the entire volume consists of materials which are published for the first time: Marx' historical-political notes (the "Kreuznach Notebooks" 1-5), Marx' historical-economic studies (the "Paris Notebooks"), Engels' excerpts and notes (fragments of a summary of the book by Archibald Allison "Principles of Population and Their Relation to Human Happiness"). Here we shall discuss only the so-called "Kreuznach Notebooks."



The reader at large is well acquainted with the historical-materialistic conclusions which Marx formulated in his works "On the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law," "On the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law 'Introduction,'" and the first chapter of "German Ideology." They deal with Hegel's idealistic interpretation of the nature and interrelationship between society and the state, the depiction of the acting state as "knowledgeable spirit," the firm rejection of the "all hitherto existing form of German political and legal awareness," and his major concepts to the effect that "revolutions require a passive element, a material foundation," and the fact that the development of ideological reflections should be based on the "actual process of life." "It is not consciousness which defines life but it is life which defines consciousness" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, pp 303, 421 and 423; Vol 3, p 25) etc.

As we know, Hegel interpreted the state and dynamics from idealistic positions and simply praised the Prussian state of his time. We are also familiar with his formulas, which today seem almost hateful: the state is the "spirit of reality," "the reality of the kingdom in heaven" (Hegel, "Raboty Raznykh Let" [Works from Different Periods], Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 382); private law in Germany was a model to other countries, for "it had been achieved after many centuries of research in the quiet of scientific offices, through the wisdom of the princes and their love for justice" (Hegel, "Politicheskiye Proizvedeniya" [Political Works], Moscow, 1978, p 390); in history motion takes place because "the world spirit has ordered time to march forth" (Hegel, "Raboty Raznykh Let," Vol 2, Moscow, 1978, p 357).

In his works, Marx actually reduced to naught Hegel's idealism on matters of the state and the law and the motive forces of history. However, how was he able to accomplish this? Was it by pure intuition? Far from it! Until now we were aware merely of general mentions made by Marx himself on his special efforts which preceded the critique of Hegel's system. However, no one had studied the material results of such efforts. They have been properly summed up and have become accessible now only thanks to their inclusion in the MEGA.

After the closing down of RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG, which Marx had published from 15 October 1842 to 17 March 1843, he preferred "to remove himself from the social arena to the classroom" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 13, p 6). In the small resort city of Kreuznach, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, and instead of letting time go by with his young bride, he undertook the study of real relations in society. In July-August 1843 he undertook the study of French history (particularly that of the French Revolution of the end of the 18th century) and the histories of Germany, Sweden, the Venetian Republic and the United States. We find traces of his work in the guise of five of the so-called "Kreuznach Notebooks," which contain summaries of 25 books. The authors include Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Charles Montesquieu, Niccolo Machiavelli, Francois Rene Chateaubriand, Rene Levasseur and others. Chronologically, these works cover more than 25 centuries of world history--from 600 B.C. to the 1830's.

Marx selected works and made notes from his readings from a specific viewpoint. By their own admission, the publishers of one of the works he studied had undertaken to describe "how the constitution he developed, how the third

estate was formed, what was happening in the field of administration and finances, the national economy, trade, the crafts and science" (MEGA, vierte abt., Vol 2, p 606). The quintessence of Marx' notebooks is the interaction between the state and the "civilian society," by which Hegel, like the English and French philosophers and economists, meant the area of property interests and related social relations.

In studying the specific history of the individual countries, Marx noted the common patterns of historical development and the determining significance of ownership, material production and material interests. This is manifested in the excerpts and the few and very brief remarks made by Marx himself. For example, Marx sums up the content of the second notebook as follows:

"1. The general states. Demagogues. Deputies representing the burgher estate....

"4. Relations among the three estates before the revolution: Private feudal law. On the appearance of privileges. Syncretism of privilege. The aristocracy in a constitutional monarchy.

"6. ...Property and representation....

"7. Ownership and its consequences. The St. Bartholemew Night of ownership (bearing in mind the resolutions of the constitutional assembly in France, passed on the night of 4 August 1789--the author). Structure of ownership between owners and hirelings. Ownership as a prerequisite for their participation in elections and their electivity. Possession and ownership" (ibid, p 116).

In the course of his study of the structure of feudal ownership and its various forms and influence on the structure and political institutions of society and its division into classes, Marx noted that the pyramid of class domination and subordination was crowned by the king, "the supreme feudal lord" and "first landowner" (ibid, pp 147-187).

Marx carefully summarized all the writings on the transformation of public (communal) ownership into private ownership, the various forms of feudal possessions, and the appearance of the embryonic forms of the new capitalist ownership within the feudal system.

Some of the excerpts deal with the peasant war in France in the middle of the 14th century and the history of the German Reformation and peasant wars of 1524-1525. He quoted the ideas and statements of Thomas Munzer, the leader and ideologue of the plebeian-peasant camp: "The fact that everything created becomes a piece of property: the fish in the water, the birds in the air and the plants on earth, is unbearable;" "the power must belong to the simple people" (ibid, p 175).

In his summaries of the French Revolution of the end of the 18th century and the activities of the Convention, Marx was particularly interested in the position of the Jacobins and their actions against the self-seeking positions of

the bourgeoisie, which was unwilling to consider the interests of the broad masses. In particular, he recorded Robespierre's statement that "the internal danger comes from the bourgeois; the people must be united in order to defeat the bourgeois" (ibid, p 169). We would be justified in assuming that the retrospective consideration of the bourgeois positions in a single bourgeois revolution indicated to Marx that in the other bourgeois revolutions as well this class would remain true to itself and sooner or later take the halfway and, if necessary, organize a "Thermidor." That is why the proletariat should not trust such an unreliable partner but, on the basis of its own class interests, should have its own tactics and pursue its own policy. The proletariat is the only consistent class in the democratic revolution. The direct experience of 1848-1849 confirmed this prediction entirely and fully.

Notebook No 4 carries Marx' "Remark," which coincides with his manuscript "On the Critique of Hegelian Philosophy of Law:" "Under Louis XVIII, the constitution was granted by the grace of the king (a royal charter was granted); Louis Philippe was king by the grace of the constitution (the royal power was granted). In general, we know that the conversion of the subject into a predicate and of the predicate into a subject has always represented the forthcoming revolution, created not only on the part of the revolutionaries. The king makes a law (the old monarchy), while a law makes the king (the new monarchy). The matter of the constitution and the reactionaries was exactly identical. Primogeniture is the law of the state. The state wants the law of primogeniture. Therefore, the very features of the governmental idea become the subject while the old forms of existence of the state become the predicate, whereas in terms of historical reality, matters were precisely the opposite: the idea of the state was always the predicate of the (old) forms of its existence, and Hegel merely expressed the general spirit of the time, its political theology. In this case matters are precisely the same as with his philosophical-religious pantheism. All forms of folly thus become forms of intelligence. Basically, however, the determining features here are the following: in religion--the mind, and in the state--the idea of the state. Such metaphysics is the metaphysical manifestation of reaction according to which the old world is the truth of the new concept" (ibid, p 181).

All of these fragments indicate the structural material of the dialectical-materialistic critique of Hegelian philosophy in general and his views on the state, law and history in particular. In itself, the organization of the excerpts, the emphasis on the structure, nature and actual role which one or another type of ownership relations plays in the life of society, and the super-structural categories derived from this represent the source of a truly revolutionary change in views on politics, law and ideology. In his "Kreuznach Notebooks" Marx put an end to the traditional parallel and independent position of the state and the "civilian society," and the idealistic enhancement of the state, separated from the roots which nurture it. The materialistic understanding of history and the stipulation that material production is the determining factor in historical development may be unquestionably traced above all to Marx' "Kreuznach Notebooks." Their complete publication in the MEGA is a major contribution to the Leninist interpretation of Marxist history.

As we pointed out, so far 11 volumes of MEGA have come out. Each of them is different and deserves a special and detailed analysis. Their preparation and publication constitute a difficult, scrupulous yet necessary and highly scientific work. It is necessary in order to re-create the exciting picture of the great pains of endeavor and creativity which marked the birth of the great science--the proletarian outlook--and of all its components in determining all the features and nuances of the brilliant thoughts of Marx and Engels. MEGA is also a monument to two giants who taught the working class how to become aware of its status, armed it theoretically in the struggle for social liberation and indicated to mankind the path to a bright future.

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## UNITY AND INTERACTION BETWEEN NATURAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 30-39

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor Academician P. Fedoseyev. This article, written for KOMMUNIST, is based on P. N. Fedoseyev's address at the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting on the occasion of his presentation with the Karl Marx Gold Medal]

[Text] Karl Marx' heart stopped beating almost a century ago but his immortal ideas live and inspire the entire revolutionary world. Marxism, which V. I. Lenin developed in accordance with the new historical epoch, is not only a socialist theory but the vital practice of real socialism, the ideological power of the liberation movement of the working class and the social progress of mankind.

Marx, who was a fearless and tireless revolutionary in politics, was also a decisive and consistent revolutionary in science. The transforming importance of Marxism in terms of gaining a scientific outlook is that, on the basis of the evolutionary ideas in natural sciences, Marx was able to extend the dialectical concept of development to the study of nature and to introduce into the knowledge of social life the concept of the law of natural history and to develop a materialistic view of history. In this case, Marxism studies not only the objective laws governing the functioning but also those governing the development of society. After establishing the correlation between social relations and the level of development of production forces, Marx proved that there were no invariable and eternal social structures. Each socioeconomic system is a specific social organism which legitimately arises, develops and converts into a new social system.

Therefore, both in nature and in history, the qualitative features of large and small systems do not arise accidentally but are genetically interrelated and develop one from the other. The socioeconomic systems which follow each other represent specific historical stages in the development of human society from a lower to a higher level.

It was thanks to this that the principle of historicism and a materialistic interpretation of all processes in nature and society were established in the methodology of the natural and social sciences. This created a firm theoretical foundation which ensures the unity and interconnection between the natural and the social sciences.

The theory of the knowledge of dialectical materialism, formulated by Marx and Engels and subsequently developed by Lenin, is convincingly proved and fruitfully manifested in the individual natural and social sciences.

As we know, the view according to which an unbridgeable gap exists between the natural sciences and the humanities is becoming increasingly widespread in contemporary Western philosophy and sociology. The supporters of this view claim that the social sciences have their own subjects which apply to specific values--moral, aesthetic, religious, etc. In their view, the natural sciences essentially exclude the value approach to phenomena, setting as their task the summation of empirical data and the formulation of laws which define the current of observed processes, which covers the entire body of research in this area.

This metaphysical confrontation between the social and natural sciences reflects the twin role of science in the capitalist society: its help to technical progress and the use by capitalism of its achievements for the sake of higher profits and, consequently, for increasing the exploitation of the working people. It is on this basis that the bourgeois and, essentially, profoundly cynical conviction has developed that science is indifferent to humanistic ideals and that its only interest is to discover and describe new facts. Current historical experience has convincingly proved the frequently catastrophic consequences of such an apparently impartial, objectivistic attitude displayed by many Western scientists toward social problems which arise as a result of the application of their scientific discoveries. It is hardly necessary to prove in our time that the natural sciences exist and develop not in a social vacuum, and that, depending on political objectives and social programs, the practical utilization of science can be not only beneficial but quite detrimental to the present and the future of mankind. The awareness of social responsibility which develops in the natural scientists necessarily focuses their attention on the social sciences, for it is only the scientific understanding of social life that can indicate to a scientist, whatever his field of research may be, what to do and how to do it so that the results of the study of natural processes are used for the good of society.

In our time, therefore, the question of the connection between the natural and social sciences has been raised by sociopolitical practice itself, which determines its extreme relevance.

For many years the main concern of our social sciences has been the content and the direction in which our epoch has been developing. The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the laws and prospects of social development, the programmatic documents of the CC CPSU and the international communist movement and the essential stipulations and conclusions found in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works have been the guiding principles and bases for the study of these problems.

Naturally, the understanding of the entire complexity of our epoch, taking the scientific and technical revolution into consideration, must be based on achievements in all scientific fields.

In this respect, the question of whether a connection exists between--and whether a bridge could be built to connect--the latest knowledge of nature and the problems of contemporary social development has triggered a great deal of interest. Naturally, considerations of such matters have drawn attention to the philosophical problems of the natural and the social sciences, in which the common nature of the basic principles of these main areas of human knowledge is manifested most of all. It is precisely philosophy that encompasses and synthesizes the common features of phenomena, for which reason it is used as the common methodology of all sciences and the common theory of natural and social developments.

In the final account, it is the unity of the world that provides a common foundation for all fields of knowledge. Marx and Engels were the first to substantiate the concept that the world is an integral system, i.e., an inter-related entity, and that the knowledge of this system means knowledge of nature and social history.

In the course of time, the outstanding natural scientists came to accept this idea. Let us recall the familiar statement by Max Planck on the unity of scientific knowledge. "Science," he said, "is an eternal entity. Its classification into individual areas is based less on the nature of things than on the limited capacity of human knowledge. In reality, there is an unbroken chain stretching from physics and chemistry through biology and anthropology to the social sciences, a chain which can be broken at any given point only arbitrarily" ("Max Planck." 1858-1958. Collection on the occasion of the centennial of his birth. Moscow, 1958, p 46).

Naturally, the differentiation of knowledge has objective foundations, for the unity of the world, as an integral system, does not exclude but presumes qualitatively different phenomena. This dialectics of unity and variety determines the common nature of the natural and social sciences together with the essential differences between them.

The basic and most difficult problem of science is to clarify the establishment of qualitative systems characteristics, i.e., the transition from the simple to the complex. This mandatorily presumes their study and reduction from the complex to the simple. Thus, the basic activities of the brain, as the organ of thought, begins with sensations. As Lenin pointed out, all matter has a property which is essentially related to sensation, the property of reflection (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 18, p 91). The ability to reflect is inherent in animate and inanimate nature. However, man's reflective activity is a product of the lengthy development of matter. It is its new qualitative condition. In the course of time, science will elucidate the physical and chemical foundations and laws of reflection and its specific form--sensation. However, this does not eliminate the problem of clarifying the process of development of the nervous system and the nature and characteristics of human knowledge.

Strikingly similar yet qualitatively entirely different processes occur in nature and society. The most common laws of development are specifically manifested in nature and society. In both nature and society there exist not

only harmony but collisions, and not only struggle but cooperation (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 34, p 134). Here it is important to see the dialectics of similarities and essential differences among systems in the various natural and social phenomena.

The inadequacy in Darwin's views is not that he developed the idea of the struggle for existence in the organic world by analogy with the competitive struggle in bourgeois society. To a certain extent, this analogy is accurate, providing that we do not absolutize it. At one point Marx even said that "Darwin's work is very significant. It suits me as the natural scientific foundation in understanding the historical class struggle" (ibid, Vol 30, p 475). The social Darwinists, who extended the law of the struggle for existence from biology to society, proclaimed it universal and eternal, perpetuating the competitive struggle of "all against all" and class antagonisms, unable to understand the historically transient nature of the capitalist system, the social classes and the class struggle.

The study of each subject is essentially the study of its components and their interaction, as well as the interaction between a given object and other objects, as well as its place and role in the objective world.

The natural sciences study the interconnection and interrelationship between material objects on the macro- and microlevels, between cosmic bodies and so-called elementary particles and their various combinations, as well as in organic systems. The main feature in the social sciences is knowledge of the new quality, the new form of objective relations, which are relations among people, i.e., social relations. There is a variety of social relations, ranging from the family and labor collective to class, intranational, international and universal, global.

History is making headlong progress today. "The 20th century," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "will bring about more change than any previous century."

The unusual historical dynamism and exceptional variety of social realities today persistently require the theoretical interpretation of the motive forces and laws of social development. The study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations in the different socioeconomic systems today--in the capitalist world and in socialist society--is basic in this respect. The overall laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of the new society are clarified in the light of this dialectics.

It is important to trace more specifically the dialectics of production forces and production relations in terms of the study of the revolutionary changes in society and the problems of the scientific and technical revolution. Briefly stated, the heart of the matter is the following: Starting with the 20th century, the development of production forces inevitably led to a higher level of production socialization, concentration and centralization. This laid the foundation for a conversion to the social ownership of productive capital, i.e., it prepared the material foundations for the socialist revolution. On the other hand, that same high level of production socialization, which makes major investments in science and the creation of powerful scientific and



production complexes possible, became the economic base of the scientific and technical revolution which developed in the middle of the 20th century. Therefore, the process of production development and socialization created prerequisites for the socialist revolution and for headlong scientific and technical progress. The accelerated industrial development enabled us to arm basic and applied research with powerful technical facilities and most complex and accurate instruments and systems. In turn, it demanded further scientific progress. Here again the legitimate interconnection between the development of science and social production forces is manifested.

We can see that the social revolutions and outstanding scientific and technical successes achieved in our century do not accidentally coincide in time, but are internally and necessarily interrelated, for they have been created by the growth of production forces and the requirement of their further development. Here we see in specific historical circumstances the effect of the general law of historical dynamics discovered by Marx--the law of consistency and conflict between production forces and production relations. The revolutionary changes in society were created by the need to eliminate obsolete capitalist relations, which became fatal to society, and to bring about a form of ownership consistent with the nature of production forces.

The new higher social system offers new and more favorable conditions for the development of science. The utilization of the latest scientific achievements plays a substantial role in the development of production forces.

The study of the dialectics of the contemporary period in world history as a period of transition, collapse of capitalism and establishment of the communist social system is increasingly becoming the main task in the area of social knowledge. Lenin's conclusion on the nature of this new period in the historical process, which began with the Great October Revolution, remains entirely valid. "The destruction of capitalism and its traces, and the introduction of the foundations of a communist order," he wrote, "is the content of the new epoch in universal history which is beginning now" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 425).

The birth of anything new and the appearance of one or another qualitative condition in nature and society are the result of a lengthy evolution. However, this occurs not through gradual growth but spasmodically, and in the case of radical changes, it is accompanied by stormy and even explosive processes.

In universal history, the transitional epoch from one system to another is distinguished by exceptional complexity and contradictoriness. From the historical experience of our country and, today, of many other countries, we know that the transitional period in each one of them is a period of irreconcilable struggle between dying capitalism and aborning socialism. Radical socio-economic changes occur in the course of a most stubborn opposition on the part of the capitalist elements, manifested in a great variety of forms.

The communists prefer the peaceful development of the building of socialism. In principle, this is possible and has been practically confirmed in several countries in the which the party of the working class and the socialist state are pursuing a consistent class policy, skillfully restricting and pressing the antisocialist elements and steadily strengthening the positions of socialism.

We remember Lenin's instruction to the effect that under socialism antagonism does not disappear while contradictions remain. However, Lenin had in mind a fully established socialism, i.e., a socialism which had won a complete victory over the antisocialist elements. It is only in the developed socialist society, in which the sociopolitical unity of the people has been established, that social antagonisms and processes of antagonistic nature disappear. We know that there are mutually exclusive contradictions, which lead to antagonism, and mutually complementing contradictions, in which the contradiction continues to act but already as a motive force of progress. In particular, such is the case of mature socialism with the two sides of social production--production forces and production relations. The contradictions which arise here and the new problems and difficulties can be resolved through planned and organized work.

Elements of antagonistic contradictions remain until the full and final victory of socialism has been achieved by a country. The socialist system cannot become firmly established without the prior defeat of the antisocialist elements.

In each country socialism is born in the circumstances of an acute class struggle, and it would be entirely erroneous to conceive of a revolutionary transition otherwise. Understandably, the transitional period to socialism on a global scale is even more complex and contradictory. We must take into consideration above all the uneven nature of the global revolutionary process, and the different times at which the individual countries take the path of socialism. This is based on the intensified effect of the law of uneven capitalist economic and political development. The economic prerequisites for a transition to socialism are the most advanced in the most developed capitalist countries. However, here the bourgeoisie maintains its strongest positions and is fiercely opposing revolutionary change. To this day we see the effect of the circumstance noted by Marx that it is more difficult to start a revolution in the centers of capitalism, in its citadels, than on its periphery. "In the extremities of the bourgeois organism," Marx wrote metaphorically, "violent upheavals will naturally take place earlier than in its heart, where greater compensatory possibilities exist" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 7, p 100).

The revolutionary break in the imperialist chain occurred initially in the relatively less developed capitalist countries. Subsequently, peoples existing under colonial slavery and held at the lower steps of historical development took the path of radical revolutionary change. This is a question not only of a transition from an underdeveloped bourgeois society to socialism but of the transition of countries in the precapitalist and, in a number of cases, even the prefeudal stage of development, to a new social system. In such countries the difficulties are increased by the smallness of the working class, the absence of existing material prerequisites for a transition to socialism and cultural and technical backwardness. Furthermore, the progressive socioeconomic and political changes are encountering the fierce opposition of global imperialism and all reaction. U.S. imperialism is using all available means with a view to retaining its neocolonialist positions everywhere and achieving global hegemony. Wherever possible, imperialist and other reactionary circles resort even to the use of armed force and intervention with a view to stopping

the flow of revolutionary change. Of late mankind has found itself in the midst of a number of alarming and dangerous international crises created by aggressive imperialist policy, U.S. imperialism above all, and Beijing's hegemonistic and expansionistic course.

The increased complexity of the dynamics and contradictoriness of contemporary global developments is also related to the development of the scientific and technical revolution, which has become one of the most important universal-historical and global processes of our time. Facing obsolete bourgeois production relations, the scientific and technical revolution brought about an even greater aggravation of capitalist contradictions. The intensifying conflict between the predatory interests of the monopolies and the human habitat was added to the basic antagonism between labor and capital. The growth of mass unemployment and poverty, unrestrained inflation and monetary upheavals, ecological and energy crises and the increasing amount of plunder of less developed countries are the clear manifestations of the disease of capitalism, which is becoming old and aggravated.

The scientific and technical revolution is a natural factor of social development in the global socialist system. It is consistent with the radical social changes the beginning of which was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Socialism consciously puts the scientific and technical revolution into the service of social progress. The scientific and technical revolution is the peak in the development of science and the utilization of knowledge for the good of society, for which reason, naturally, it is the scientific and technical base of the social system which is the peak of social progress, i.e., the communist system.

The new socialist world appears after severe and long birth pains. However, it has already brought to many peoples freedom and a secure life and, in the future, it is destined to give happiness and prosperity to all mankind. The basic fact of our epoch, which determines the entire system of international relations, is the confrontation between the two conflicting global socioeconomic systems--the obsolete, the capitalist, and the new, ascending, communist system. Hence, it is clear that the two systems into which the contemporary world is divided are not conventional competing coalitions of countries, as have frequently existed in history, but two different socioeconomic systems which exist on a parallel basis but represent qualitatively different stages in the historical development of society--its past and its future. No "convergence" between them can ever exist.

However, we are far from interpreting the confrontation between the two global socioeconomic systems in the spirit of a vulgar-metaphysical concept of the automatic division of mankind and the absolute separation of the world into two parallel and internally unrelated currents of history. One of the confirmations of this fact is the increasing role which global problems play in contemporary human life--above all the prevention of a nuclear war, ensuring peace on earth, environmental protection, resolution of the demographic, food, energy and raw material problems, elimination of the socioeconomic and cultural backwardness of the former colonies, etc. It can be said that it is precisely global problems that are the touchstone with which we check today

the seriousness and substantiation of the practical recommendations regarding the strengthening of cooperation and international security and which give a specific positive content to the ideals of peace and a peaceful structure of international relations.

Once Marx and Engels pointed out that as long as people exist the history of nature and the history of people will be interdependent (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 16).

This idea of the interconnection between nature and mankind is being given today an increasingly more profound interpretation in the natural and social sciences. This has been manifested particularly clearly at their junction, particularly in modern ecology, the development of global problems and the comprehensive study of the prospects of human civilization.

We see that today Marx' assumption to the effect that in the course of time the natural sciences will include the science of man to the same extent that the science of man will include the natural sciences is becoming increasingly justified (ibid., Vol 42, p 124).

We know that many Western philosophers see only the scientific and technical base of social problems, which they take out of the complex social interconnections, the study of which is conducted within the social sciences. Hence the excesses of scientism and technocratism, technophobia, utopian concepts of man's return to "primeval nature" and pessimistic "zero growth" ideas.

Generally speaking, the critics of communism and social progress darkly predict that, bearing in mind the exhaustion of natural resources, the full satisfaction of the vital needs of the people is impossible, i.e., that the basic communist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his needs" cannot be achieved. We are convinced, however, of the unlimited possibilities of scientific and technical progress and their sensible utilization on the basis of the improvement of social structures and management methods. In the final account, it is precisely imperialism, in its pursuit after an infinite increase in profits and arms, which promotes destructive wars with a view to achieving world domination, that is the main culprit for the wasteful attitude toward natural resources and thoughtless waste of social production forces.

The salvation of mankind from the incredibly expensive arms race and the conversion of the entire scientific and technical and industrial potential to peaceful production and the liberation of all nations from exploitation and oppression on the part of the imperialists and the reactionaries will open such an incredible scope and prospects for the development of production forces, the growth of material goods and spiritual culture, which not even the boldest dreamers could imagine in past centuries.

At this point, we inevitably turn to the general scientific conclusions regarding the laws governing natural and social developments.

The contemporary natural sciences provide an unusually clear proof of the general philosophical law according to which new characteristics and new forces become apparent in the conversion from one structural level of matter to another and from one form of movement to another. This was particularly clearly seen in the studies on the atomic and molecular levels, discoveries in nuclear physics and the latest astrophysical data on processes occurring in the universe. The splitting or synthesizing of atoms, the conversion to "elementary particles" or, conversely, from physics to chemistry and then to biology, and the conversion from the physical to the mental release new sources of energy and reveal entirely new qualities. Physical-chemical biology and genetics led to new levels in the study of life and revealed the inordinately rich possibilities of biotechnology.

The qualitatively new stage of evolution of matter is related to the appearance of man and the development of his capabilities. The main feature which separated man from the animal world was the production of means of existence and production tools. The appearance and development of the human mind became an inexhaustible source of accumulation and an inexhaustible well of knowledge and experience. It became a powerful weapon in enriching spiritual life and the intellectual potential of mankind. It enabled us to create the greatest possible cultural values and proved to be a necessary and a most important prerequisite for the progress of all human civilization.

The new social conditions and development possibilities are born in the historical process of conversion of one social structure or socioeconomic system to another, as a result of radical qualitative changes. Each new system is superior to the preceding one in the growth of production forces, which is justifiably considered the main objective criterion of progress.

Capitalism defeated the feudal system by creating the type of tremendous production forces compared to which the material production methods of the preceding system seemed antediluvian, achieving this through the socialization and concentration of the production process on the basis of machine technology. However, it is the new communist social system that has been called upon to bring to light to the fullest extent the infinite productive force of socialized labor and scientific and technical progress.

Our optimism is based on the conclusions of Marxism-Leninism and the real achievements of the socialist society. Socialism put an end to the exploitation of man by man. It ensured everyone the real right to engage in socially useful labor and a steady improvement of the living standard. For the first time in history, major social problems such as the creation of universally accessible systems of secondary and higher education, public health, and universal social insurance were radically resolved under socialist conditions. Only under socialism were conditions for the cultural development of all members of society created. The national problem was resolved on a truly democratic basis. Within the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR, all nations and nationalities, including those of the former backward outlying areas, reached the heights of social progress. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, which is being celebrated this year, is a noteworthy confirmation of the historical achievements of socialism.

The realism of our social optimism is also determined by the fact that we see the entire complexity of the contemporary global circumstances and the difficulties on the way to the building of communism. Today we can no longer imagine the future of a communist society separately from the solution of the raw material, energy, food and environmental protection problems. We do not ignore the difficulties which will inevitably face mankind as a result of a reduction in nonrecoverable natural resources. It would be erroneous to imagine communism as a society in which all goods and all "gifts of nature" will be abundantly bestowed on the people and that all difficulties will disappear. On the contrary, the more we advance the greater becomes the need to mobilize all social resources and the capabilities of every individual in order to ensure a rich life and to develop under the conditions of worsening global problems. Some problems will be replaced by others and society, like the individual, must already prepare itself for this. Communism can be established on earth only as a sensible, organized society in which everyone will work according to his capabilities and will receive according to his needs. However, the needs themselves must be sensibly organized. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have always pointed this out, and today we must promote the principles of communist upbringing more persistently. This will reduce the disproportion between the expectations and demands of individuals operating on the basis of consumerist standards, and the reality of the socialist society --disproportions which our opponents use in the struggle against real socialism.

The tremendous creative reserves leading to real social progress are found in man himself, in his development, all-round advancement and attitude toward labor, life and other people. Marxism-Leninism has always considered the shaping of man "as the most integral and universally possible product of society as the determining reason for the development of society in the course of millenia" (ibid., Vol 46, part 1, p 386); it has seen it in the release of the creative potential of the individual and his rich and harmonious development. As we know, the great humanistic mission of the communist social system, in which man is not a tool but an aim, consists of the gradual solution of this problem. It is precisely today that the extensive social development of mankind and the cultivation of all its forces and capabilities present themselves, for the first time in history, as an immediate prerequisite for the further progress of production and it is the first time that man acquires the firm objective material-technical and socioeconomic foundation for his realization within the system of socialist production relations and the trends of production forces.

The basic area of manifestation of the creative forces of man is his work. Consequently, one of the decisive conditions for the sharp increase in the significance of the human factor in defining the fate of civilization is the reorganization of the technical foundations of labor, its increased meaningfulness and its saturation with creative elements. It is precisely in this direction that under socialism the content of labor is changed by the scientific and technical revolution, which creates the corresponding production tools and means.

We never ignore the fact that man lives and works within a system of social relations. That is why it is only by improving economic, political and

spiritual relations in society that we can bring to light and develop the entire creative potential of man and realize the prerequisites for the acceleration of social development which are inherent in production forces.

Mankind learned how to release the energy of the atom and is coming closer to controlling nuclear energy for constructive purposes. This is a most complex scientific and technical problem, the solution of which will open unusual opportunities for economic development. No less important, however, is the ability effectively to control the contemporary grades and growing production forces and the huge national economic complex. That is why the communist party places improvements in the methods for socialist economic management, radical improvements in national economic planning and management and the increased effectiveness of all production units in the center of all economic life.

Real socialism has already released the powerful "social energy" of the popular masses. It has revealed the tremendous creative opportunities of the plannedly organized social production system. This new social system is called upon to lead all mankind to unparalleled heights.

Looking into the 21st century, at the turn of the millenium we can say that new great accomplishments lie ahead for mankind. Metaphorically speaking, they will outstrip all the miracles of nature.

Here as well we see the great role of science. The development of science, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, is the very foundation of scientific and technical progress. The crux of the matter is effectively to combine the new types of natural energy and new technological processes discovered by nature with the "social energy" of the masses and their inexhaustible creative potential, on the basis of planned organized production and collective work.

It is along this direction that the social and natural sciences must act jointly, closely related to scientific research and the practical application of corresponding achievements in technology, industry, agriculture, medicine, education and upbringing. This is the direction given to us by the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which emphasized the need for strengthened interaction among the natural, social and technical sciences.

Vital currents between the natural and social sciences have been noted in the past as well. However, their interaction is becoming particularly efficient today. The synthesis of natural with social sciences will unquestionably continue to intensify fruitfully. Their interaction will be a major condition for further progress in our study of nature and society and in the management of natural and social processes for the good of the people and for the sake of peace and the bright future of mankind.

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## SOME PREREQUISITES FOR OPTIMIZING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 40-51

[Article by Yu. Yarkin, editor in chief of the journal SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD; published as a basis for discussion]

[Text] The processes of production concentration, specialization and combination become noticeably accelerated in the developed socialist stage; the structure of the national economy becomes substantially more complex, the interdependence among the results of the work of a great variety of public production units is intensified and the significance of the social factors determining its development is enhanced. Under these circumstances it is impossible to achieve a considerable improvement in any one unit and to achieve substantial economic results without making changes in other economic units on the basis of such improvements.

It is precisely such a systematic approach that distinguishes the set of interrelated measures to improve planning, financing, economic incentive, material and technical supplies and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, ratified in the July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism. The need for the consistent implementation of these measures was emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress and in his speech at the November 1981 Central Committee Plenum.

The single objective which imbues the program for economic reconstruction drafted by the party is the following: based on improved wages, according to the quantity and quality of labor, and by strengthening the ties between wages and end results of collective production activities to increase the activeness of millions of working people in the struggle for the accelerated development of the economy and the growth of its effectiveness. The successful implementation of this objective depends to a decisive extent on the extent to which the comprehensive and systematic approach contained in these resolutions on improving the economic mechanism will be observed in the course of their practical implementation and the systematic nature of the implementation of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction to the effect that "we must progress as we resolve the problems which arise." A number of problems have developed in the area of economic management. In our view, this creates the urgent need to take additional steps aimed at optimizing economic management conditions on all economic levels.



## The Key to Success

The successful implementation of the plans for the country's socioeconomic development, formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, exceptionally depend on the acceleration of the process of mechanization and automation of heavy manual labor. A special comprehensive program began to be formulated and implemented to this effect during the past five-year plan. However, the inadmissibly slow reduction of the percentage of people engaged in manual labor in the country proves that the economic management organs continue to underestimate the importance of the fastest possible and radical solution of this exceptionally important socioeconomic problem. In our view, however, this solution is today a necessary prerequisite for the success of any step taken to improve the economic mechanism and to accelerate the growth rates of the economy and its effectiveness. The largely artificial manpower shortage which has developed in our country and in many other socialist countries cannot be eliminated without speeding up the process of releasing the working people from heavy manual operations. As long as such shortages remain, all efforts to improve the utilization of productive capital and other resources to a more or less significant degree will be reduced to naught. Because of manpower shortages the enterprises are forced to pay higher wages for unskilled heavy labor and actually connive with unconscientious drifters, parasites and drunks, thus unwittingly increasing their number. This unfortunate deficit weakens the effectiveness of the steps taken to encourage more productive and complex work and adversely affects all educational work conducted by the party, the Komsomol and the trade unions, and hinders the strengthening of labor discipline. It was no accident that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described the slow reduction of manual labor as the "root" of the evil" at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum.

The sharp increase in the level of production mechanization and automation will also bring about a considerable improvement in labor conditions. It will make work more attractive than it is presently (particularly in connection with the increased general educational standards and spiritual and aesthetic requirements of the working people). Today this is becoming an increasingly more important factor in reducing cadre turnover, strengthening labor discipline and increasing labor productivity.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the solution of this problem requires exceptional measures and the fuller utilization of the advantages of the centralized management of the socialist economy. This may be achieved by creating a special management organ endowed with most extensive rights, such as an interdepartmental commission headed by a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, which would have jurisdiction over the production of means for the mechanization and automation of manual labor and would have all the resources necessary for this task. Such resources could even include some funds from other economic sectors, for it makes no sense to undertake the building of new enterprises without being able to supply them with manpower in a quantity and quality needed for meeting the normative requirements concerning construction deadlines and quality, mastering installed capacities and ensuring their optimal utilization.

One of the first steps to be taken in this area is to determine the real needs of the economy for all basic types of equipment currently produced or so far existing in prototypes only, on the basis of a nationwide census of manual operations, and to organize the fast satisfaction of such requirements; the operations, the mechanization and automation of which require the development and creation of new machines, equipment and technological processes must be determined efficiently; an all-union competition among inventors and rationalizers, with a view to resolving this problem, must be held, etc.

#### Maximal Interest and Maximal Responsibility

The distribution of goods under socialism is based on the individual labor contribution to the social product. However, the evaluation of the individual contribution of the working people is a very complex matter mainly because of quality differences in the content and nature of labor, skills, available workplace technical facilities, the technical and economic standard of the goods produced, etc. Under such circumstances, how can we implement the principle of distribution of good in accordance with individual contributions to the social product? How can we see to it that, although working under different circumstances, the working people dedicate maximal efforts in order to reach the highest possible end results of production activities?

The public ownership of productive capital and the scientifically substantiated economic management, based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, offer all the necessary opportunities for the implementation of this objective and for resolving the contradictions which arise here. This is achieved mainly with the help of a state policy of capital investments in the national economy and the channeling of funds, in accordance with the plans for socioeconomic development, into the construction of new and reconstruction of operating enterprises, supplying them with new equipment, the mechanization and automation of production processes, and improving and equalizing labor conditions on all economic levels.

The creation of more or less equal basic starting conditions enabling every person to develop and apply his maximal capabilities in his job is one of the most important conditions for reaching the maximal effectiveness of the state system of material labor incentive. The effectiveness of this system is determined by the consistency with which the requirements of socialist economic laws have been considered.

One of the basic characteristics of socialism, directly related to the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor, is that the socialist social ownership of productive capital combines within each job performed by the specific producer and co-owner (collective owner) social productive capital on the scale of the entire society and on the scale of economically relatively autonomous enterprises (associations) operating on a cost effectiveness basis.

The actual unification of the working people with the public productive capital which belongs to them takes place in the primary cost effectiveness economic levels, which use and handle a share of the public productive capital. Every

working person under socialism can directly exercise his status as co-owner of such capital, actively participating in the efforts to improve its utilization, above all within the framework of his enterprise.

As direct producers, the working people earn individual wages based on the quantity and quality of the work they have invested in producing goods according to the state plan. Whether or not the products are obsolete or most modern and highly effective has virtually no effect on basic wages (the part based on wage rates, the basic salary). As a rule, equally skilled workers performing the same type of work are paid the same basic wage wherever they may be working, even when because of different technical production standards and organization, some of them produce a considerably greater number of similar items than others. While this wage system encourages individual labor productivity, it does not sufficiently influence end results of production activity. However, as the joint owners of the public production system, the working people are profoundly interested in improving such results and increasing the contribution of the individual worker and the entire collective to reaching them.

Therefore, the very nature of the public ownership of productive capital dictates the need to develop in all working people a material interest in the end results of collective labor. The contemporary stage of development of this form of interest began with the establishment of incentive enterprise funds in accordance with the decisions of the September 1965 CC CPSU Plenum and the 23d CPSU Congress. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism introduced new conditions governing the formation and utilization of incentive enterprise (association) funds, which boost the material interest of the collective in upgrading production effectiveness and work quality and the prompt procurement of goods in accordance with economic contracts. The new conditions governing the formation and utilization of enterprise incentive funds also establish the material responsibility of the working people, as co-owners of productive capital, for ensuring the consistency between finished goods and social requirements.

The effectiveness of the collective forms of material incentive increases with the increased volume of incentive funds. Therefore, the amount of the bonuses awarded to the working people from the material incentive fund will depend on the end results of collective labor. The benefits from such funds, the material incentive fund in particular, which go to the individual worker must be based on the quantity and quality of his work and the extent of his participation in improving the end results of the production activities of the collective, as well as the extent of the actual collective contribution to the social product. This makes it possible maximally to coordinate the material interests of the individual, the collective and society, and to combine their efforts aimed at accelerating production development and improving its effectiveness.

The three basic forms of material incentive of the working people in the progress of the production process--the individual, collective (group) and social--exist objectively. However, the nature and effectiveness of their realization depend on subjective activities and on the economic policy of the socialist state. Currently, such forms of material incentive are achieved (encouraged)

essentially through wages, payments from profits and other types of benefits provided from enterprise incentive and social consumption funds.

Naturally, such divisions are quite arbitrary. The actual mechanism of economic incentive is considerably more complex. Some of the social funds are also distributed in accordance with the worker's labor contribution. The saved part of the wage fund (for example, under the conditions of the Shchekino method or the method applied at the Dinamo plant in Moscow) is used to encourage the material interest of the collective in end labor results. Bonuses from the wage fund (its fluctuating part) frequently depend on indicators directly related to the results of collective labor, the quality of goods, etc.

However, even the classification of such interests into three basic forms is a scientific abstraction. Many economists and philosophers justifiably emphasize that in reality these types of interests do not exist in their pure form but "interpenetrate," and interact; the public interest is "part" of the collective and the individual interest, while the individual interest is part of the collective and social interest. However, it is always possible to determine which of these interest is predominant in each specific case.

The three basic sources of the working people's income are necessary and reciprocally complementary economic forms (and material conditions) for the reproduction of socialist production relations. The wage is the basic form of reproduction of the manpower of the direct producer. Withholdings from profits for collective funds (material incentive, sociocultural measures, housing construction and production development) are one of the basic prerequisites for the reproduction of the working people as a collective of co-owners of public productive capital and the entire system of cost effective economic units. Finally, income from state budget social funds, formed with part of the net enterprise income, is one of the forms for the reproduction of the socialist society as a whole and an additional social form of production of the direct producer and co-owner of productive capital (through the education, health care, social insurance and other systems).

In this connection, we consider erroneous the view of economists according to whom payments from incentive funds are merely a wage supplement. This view logically leads to the conclusion of the need to combine the bonuses from the wage fund and the material incentive fund within a joint bonus fund although, as we saw, each of these funds has its specific purpose. The first is aimed mainly at encouraging the growth of individual labor productivity. It helps to control the process of manpower reproduction more accurately and is part of the necessary product; the second encourages the efforts of the working people to improve their end labor results and to upgrade collective production effectiveness, i.e., it encourages their activities as co-owners of productive capital and is part of the added product.

Also erroneous from this viewpoint is the view that wages should be made directly and totally dependent on profits and paid to the working people after the enterprise has met all of its obligations to the state and the procurers. This would conflict with the requirements of one of the most important socialist laws--distribution according to labor. As we pointed out, as a direct

producer who has worked in accordance with the planned assignment, the individual working person must receive a compensation consisting of a basic earning, regardless of the way the enterprise markets the end product. Those who are responsible for the coordination between the end product of a given enterprise and the requirements of the national economy are mainly the personnel of the state management and planning organs and the enterprise managers. The involvement of the working people in such responsibility as co-owners of productive capital and the enhancement of their activeness in improving end production results must take place essentially through the bonus funds of cost effectiveness units. At the same time, naturally the enhanced material responsibility of the working people for collective work results must be paralleled by increasing their opportunity to affect the course of the production process. In other words, new specific steps must be taken to increase the participation of the working people in production management, to increase the responsibility of the administration for the fulfillment of collective contracts and to increase the accountability of the managers of the collective.

The creation of equal conditions for the development of the capabilities of all working people, encouraging the individual and collective material interest in improving the results of individual and collective labor, and the differentiation among the incomes of the working people, based on the intensiveness of their work, their initiative, inventiveness and skills, are the main prerequisites for the implementation of the great socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work."

In recent years our press has extensively discussed a number of shortcomings in the material incentive system, including the lowering of skilled labor wages compared with less complex work, which has taken place over the past 5 years. For example, the fact that the average wage of an engineering-technical worker today is almost the same as the average wage of a worker is increasingly lowering the prestige of the engineering profession and is inconsistent with outlays in energy and the time needed for acquiring engineering skills. Therefore, it does not contribute to the fuller development of man's capabilities. In the final account, this lowers the return on funds spent by society for education and holds down the growth rates of production effectiveness and the well-being of the entire population.

Naturally, the radical solution of the problem requires above all a sharp increase in social labor productivity and the creation of conditions for the more effective utilization of engineering work, clearly also by improving the training of technicians, which can be achieved by reducing somewhat the number of engineers graduated by the VUZs. However, we must already now increase the possibility of considerably raising wages (by raising the upper wage limit, for example) of engineers who are making the greatest contribution to the development of the production process and who are most initiative-minded, inventive and skilled.

Both before and after the 26th CPSU Congress and in accordance with its resolutions, a number of steps were taken to eliminate shortcomings in the wage system. Thus, the enterprises were allowed (within the limit of 1 percent of the wage fund) to pay supplements to the salaries of highly skilled engineering-technical personnel and employees, not to exceed 30 percent of the wages, and

to designers and technologists, not to exceed 50 percent of their wages. The entire wage saved by the collective as a result of reducing the personnel is now left at the disposal of the enterprises; individuals who combine skills and cover broader production areas may be paid wage supplements of up to 30 percent for engineering and technical personnel and employees and up to 50 percent in the case of workers and junior servicing personnel.

The conversion to the normative computation of the wage fund provides extensive opportunities for granting material incentives for more productive labor. However, the extent to which the production collectives utilize their opportunities will be determined with the help of a number of conditions, above all that of the share of the wage fund which the collective can save. In turn, this will depend not only on the ability of the collective to utilize opportunities for increasing labor productivity but on the extent to which the state (the ministry) will meet the needs of enterprises for resources needed for the technical renovation of the production process. Finally, the production collectives must be given the opportunity to make full use of the rights stipulated in the long-approved regulations of the socialist enterprise and association, but which are still being substantially violated. Thus, for example, the right of the production collective to handle the assets of the enterprise development fund was restricted and, as we know, today a considerable share of such funds is centralized.

A no less important prerequisite is the objective, the scientific substantiation of the system of planned indicators used to assess the results of enterprise activities and the progressive nature and technical substantiation of applied labor norms.

The inclusion of the net production normative among the basic production activity indicators, in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, is precisely aimed at ensuring a more accurate determination of the contribution of each collective to the public product and to upgrading public production effectiveness. However, this new indicator can play such a role only if combined with the other measures stipulated in the decree, above all the new procedure for the formation of incentive enterprise funds based on the stable norms of the net (balance sheet) profit, the size of which, as we know, depends on total resource conservation. The normative computation of wages and the addition of saved wages to the incentive funds will raise the earnings of the working people who are making a greater contribution to increasing production efficiency and will intensify the effectiveness of the entire system for encouraging the production activities of labor collectives. However, the question of the optimal size of this norm has not yet been answered. If it is based on the volume of goods marketed, the interest of the enterprises to increase the material intensiveness of the goods will remain; if it is in terms of the volume of the normative net output, under the existing economic management conditions, their increased labor intensiveness will be stimulated.

#### Plan Stability and Cost Effectiveness Continuity

One of the most important measures aimed at strengthening the ties between wages and end labor results is to correlate bonuses with the fulfillment of

the plan for production deliveries in terms of time and variety, as contractually stipulated. However, this measure cannot yield the expected results without ensuring the total balancing of annual plans. The absence of such balancing leads to interruptions in the work of many economic units.

For example, we know that the volume of annual work planned in construction is not fully backed by resources and that, at the same time, the plan stipulates deliveries to operating enterprises from projects which are to be completed within the planned period. However, even under ideal circumstances, as a result of inavailability of resources the construction workers are unable to complete all the planned projects. Furthermore, the organization of construction work itself is far from being perfect. It is obvious that under such circumstances some of the operating enterprises will inevitably fail to receive a certain share of the raw materials, materials, parts or assemblies planned for that specific year and, in turn, will be unable to meet their full obligations to the consumers.

The personnel of enterprises, ministries and planning organs spend a tremendous amount of effort and time to eliminate disproportions arising from plan imbalances. Resources are used inefficiently and many people are being deprived of bonuses undeservedly. All of this harms economic development, hinders the growth of labor and creative activeness on the part of the people, undermines the faith in leading economic organs and lowers the effectiveness of the party's ideological-educational work.

The solution to this situation may be to separate the existing system of planned economic management into two subsystems--guaranteed and efficient planning and procurements and the corresponding formulation of two annual plans--basic and supplemental. The basic annual plan would include deliveries of items to operating enterprises only, mainly on the basis of the direct relations and contracts signed with material and technical supply organs. In this case, the state reserves would additionally guarantee the functioning of this subsystem. The goods produced by enterprises commissioned during the year would be put at the disposal of the operative planning and supply subsystem, whose personnel, together with the ministries, departments and enterprises, would ensure its efficient utilization in accordance with a supplemental plan formulated along with the main one, wherever the corresponding production facilities and labor resources are available. Surpluses of such output could be added to the state reserves which, in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, are to be expanded.

In our view, no additional administrative apparatus would be required for the implementation of this measure, for the stabilization of the procurement system within the limits of the guaranteed plan will make it possible to relieve a considerable number of planning workers. The need for enterprise procurement personnel will decline while that for "pushers" will be reduced if not eliminated entirely.

The need to upgrade the quality of the plans and to ensure their total material and technical support can be seen also in the example of the development of the brigade method of labor organization and wages, which must become the basic

method during the current five-year plan. It would be difficult to resolve this problem with the current planning procedure. Actually, how could the economic managers ensure uninterrupted supplies to most construction brigades if, as we already mentioned, the planned volumes of construction work are not fully backed by material resources? This, in turn, condemns a number of enterprises to the violation of cooperated deliveries and, therefore, restricts the development of brigade forms of labor in industry.

It is hoped that the suggested change in the planning and procurement systems will make it possible to streamline economic relations, to improve the efficiency of the economic mechanism and at the same time to facilitate the elimination of remaining elements of wage equalization. The balancing of the plan and its proper support with resources will strengthen the confidence of every working person and individual collective that they will not have to pay for "someone else's sins" and that the better and with greater initiative they work, the higher will be the material and moral rating of their labor contribution become.

However, they should be made to pay in full for their own "sins." Strict material liability for damages caused to society as a result of the breakdown of procurement delivery schedules, faulty production, resource overexpenditures, etc, is a no less important condition for the optimal function of the economic incentive system under socialism than is encouragement of frontrankers.

The fines currently levied on enterprises compensate for a very minor part of the damage they may cause to the national economy. No sufficient grounds exist to increase the strictness of such penalties under the existing plan imbalance. Furthermore, any significant increase in penalties imposed on the violators of planning discipline under current circumstances is difficult also because the enterprises do not have their own funds for this and can pay such fines only by reducing the volume of profits paid to the state budget.

In our view, the solution of this problem is related above all to the further development of cost effectiveness relations, the creation of accumulations in enterprises and associations and the strengthening of the continuity of the cost effectiveness system.

Ensuring the continuity of cost effectiveness, which today is restricted mainly by the temporal frameworks of annual plans, is one of the most important prerequisites for increasing the material and moral interest of enterprise, association and ministry workers in resolving not only current but also long-term problems, extensively applying the achievements of science and technology and systematically improving all work quality indicators. To this effect, the cost effectiveness economic units should be allowed to keep a certain percentage of funds after meeting their annual obligations regarding guaranteed payments to the budget, and acquire their own accumulations. The solution of this problem is made possible by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, which indicates the need to create financial reserves in economic units operating on a cost effectiveness basis.



To this day, approximately one-third of all enterprise profits are paid to the budget as a so-called free surplus. Extensive practical experience proves that this system has no stimulating influence on the growth of output or increased effectiveness. This leads to the conclusion that we must replace the payment of the available profit surplus to the budget with another economically more expedient form of payment under which, on the one hand, the overall amount of budget revenue will not be reduced while, on the other, enterprise collectives would be encouraged to adopt intensive plans based on the mobilization of intraeconomic reserves. There is basically no objection to this idea and many specific proposals have been submitted to this effect.

We believe that the most promising solution was the one suggested by economist S. Vorontsov in his article "The Reform and Enterprise Finances" (KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1968). The author called for introducing differentiated withholding norms based on percentages of balance-sheet profits, determined in accordance with a graduated rate scale according to the level of profitability. In such a case, the greater the profitability of an enterprise, the greater the share of its profits which will go to the budget. In order not to reduce the incentive of the enterprises in terms of increasing production profitability, the scale of payment increases would apply not to the entire amount of profit but only to the share resulting from a growth in profitability.

The new budget payments procedure would enable properly functioning economic units operating on a cost effectiveness basis to develop specific financial reserves (accumulations) in addition to those of the incentive funds. The better and the more effectively the enterprise or association collective works, as a rule, the greater such financial reserves (accumulations) become. They would accumulate over a longer period of time the economic result (not detrimental to the national economy) achieved by the production collective as a result of lowering material intensiveness, improving the quality of output and the utilization of productive capital and manpower, etc. The cost effectiveness economic units could use such funds every year to supplement their incentive funds, including the production development fund (providing that they have met all the stipulations of their procurement plan) and pay higher fines for violating cooperated deliveries or the development or production of imperfect and ineffective types of new equipment.

The accumulations of enterprises and associations could be used to cover also some outlays for the development, application and mastery of new equipment and, in time, for purchasing the necessary equipment. The funds of such enterprise accumulations could be kept in the bank and, therefore, put into economic circulation. There would be no danger of unnecessary and unsubstantiated personal use of such accumulated funds, for the supplementing of enterprise incentive funds for increasing the material interest of the collective in using production reserves, as we pointed out, would be restricted by specific conditions and norms which would ensure the growth of labor productivity and an increased contribution to the creation of new consumer values.

In addition to expanding their incentive funds, the creation of enterprise accumulations would enable them to organize on a firmer material base their efforts to increase individual and collective responsibility for economic

management results. Material liability for the results of economic decisions, naturally, should be increased at all economic levels. For example, if the transportation organizations fail in the prompt delivery of goods, they should pay for the damages from their own accumulations. In precisely the same manner, if a procurement contract has been violated by material and technical procurement organs, they should bear full, including material, responsibility.

In our view, the application of such a procedure for the creation and utilization of enterprise (association) financial reserves will actively contribute to ensuring the continuity of annual plans and cost effectiveness, the intensification of material responsibility and the enhancement of the long-term interest on the part of the working people in the steady growth of output and its effectiveness, on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the fastest and fullest possible utilization of its achievements.

#### Decisive Sector of Scientific and Technical Progress

The combination of science with production and the influence of progressive ideas on production are achieved through machines and technology. The extent of this influence depends on a rather substantial number of factors. However, the effectiveness of new equipment and technologies is of decisive significance. Unless the designed machines and technological processes do not include a sharp growth in productivity, compared with existing ones, by the time they have been mastered, taking into consideration the headlong pace of scientific and technical progress, such new types of equipment and technologies may turn out to be morally obsolete and fail to yield expected results. K. Marx pointed out that science can make the forces of nature serve labor only through technical inventions (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 16, p 128).

It can be said that in the final account the pace of development of public production depends most of all precisely on the activities of creative people such as inventors. Without belittling in the least the importance of ordinary toil, we cannot fail to see that the steady increase in the volume of goods produced needed by social progress can be achieved mainly as a result of the creation and utilization of more advanced productive capital and improved methods of labor and production organization on the basis of the more profound mastery of the secrets of nature and the laws of development of human society. Therefore, the level of scientific and technical developments and the rates and scale of practical utilization of inventions are the most important indicators of the effectiveness of the economic mechanism and its consistency with the requirements of time and the development of production forces.

Currently a clearly adverse situation has developed in our national economy regarding the creation and utilization of scientific and technical innovations. Only a small part of the new developments achieved in sectorial scientific institutes and design bureaus are now at a level higher than or equal to worldwide achievements in the same areas. Less than one-third of registered inventions, in themselves far from always the most promising of their kind, are applied. Furthermore, innovations are frequently applied in a small number or even in one or two enterprises. In other words, society makes use only of an insignificant share of their potential.

"The decisive and most sensitive sector today is the application of scientific discoveries and inventions," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress. He also pointed out the need "to eliminate anything which makes the process of the application of new developments more difficult, slower and more painful." In our view, the solution of this problem greatly depends on the consistency with which the entire economic management mechanism will take into consideration the fact that under socialism production activities, including technical creativity, take place, on the one hand, within relatively autonomous cost effectiveness enterprises and organizations and, on the other, that all of them are parts of a national economic system controlled from a single center.

Meeting the national interests (utilization of inventions, particularly major ones, mastery of new equipment and technology, organizing the production of new items, etc) by economic units operating on a cost effectiveness basis involves substantial outlays. Society, as represented by the state or its sectorial management organs--the ministries--must compensate for them. In this connection, a number of centralized sectorial funds were set up (bonuses for the creation and application of new equipment and for mastering new equipment, which was subsequently combined into a single science and technology development fund in a number of sectors, etc), whose effectiveness could and should be upgraded.

The basic prerequisite for and main direction in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and upgrading production efficiency is the fuller utilization of the advantages of centralized economic management in controlling the process of the further socialization of labor on the basis of its specialization.

Labor specialization in the creation and development of technical innovations opens the way to resolving contradictions between long-term and current enterprise interests and between their objective desire for a stable basic output and the needs of society for replacing obsolete goods promptly and efficiently with new, more productive and more economical items. This contradiction can be eliminated by organizing the relatively autonomous work of invention into a particular sector whose purpose will be to supply the enterprises with progressive types of new equipment and technology ready for application.

This task is partially met by the scientific-production associations. However, they work within the framework of their sectors and their interests are limited, one way or another. Quite frequently innovations of intersectorial importance yield the most substantial results.

One of the possible ways to ensure the fuller solution of this problem is the creation of a network of intersectorial scientific and technical centers and cost effectiveness application firms, headed by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology or any other governmental organ, which would develop and provide the finishing touches to a great variety of technical and economic innovations either on its own initiative or on the request of enterprises.

The implementation of a suggestion which was formulated some time ago--establishing a single source for rewards to authors for inventions, regardless of the area of their possible application, would be an effective measure: the special centralized cost effectiveness fund out of which acknowledged authors, who have been granted authorship certificates for inventions, would be paid. We believe that it would be expedient to create on the basis of this fund an organization which would not only provide the enterprises with all the necessary documentation but skilled technical aid as well against payment.

The enterprises, which are economic units operating on a cost effectiveness basis, can develop a great deal of economic interest in the creation and mastery of scientific and technical achievements only if the production process itself has been prepared from the organizational and technical viewpoints for the acceptance and efficient utilization of the new equipment.

This means that the essentially general-purpose enterprises, primarily specializing in the production of specific items, which manufacture most of the parts and assemblies they need, should be replaced by large and, as a rule, comprehensive specialized production facilities (combines, firms, trusts and other production and scientific-production associations) which would include scientific research and design-engineering subdivisions and a developed experimental base. The advantages of the large associations, the extensive development of which was undertaken by our economy as early as the Eighth Five-Year Plan, have been convincingly proved by practical experience. The declined growth rates of labor productivity in recent years and even their lagging behind the planned assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan prove the tremendous size of unused opportunities for production concentration and specialization. The main reason for this is easy to find. It is the departmental barriers that hinder the process of production concentration and specialization, thus slowing down further economic progress.

A number of party decisions have openly stated that the organization of associations must be based above all on economic expediency and that the inclusion in them of previously autonomous enterprises should ignore departmental affiliations. However, as the experience of the past three five-year plans has indicated, here departmental interests obviously obstruct the national interests. Since the sectorial ministries are in charge of organizing associations, as a rule new cost effectiveness economic units are created only within narrow departmental frameworks.

However, not every ministry has had or has several enterprises compactly located, even in the biggest industrial centers, with which to set up the type of association which could intensify the specialization of production units, increase the series nature of output and benefit from all other positive consequences of the production concentration process. No single ministry voluntarily surrenders "its own" enterprise to the association of another ministry. Departmental "pride" alone is hardly to be blamed for this. The essential fact is that transferring an enterprise to another department affects the overall volume of sectorial output, the budget funds allocated to the sector, etc. Therefore, the enterprises of many ministries continue to produce or even master the production of new similar goods or simply the same items or

individual assemblies for them, as a result of which the production cost of such items frequently increases and the amount of crisscrossing transportation rises. All of this adversely affects production growth rates and efficiency.

At the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev once again pointed out the importance of organizing management based on groups of homogeneous and inter-related sectors. We must put an end to the continuing splintering of sectors and the multiplication of their number. This is an actual substitution of real production specialization with departmental specialization. In addition to increasing the number of departmental barriers and expanding the administrative apparatus, in the final account it narrows the actual base for real production specialization and concentration. In our view, the radical solution of the problem calls for consolidating most existing related ministries, eliminating a number of intermediary administrative levels and utilizing the thus released personnel and funds for increasing the centralized nationwide management along key directions such as price setting, labor norming, standardization, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, including the mechanization and automation of heavy manual and harmful work, improving the production infrastructure, etc.

Naturally, the measures suggested in this article do not cover all most important directions leading to further improvements in the economic mechanism. In our view, however, they represent important prerequisites for optimizing it. The implementation of such measures will encourage the initiative of the working people and ensure a new upsurge in the socialist competition for upgrading production efficiency and quality in all types of work, the further growth of the people's well-being and the acceleration of our progress toward communism.

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RURAL COMMUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 52-61

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor V. Murakhovskiy, first secretary of the Stavropol'skiy CPSU Kraykom]

[Text] In the Stavropol' area the agrarian sector holds a leading position. The kray has 466 kolkhozes and sovkhoses and dozens of specialized crop-growing and animal husbandry enterprises farming more than 4 million hectares of land; 40 percent of all the people employed in the national economy work in the kray's agroindustrial complex.

In the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan the kray's gross agricultural output exceeded 2 billion rubles. A total of 2.4 million tons of grain were delivered to the granaries of the homeland, or 500,000 tons more than pledged. Compared with the average annual level during the 10th Five-Year Plan, the state received 17.6 percent more meat, 9.4 percent more milk, 13 percent more eggs and 7 percent more wool.

The Stavropol' successes were highly recognized in the greetings submitted by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, to the kray's grain growers and, subsequently, from the rostrum of the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum.

The kray's working people achieved these results thanks to a powerful material and technical agricultural base, which was created in recent years, and the successful solution of a number of organizational and socioeconomic problems.

I

Agriculture in the Stavropol' area is frequently afflicted by drought. That is why the efforts of the kray party organization are always focused on the implementation of a vast land reclamation program. Land reclamation, which began with the completion of the Nevinnomyskiy Canal (1948), gradually extended to more areas and contributed to the solution of increasingly complex economic problems. Whereas dozens of thousands of people built the Nevinnomyskiy Canal essentially with the help of picks, shovels and wheelbarrows, today the land reclamation workers have powerful excavators, bulldozers, scrapers and big trucks. As always, the party organizations remain the

mobilizing force. They organized the kray's training of reclamation workers out of whom subsequently great production leaders came. They include Heroes of Socialist Labor G. Bormotov and D. Nesluzhenko. L. Bazarnyy's labor biography is typical. At the age of 18 he chose the profession of reclamation worker. Since that time the reorganization of the droughty Stavropol' area has been his lifetime project. He has participated in the construction of many irrigation systems and water reservoirs. Today party member and Hero of Socialist Labor L. Bazarnyy has many students.

We see today on the kray's map many man-made rivers along which the water from the glaciers of the Caucasus flows toward distant areas. The Bol'shoy Stavropol'skiy Canal, which is a target project this five-year plan as well, has become the main water artery. Along its fourth section four farms specializing in the growing of feed crops, vegetables and other farm products will be organized. Following the completion of the project, an area of 20,000 hectares will be supplied with water.

In a letter to the "Comrade Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan and the Gori Republic" V. I. Lenin emphasized that "more than anything else irrigation is needed in order to re-create this area, to resurrect it, to bury the past and to strengthen the transition to socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 200). These words have largely become reality. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is only thanks to irrigation and flooding that a highly developed industry could be created and modern cities built in the Stavropol' area.

Today the main concern of the rural party organizations is to upgrade the effectiveness of irrigated land. The CPSU kraykom has called for averaging no less than 100 quintals of feed units per irrigated hectare in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The experience of the party organizations in Izobil'nenskiy Rayon, which head the kray's struggle for the highly effective utilization of irrigated land, is indicative. The rayon was able to train skilled cadres of specialists and mechanizers. Step by step, many elements of crop-growing technology, which has now become an inseparable part of the rayon's irrigated agrotechnology, were developed at the experimental fields of Izobil'nenskoye Farm. Actually, the entire Izobil'nenskiy Rayon could be described as the kray's experimental field. It was here that recommendations on crop structure and crop rotation were developed in accordance with the water availability of the irrigated land, the organization of irrigated sheep pastureland, the application of industrial technology in growing vegetable crops, crop programming and planting second crops.

We are confident that many rayons in the kray will exceed the 100-quintal landmark. This is confirmed by the example of the leading farms, which are already now averaging 120-130 quintals of fodder units per hectare. One of them is the Put' k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz in Stepnovskiy Rayon. Here the feed production team headed by party member V. Makarov averaged 140 quintals of fodder units per hectare last year. For the past 20 years V. Makarov has been raising feed crops on irrigated land. He has mastered the technology of the process

properly and has trained dozens of people. Today most of the members of his team are first-grade masters. The party organization is dedicating maximal efforts to staff with experienced cadres all kolkhoz teams. Today the Put' k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz has become the kray's progressive experience school teaching the effective utilization of irrigated land.

In drawing the attention of the farm managers and specialist to daily technological processes, the CPSU kraykom has ascribed particular importance to the solution of increasingly more complex problems. In particular, we are concerned with the fate of irrigated areas which have been farmed for a number of years. Today they need a substantial reconstruction. By this we mean not only the implementation of hydraulic reclamation projects but the construction of housing, consumer facilities and roads, i.e., the type of infrastructure which was previously ignored. This will enable us to improve the living conditions of the people, consolidate the cadres and, in the final account, improve land effectiveness.

The size of the irrigated area will reach 400,000 hectares in the near future. The successful use of this "man-made oasis" in the kray would be inconceivable without a scientific approach. We await the help of scientists who can supply the farmers with specific and substantiated technologies based on the soil and climatic areas. However, in recent years, for some reason the Stavropol' Scientific Research Hydraulic Engineering and Land Reclamation Institute, under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources, has failed to conduct research related to land reclamation farming.

To date no more than 8 percent of the kray's land consists of irrigated areas or the zone of the so-called guaranteed harvest. A considerable percentage of our dry farming land is frequently hurt by the elements. That is why for a number of years the kray CPSU committee has directed the creative efforts of scientists and farm managers and specialists toward the creation of an optimal agricultural production management system based on the difficult natural conditions.

The CPSU kraykom organized a kray economic conference to discuss the problems which had developed. It was attended by all interested establishments and organizations, leading production workers, scientists and specialists. The recommendations submitted at the conference became the base of a target program which combines production specialization and concentration with the use of stable crop rotation systems, clean fallow lands, chemization, soil protection technology and reclamation of saline land.

The persistent work of the party and soviet organs and of kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists to implement this program made it possible to increase the average annual grain production by 280,000 tons compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes earned additionally more than 100 million rubles for the delivery of high-quality grain.

In applying the dry farming system, the kray's farms considerably reduced the replanting of winter crops and ensured a proportional ratio between planted and harvested areas. This increased yields in all parts of the kray. The most



important element in the system is the clean fertilized fallow land. It is well known that in the past many farm managers underestimated its role.

Substantial efforts had to be made in the past to prove the need for clean fallow lands. Here again let us refer to the experience of I. Okhrimenko, chief agronomist at the Ipatovskiy Sovkhoz, who has worked in that farm for more than a quarter of a century. He well remembers the time when the size of the fallow lands did not exceed 2 percent of the total. However, even in these small sections agrotechnical measures were not always carried out promptly and no effectiveness was possible. An entirely different situation has developed over the past 15 years. The farm obtained a great deal of equipment and chemical fertilizers, as a result of which it could also deal with the problem of the fallow lands, whose area was increased by a factor of 9. The sovkhos party members led in the struggle for upgrading farming standards and for timely and high-quality field operations. The application of organic and chemical fertilizers on fallow lands and the growing of the best wheat strains on them became mandatory. The results were self-evident: over the past 5 years they yielded 45.7 quintals of Bezostaya-1 wheat per hectare over an area of 4,400 hectares of fallow land. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, the kolkhoz's annual grain sales averaged approximately 22,000 tons. Last year the state received about 32,000 tons, or considerably more than planned.

The role of the fallow lands became particularly clear in seasons with severe droughts. In the first (the driest) zone in the kray, two-thirds of all the grain came from the fallow lands in 1976. It was precisely such land that yielded the grain in 1979, whereas on the other areas the grain crops were entirely lost. Currently the fallow land area in the kray totals 700,000 hectares.

The kray CPSU committee directs the heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the specialists toward further agrotechnical improvements, proper utilization of chemical and organic fertilizer, and prompt implementation of measures for the protection of the soil from wind and water erosion. We make every crop grower understand the simple and clear idea that the results of the kray's entire agroindustrial complex will depend to a decisive extent on the way the set of agrotechnical and other measures will be carried out.

N. Kovalev, chief agronomist at the Urozhaynenskiy Sovkhoz, I. Korobkin, chief agronomist at the Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz, L. Kalmykov, chief agronomist at the Kolkhoz imeni Krasnyye Partizany and V. Lakeyev, chief agronomist at the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov, became active supporters and promoters of the new farming system and higher farming standards. These party members share a desire for steady creative searches and high responsibility for assignments.

However, the desire of the party organizations and labor collectives to upgrade production efficiency does not always yield the desired results. The shortage of chemical fertilizers, particularly phosphorus, and of plant protection chemicals, greatly hinders the successful implementation of dry land farming programs. Here again let us point out that the kray's farms are short of machines and vehicles for such purposes. Furthermore, the tractors received by the countryside do not come equipped with the necessary set of tools.

The 11th Five-Year Plan calls for the production of a set of machines and properly calls for the increased volume of output of various types of machines, fertilizers and herbicides. The respective ministries and departments should display greater persistence in the implementation of the party's decisions on the development of the agroindustrial complex. The solution of the food problem will be largely determined by the way the industry which supplies the countryside with equipment and fertilizer will carry out its obligations.

## II

Our kray is a major producer and supplier of animal husbandry goods. Its farms have more than 1.4 million head of cattle, more than 800,000 hogs and more than 7 million sheep. Poultry meat production is increasing steadily. For example, compared with the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, production at the Stavropol'skoye Industrial Broiler Association nearly quintupled, totaling 50,000 tons per year. Compared with the 9th Five-Year Plan, the average egg production at the kray's poultry farms almost tripled during the 10th.

Sheep breeding remains the kray's leading animal husbandry sector. It is developing within the framework of a target program, the implementation of which has been backed by the party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses by a set of organizational, economic and technological measures. Major sheep complexes were built, feeding areas were mechanized and the feed base was improved, above all by improving the structure of feed crops. Preference was given to crops containing more protein.

Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses have converted to raising young animals in winter. They have organized their feeding and sales within one year of their birth and have considerably expanded the breeding stock. All these are important elements of industrial technology, which contributed to the sector's intensification.

The positive changes are particularly noticeable in Ipatovskiy, Petrovskiy, Levokumskiy and other rayons. In two 5-year periods, the Apanasenkovskiy Rayon party organization was able to convert all livestock farms into highly profitable breeding enterprises. Party organizations, specialists and economic managers concentrated on the development of sheep breeding. They began by strengthening the labor collectives with party members. Training courses were set up to teach progressive experience. The fulfillment of pledges is controlled reciprocally and experienced specialists visit lagging collectives. V. Moroz, chief zootechnician at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin and member of the CPSU kraykom, Hero of Socialist Labor V. Snegov, the noted kray zootechnician and laureate of the USSR State Prize, and scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Sheep and Goat Breeding Institute developed in the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin an elite sheep-breeding herd, which became a base for the entire rayon. The rayon party committee organized the sponsorship of lagging breeding farms by frontranking ones. In 1981 the rayon averaged 7.3 kg of wool per sheep and 109 lambs per 100 ewes.

The kray's party organizations pay great attention to upgrading the prestige of the shepherds' profession. They are concerned with improving the working,

living and material incentive conditions of sheep breeders and with their professional growth. We have developed a galaxy of noted sheep breeders and heroes of socialist labor, such as V. Rudenko, V. Peschanskiy, D. Molchanov, I. Rudakov, N. Kolobov and P. Svistula. Many entire families have taken up the profession of sheep breeder. The four Fisenko brothers head brigades at the Put' k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz in Apanasenkovskiy Rayon. One of them, Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Fisenko, was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor for achievements during the 10th Five-Year Plan and was a delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress.

The implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of sheep breeding made it possible to improve many indicators in this sector. The kray's breeding stock has reached 342,000 head; wool shearing (in terms of washed wool) has reached 300 grams. The raising of about 2 million sheep has been converted to a system of industrial technology and labor productivity at sheep-raising farms has doubled.

Today the party organizations in all rayons are mobilizing the working people for the extensive application of progressive technology. However, in a number of areas organizational work is limited to the holding of seminars and conferences. There is no proper supervision over the implementation of planned measures.

The application of progressive experience is no simple matter. A substantial number of organizational, social and technological problems must be resolved. A great deal of work with the people is necessary in order to make them realize that the previous guidelines have become obsolete and are simply unsuitable.

A sheep-breeding complex today is a very big enterprise with extensive possibilities of norming the working day, organizing an efficient working rhythm, creating good living conditions for the people and organizing the regular supervision of the herds by zootechnicians and veterinarians.

Industrial technology requires the organized work of an entire system: mechanization facilities, feed shops, the electric power system, etc. The responsibility of the specialists has increased. The difficulties have become greater and some managers and specialists do not like this. In the past everything was more peaceful: the shepherds' brigade was responsible for virtually everything, and the role of the specialist was limited to supervisory functions.

Successful sheep breeding depends on the attitude of a number of working people toward their work. Furthermore, the buildings in which the sheep are kept are built according to blueprints which take into consideration their specific purpose either insufficiently or not at all. As a rule, such buildings are large, with high ceilings and reinforced concrete walls. They are cold, for which reason the animals frequently suffer from colds. Naturally, under such circumstances sheep productivity does not improve.

We must admit that this is an error committed by the local design and construction organizations and the scientific personnel of the All-Union Scientific Research Sheep and Goat Breeding Institute, in Stavropol', departmentalism and

lack of coordination which prevent the reaching of high end results. The party organizations must persistently eliminate the reasons which hinder new and progressive developments.

### III

The saturation of agriculture with so-called material agents leads to changes in the organization of the work and the entire complex of personal relations. For example, let us consider the question of upgrading the effectiveness of equipment use. For quite some time the need for a more productive utilization of tractors, combines and trucks had been discussed. However, such discussions were not yielding the desired results until we undertook to apply the Ipatovo method.

The Ipatovo initiative was given a high rating in the party's Central Committee decree. In his greetings to the Ipatovskiy Rayon Party Committee, Stavropol'skiy Kray, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote: "The example of your party organizations indicates how to implement in agriculture the task formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress of making the 10th Five-Year Plan a five-year plan of effectiveness and quality."

The Ipatovo method taught us how to value time. This is very important during harvest time and in all field campaigns. It taught us how to concentrate technical facilities and people and engage in comprehensive operations. This method offered a new training in economic management. It enhanced the role and significance of the collective in the organization of labor and the raising of new grain-growing replacements.

Why were the Ipatovo people the first to resolve many topical problems successfully? We have many rayons with good mechanizers, specialists and farm managers. The point is that it was precisely the Ipatovo party organization which had developed over a number of years cadres trained to work under difficult weather conditions. The rayon raised many party members who subsequently went into extensive party, soviet and economic work. In the past few years alone, B. Biryukov, N. Vil'gotskiy, I. Simonenko and Yu. Chursinov had served as raykom first secretaries.

The CPSU kraykom had to work hard to give the Ipatovo method the green light. We held a conference of rayon party committee first secretaries and seminars for farm managers and specialists on the comprehensive organization of field work. Mechanizers from many rayons visited Ipatovo sovkhozes and kolkhozes to see for themselves the great effectiveness of comprehensive operations. The kray CPSU committee regularly summoned the agricultural commission for operative discussions of problems related to comprehensive application of the Ipatovo method.

Although this took place almost 5 years ago, I clearly remember the 1977 events which literally rocked rural life. I recall the heated discussions at staff meetings, in fields and workshops. The numerous delegations which visited Ipatovo showed a great deal of mistrust and skepticism. For example, they were puzzled by the reserve combine, by the presence of one or another team in the complex, etc. The Ipatovo people went through all this, followed by all the farms in the kray.

It was difficult to be the leader, but the Ipatovskiy Rayon party organization met its obligations honorably.

Here is the way the grain harvest was organized last year: It was essentially the rayon party committee that organized the mobilization of the party and the Komsomol for this important campaign; 577 party members and more than 1,000 Komsomol members were sent to the most difficult harvesting sectors. Fifty-five temporary party and 45 Komsomol groups were set up to head the battle for the grain and lead the nonparty masses.

During that crucial period, the CPSU raykom (V. Kalyagin, first secretary) was able to find a proper position for every party members regardless of his profession or vocation--combine or tractor operator, driver, agronomist, librarian, medical worker or cook. Every one of them deemed it his main task to be wherever matters were most difficult and where he was most needed. The raykom's entire party-political work was successful: During the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan the Ipatovo people sold the state 250,000 tons of grain.

The experience of many CPSU raykoms and primary party organizations of kolchozes and sovkhozes gained during the harvesting campaign convincingly proves the tremendous importance of organizational and political work and the vanguard role of the party members.

Incidentally, let me point out that temporary party groups operate in all kray rayons. They are the political nucleus of the primary collectives and provide support to farm party committees and administrations. The CPSU kraykom issued regulations concerning temporary party groups and memoranda to party group organizers, which greatly assists them in their work.

However, even the experience of the Ipatovo people was insufficient to resolve all problems related to the effective use of the equipment. In particular, the concentration of equipment in most kolchozes and sovkhozes, particularly in the harvest, could have yielded better results. However, there was simply no space for its deployment, hindered by the small size of the fields. The party, soviet and economic organs persistently continued to improve the Ipatovo method. A wide range of management problems, cadre deployments and material and technical procurements were discussed at party meetings and party committee sessions, actively and on a principled basis. All this led many people to consider all aspects of economic and social life in the countryside and to seek new opportunities for the further growth of agricultural output.

In this respect, a great many interesting features were developed by Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz, Kochubeyevskiy Rayon. The party committee persistently saw to it that specialists, secondary-level managers and mechanizers would voluntarily abandon the brigade organization of labor, the existing crop rotation system and piece-rate wages.

The task was to reach every individual. Its implementation was ensured by agitators, lecturers and propagandists. The suggestions of the kolkhoz party committee and board were discussed with interest and comprehensively at

economic training courses. Specialists repeatedly visited neighboring rayons, while A. Shumskiy toured the leading farms in Krasnodarskiy Kray and studied the experience of his Ukrainian colleagues.

With the help of initiative-minded specialists and leading mechanizers, and extensively using the public opinion of brigade councils and trade union and Komsomol organizations, the kolkhoz party committee and board were able to complete the reorganization of the labor process and production management as early as the 10th Five-Year Plan. The collective has good things to say also about the help given by the scientists at the Stavropol' Agricultural Institute, the Moscow Agricultural Academy imeni K. A. Timiryazev and the personnel of the kray branch of the Kuban'giprozem Institute. The farm consolidated its crop rotation system, converted to a shop management structure, organized mechanized grain and industrial crop-growing detachments and applied scientific chemization and plant protection systems. All of this considerably improved the use of the equipment, reduced the time for agrotechnical measures and increased the interest of mechanizers in obtaining the highest possible end results. The systematic work done by the party committee and the entire party organization made it possible to increase the volume of agricultural output by 35.3 percent and to raise labor productivity by 85 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

I have visited this kolkhoz several times and have always been pleased by the united and principled approach to the search for internal reserves and the broad way of thinking shown by kolkhoz chairman Hero of Socialist Labor A. Shumskiy and party committee secretary N. Fomenko. The example of these leaders mobilizes the entire collective, which is working with a great labor upsurge.

The CPSU kraykom organized in the kolkhoz a seminar for managers and specialists, directing them to the more active application of proven new developments. The experience of Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz was adopted by many farms. Naturally, it was expanded and enriched in a number of places.

The kolkhoz and sovkhoz party organizations in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon decided to create interfarm agricultural mechanization enterprises. The party raykom proceeded from the fact that the effective utilization of the land and obtaining the highest possible end results required the unification of the efforts of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and Sel'khoztekhnika and the cooperated use of all available material and technical facilities for agricultural production mechanization. Let us point out that initially the creation of an association was difficult. The farm managers feared the loss of autonomy, while the Sel'khoztekhnika collectives deemed joining the cooperative to be an unnecessary burden.

However, now everyone has seen the expediency of the establishment of the first interfarm enterprise. The kray's party organization is persistently and systematically disseminating its experience. A number of models of economic relations among shareholders were formulated. Today the kray has 33 interfarm enterprises. The productivity of the tractors has increased substantially. The quality of the work has improved and so have the technological discipline

and responsibility of Sel'khoztekhnika personnel for the crops. The material and technical base has become substantially stronger, and many grave problems of organization of equipment repairs and services have been resolved.

The functions of the engineering and agrochemical services were clearly delineated in the interfarm enterprises. The responsibility of the specialists was enhanced, and they were able to concentrate on training the people in handling the new equipment and the application of progressive methods, in order to carry out the production process on a comprehensive and scientific basis and upgrade farming efficiency. The reorganization is consistent with the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum and the stipulations expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The efforts of the kray party organization to create the best possible conditions for the utilization and increasing the efficiency of agricultural equipment is of great importance. We are trying to create a reliable organizational-technical economic interconnection among kolkhozes, sovkhozes and Sel'khoztekhnika.

Last year's results proved that a number of problems remain. The CPSU raykom and the kolkhoz and sovkhoz party committees are carefully identifying negative facts, some of which come as a complete surprise. The kray party committee is persistently explaining to the local workers the fact that cases of lack of coordination which appear are not caused by the new developments but are mainly the result of the fact that some workers are either stubbornly holding on to the old methods or are unable to apply the new ones in accordance with specific local features.

We are encouraging kolkhoz and sovkhoz primary party organizations and managers to look for economic interconnections which could improve the end results of agricultural production. In accordance with the kraykom's recommendations, the primary party organizations are improving economic interrelationships in interfarm association engaged in raising cattle, production of pork, etc.

The Ipatovo method and the experience of Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz and interfarm enterprises have noticeably enhanced the level of agricultural mechanization and production efficiency. The next step is the creation of modern agro-industrial complexes on the rayon and kray scale. We are continuing to look for ways to improve management and the economic mechanism. Direct relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and processing industry enterprises are expanding and the material facilities of procurement and trade organization are strengthening.

#### IV

The party raykoms and the rural party organizations are the active promoters of target programs for the application of farming systems in the kray's droughty areas and the development of sheep breeding and land reclamation. After the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, the number of rural party members in the kray rose by 22,000. Large party organizations were formed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Stavropol' area, averaging 80 to 90 members.

Thanks to the increased number of shop party organizations and party groups, the influence of the party members on the most important aspects of economic and social life has increased. The influx of young and skilled mechanizers and animal husbandrymen in the party has been a characteristic feature in recent years. They account for more than 60 percent of the entire new membership.

In his speech at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the situation and the mood in the labor collectives and, therefore, production indicators, largely depend on the way the party members work." Problems of upgrading the militancy of primary party organizations, the vanguard role of the party members and their activeness in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress were considered at a recent plenum of the kray party committee and at city and rayon party committee plenums.

The party organizations pay increasing attention to the broadly trained mechanizer, who is the main figure in the village. They concern themselves with upgrading his skills and improving his working and living conditions. The rural party organizations have done a great deal to train the thousands-strong body of mechanizers in the Stavropol' area. We are all proud of party members and Heroes of Socialist Labor D. Lesnyak, G. Topchiyev and V. Kuleshin. Hero of Socialist Labor P. Bashtova has been growing grain in the Primanych'ye Steppes for more than 30 years. She is a hereditary grain grower and farmer with a high professional standard and a wise counselor.

The noted mechanizer, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputy, USSR State Prize Laureate and Hero of Socialist Labor I. Nagornyy, has been a farmer for 20 years. Last year, he and his comrades averaged 385 quintals of beets per each of the 1,500 hectares they cultivate. The achievements of this beet-growing unit show its conscientiousness, feeling of responsibility and desire to master the most progressive experience. Today the Kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, in which I. Nagornyy works, has a profit of up to 1 million rubles from beet sales. However, we must also take into consideration the fact that many beet growers, trained by I. Nagornyy, have substantially increased the output of their own fields.

In resolving the complex problems of economic and cultural construction, the kray CPSU committee is steadily improving the style and methods of party leadership. It is concerned with upgrading the role of the raykom committees. This is understandable, for our party and its Central Committee have always ascribed tremendous importance to the rayon level in following the political line.

Past experience has convincingly proved the correctness and farsightedness of the CC CPSU in restoring and strengthening the raykoms and the main political organs in the countryside. They are still fully directing the work of the primary party organizations and increasing their activeness and militancy in resolving problems of economic and cultural construction.

The raykom sees to it that the stipulations and recommendation which the rayon party committees issue to the primary party organizations are practical and



specific, clearly defining the main tasks and helping them to focus their main efforts on the important sectors.

Here is an example: the Kirovskiy Rayon Party Committee succeeded in organizing the efficient work of the primary party organizations, economic managers and specialists aimed at implementing the CC CPSU instructions on strengthening the fodder base. The essence of the raykom stipulations was the fact that each party organization was given the assignment to determine the optimal structure of crops which would yield the maximal amount of feed units and protein per hectare.

The skillful application of progressive feed production methods enabled the farms in Kirovskiy Rayon to average 16 quintals of feed units more than the kray's average last year. In each feed unit the content of vegetal protein reached 106 grams.

At the insistence of the kray party committee, the experience of Kirovskiy Rayon was studied comprehensively. It has become our rule to support the most useful local initiatives. Following the detailed study of a given experience, we extensively and persistently disseminate it. Thus, we supported the initiative of M. Koplikov, chairman of the Zavety Lenina Kolkhoz, Petrovskiy Rayon, on the application of industrial technology in sheep breeding, and of V. Postnikov, general director of the Stavropol'skoye Broiler Production Association, on the organization of meat production on an industrial basis.

In times of natural disasters and under extreme circumstances the militancy of the party committees and the organizational talents of managers and specialists become particularly clear. At such times the CPSU kraykom tries to develop and atmosphere of confidence. I do not recall anyone giving up even during difficult times. On the contrary, the people persistently look for internal reserves. Such was the case in 1976, when the party organizations and labor collectives of Karachayevo-Cherkessiya and the western rayons and urban schools, organizations and enterprises came to the aid of the kray's eastern rayons, which had suffered from the drought. The people of Stavropol' are grateful to the CC CPSU, the government and the party organizations of many parts of the country, which gave tremendous aid to the kray during that difficult period.

The workstyle which the kray party organization has developed is helping to mobilize the people to surmount difficulties and to ensure further economic progress. However, we must admit that not all rayon party committees work with the same persistence and purposefulness. The kraykom does not tolerate such shortcomings and is taking steps to upgrade cadre responsibility. In recent years the leadership of Novoaleksandrovskiy, Novoselitskiy and Kochubeyevskiy Raykoms and Budennovsk Party Gorkom have had to be strengthened. A study indicated that the bureaus and former first secretaries had poorly organized the control and execution of party directives and the resolutions of the kray party committee and their own, had lowered cadre responsibility for assignments, analyzed farm conditions superficially and made incomplete use of the potential of the rayons in terms of agricultural output.

We still have many workers who show a great deal of initiative but are short of consistency and persistence in completing projects. This turns into omissions in organizational and educational work.

That is why the party kraykom paid increasing attention to the selection, upbringing, training and deployment of cadres and to the development of their initiative, efficiency and organization. The party committees hold discussions with economic managers, young promising workers undergo practical training with experienced production leaders, managers and specialists attend retraining courses, and progressive experience courses, seminars, practical science conferences and a streamlined system for training cadres in mass skills have been organized. It is our task to see to it that such forms of work with cadres meet contemporary requirements better.

The main task of agricultural workers in the Stavropol' area in the 11th Five-Year Plan is to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the food program. Average annual production must reach 5 million tons for grain, 1.1 million for sugar beets, 260,000 tons of sunflower, 445,000 tons of meat of all kinds (in live weight), 1,050,000 tons of milk, 1.3 billion eggs and 38,000 tons of wool (in physical weight). This will enable us to increase gross agricultural output by 18-20 percent. The tasks are difficult but they can be implemented by the kray party organization and by all rural working people.

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GEORGIA: THE EXPERIMENT IS GAINING STRENGTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 62-75

[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] The peaks of the nearby mountains in the valley between the Rioni and Tskheniskhkali Rivers can only be sensed, hidden as they have been for some time by a low gloomy sky, which is preparing a downpour on the Colchidian semitropical area at the worst possible time for the future crops. The homes of the peasants are set high above the flat water-soaked earth. The damage which wind-broken tree tops have caused in the past is well remembered....

Toiling Georgia, the one which is not on the tourist maps, bears small resemblance to the shining travel agency posters. However, the people keep coming here from all over the country, to this small rayon, small even in terms of the republic's size, yesterday almost forgotten but today famous far beyond the republic. They come, invited and uninvited, all welcomed with the same warm and traditional hospitality, to see for themselves what popular rumor has already christened the "Abasha miracle." The local and central press and the television are tirelessly writing about it. The first part of the emotional and sincere book by Konstantin Lordkipanidze "Chto Proizoshlo v Abashe" [What Happened in Abasha] came out in Georgian and Russian, and the documentary motion picture "The Experiment" was filmed. Finally, the Abasha people themselves reported on its results last March, in Moscow, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which approved the measures they had implemented to improve agricultural production management and to upgrade the role of the rayon level of the state organs in this matter.

It is true that here the expression "The Abasha Experiment" is already considered anachronistic. The new production management model, which was tried in practice, has become part of this life. The initiative has long exceeded the boundaries of Abasha, which has become strikingly more beautiful. During the last five-year plan 14, and since the beginning of this year all rayons and many republic ministries and departments, have become involved in it.

"In the 10th Five-Year Plan you grew record tea, citrus, grape, fruit and vegetable crops," comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 1981 ceremony on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and its communist party. "The country is closely watching the interesting experiment conducted in the republic. I am referring to improvements in production

management and agricultural procurements, labor incentives, and cooperation between public and private farms."

Based on the results of the all-union socialist competition, in 1981 the republic was awarded for the ninth consecutive time the red challenge banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee. These nine high distinctions awarded by the homeland for labor valor are landmarks of the complex but irreversible positive economic, sociopolitical and moral-psychological processes which were initiated in the republic after the adoption of the 1972 CC CPSU decree on the Tbilisi party gorkom. The Abasha experiment was born and gathered strength precisely on the crest of these purging and beneficial changes.

#### The Rayon Production Association

On the recommendation of the CC CP of Georgia, G. D. Mgeladze, a young party worker, was appointed first secretary of Abashskiy Raykom in May 1973.

This urban resident, who came from Tbilisi, could only be overwhelmed by his first encounter with neglected Abasha. Its streets were filthy and the buildings which housed the rayon's enterprises, offices and organizations had a dejected and depressing air. There was no decent cafeteria or hotel. There was no running water.

Yields in the center of fertile Colchidia, where once the richest Georgian crops of the famous Abasha corn were grown -- the basis of the local economy -- now averaged 5-6 quintals of grain per hectare. Milk production was low, under 1,200 kg per cow, and deliveries to the state of not only grain but other farm crops and vegetables, which grow here beautifully, were miserable.

The unprejudiced and still sharp eye could detect even more clearly the uncoordinated and occasionally harmful activities of the individual farms run by numerous trusts and administrations located away from Abasha and unconcerned with its needs and worries. This encouraged even further the first secretary and his comrades in their resolve to achieve the socioeconomic upsurge of the Abasha villages, the seemingly insurmountable departmentalism in agriculture and in the enterprises and organizations which service it. "This is not my concern," the Abasha manager would tell himself and others at that time. "Let the rayon take care of it."

The situation required principled decisions and nothing could be achieved with half-measures and minor improvements. It was thus that the Abashskiy Rayon Agricultural Management Association was created in 1974. Four years later it was granted the status of rayon agricultural production association.

This step taken on the initiative of the Abashskiy party raykom and with the full support of the CC CP of Georgia, makes us remember Lenin's persistent demand to pay "tremendous attention" to "one of the major ills, which hinders agricultural construction" -- the "lack of local coordination in the work of the various departments." "Food supplies -- small local industry -- fuel -- large-scale nationwide industry, etc.," Vladimir Il'ich pointed out in the 21 May 1921 draft "STO (Labor and Defense Council) Order to Local Soviet

Institutions," "are all closely related areas, the "departmentalization" of which, although necessary in the administration of the state, becomes harmful unless steady efforts are made to coordinate the work and to eliminate frictions, red tape, departmental narrow-mindedness and bureaucracy. In some areas closer to the worker and peasant masses such shortcomings are more obvious. In such areas, on the basis of exchange of experience, methods must be developed in order to fight such shortcomings successfully" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, pp 278-279).

The development of production forces, increased socialist production specialization and concentration and the intensification of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration in the villages has made the task formulated by Lenin exceptionally topical. The daring attempt to "coordinate and to eliminate friction, red tape, departmental narrow-mindedness and bureaucracy" was applied precisely in the local areas, at the primary -- rayon -- level of management, as had been done in other parts of the country, whose experience was not ignored by the Georgian party members. Therefore, local experience, which Lenin valued highly, was concentrated here on the better combination of sectorial with territorial management, as required by the party.

Office desks and chairs were not moved in a state of administrative enthusiasm and no new offices were opened in Abasha and subsequently in the other republic rayon centers. While everything was left as it was, it acquired an essentially new quality. The creation of associations is not just one more routine reorganization, for it lays new organizational, legal and economic foundations in management on the rayon production level.

The production association, which replaced the rayon agricultural administration, operates under the double jurisdiction of the republic's ministry of agriculture and the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies. All organizations and enterprises within the association retain their operational autonomy and the status of juridical persons. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses within the system of the republic's ministry of agriculture are under the jurisdiction of the association only. The industrial enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture, located on rayon territory remained under double jurisdiction. However, their plans are coordinated with the association's council, which is the collective management organ. The practical management is provided by a board maintained by the association's members. It operates on the basis of cost effectiveness. The following centralized funds are set up from the partners' profits: production development, sociocultural measures and housing construction, material incentive, and reserve. These are the statutory regulations of the new form of management on the rayon level of the agroindustrial complex which, in accordance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, combines economic with administrative methods, one-man command with collective leadership and a sectorial with territorial approach.

However, regardless of how important the formulation and ratification of the regulation on the association may be, this is only half the work. On paper everything went smoothly... This was also the case with some interesting economic experiments.

"The economic reorganization," says D. I. Patiashvili, CC CP of Georgia secretary, "is a very complex process. We discussed the cadre problem at each bureau meeting. A special central committee commission worked on it. This is understandable, for no mechanism can work as long as the cadre problem remains unresolved and energetic, knowledgeable and honest people have not been assigned to the project. Our task in turning the rayon agricultural administration into a production association was to strengthen this institution. Many people worked quite well as heads of rayon agricultural administrations but were unable to carry out the new assignments. About 60 percent of the association managers are new people drawn from the party and economic aktiv: secretaries and second secretaries of party raykoms, deputy chairmen and even chairmen of rayon executive committees and senior personnel from the republic's central committee, council of ministers and ministry of agriculture."

We make the people we assign to the associations aware of the fact that to be chairman of an association is a very responsible and honorable position. They must display independence, persistence and the ability to lead. It may seem an insult to ask the chairman of a rayon executive committee to become the manager of an association, for although he is its leader he remains the deputy of the rayon executive committee chairman. However, the people understand why we are doing it. We also use the television to enhance in the eyes of the population the prestige of the association managers. We provide cadre training at the Institute for the Management of the National Economy and assign the people to the various rayons to study our best associations. This new level of work has been felt by everyone....

The work is described by association managers clearly, knowledgeably and eagerly. Some of them are former heads of rayon agricultural administrations and know their work inside-out, so that they can compare it with their own.

With amazing unanimity, sometimes in identical terms, my new acquaintances revealed to me that their life was hard but interesting. As administration personnel they were essentially engaged in drafting reports and supplying information mainly to the party raykom the rayon executive committee and their ministry. They had no possibility of resolving a single problem completely, which they can do now. The chief specialists -- chief agronomist or chief zootechnician -- were essentially consultants. Now the association has set up corresponding departments in charge of their assigned sector and discussions have been replaced with work. This is because the decisions made by the association's council are the law for all members and because the budget-supported agricultural administration had no funds even to buy a pencil, whereas the association has its own centralized funds. In Makharadzevskiy Rayon, for example, last year they amounted to seven million rubles.

As we can see, the scale of activities of the Soviet system on the rayon level has become quite different. This has increased the work load of the personnel and the exigency displayed toward them. Here something else must also be taken into consideration: the peaceful coexistence under the same roof of representatives of different agricultural sectors does not eliminate departmental ambitions, for people are people everywhere.

Therefore, the association's chairman must have, in addition to everything else, a great deal of tactfulness and diplomatic qualities.

"I was asked by a colleague if he could fire a plant director," recalls N. T. Takidze, chairman of the Makharadzevskoye Association, with a smile. 'You should drop this approach,' I answered him. 'Leave this sort of things to others. We must learn how to work together instead of admiring our job insignia.' It can be said that by now our authority has been accepted."

The double jurisdiction status seems to be telling the economic manager the following: your salary is paid by your department and you must be concerned primarily with its interests. However, having joined the association, you must also think of the interests of your partners and the entire rayon. In the past Makharadzevskiy Rayon had asked the republic's ministry of meat and dairy industry to set up in its factory a shop for the production of artificial milk paste for feeding calves, but the request had been turned down. The problem was resolved quickly and easily following the creation of the association. Last week I witnessed a working trip to Gardabanskiy Rayon by a group of senior personnel of the Georgian meat and dairy industry, headed by Minister A. O. Movsesyan. Without any red tape and directly on the spot they settled with the rayon managers all the practical problems related to the organization of the shipping of milk from the farms to Tbilisi, and its refrigeration and pasteurization.

However, double jurisdiction also leads economic managers to behave sometimes as though no association exists. Abashskiy Rayon has three volatile oil producing sovkhoses under union jurisdiction. Whereas the rayon is concerned with the development of animal husbandry, this leaves the narrowly specialized sector unconcerned. The Abasha Association knows that the rayon has virtually no possibility of growing sweet basil, after which the land must be allowed to recover for several years, and that the green houses in which to grow geraniums from cuttings, instead of sweet basil, are under construction. Meanwhile, oblivious of the real situation, the farms under double jurisdiction are planning the production of 1,500 tons, although so far they have been able to produce no more than one third this amount with difficulty.

That same Abashskiy Rayon considers it expedient to reduce the size of the land in grain and increase the growing of feed crops in order to ensure the work of the livestock breeding complexes created here at full capacity. Meanwhile, however, it is asked, year after year, to increase the production of other crops. This aggravates the already difficult feed problem. It is worth pointing out the inconsistencies caused by the fact that the sectorial approach dominates the territorial one in economic management, so that the story which follows on the initial successful steps of the rayon associations will not lead the readers to believe that their organization is an instant cure for all the ills of the economic mechanism. Economic reorganization is a truly difficult process. On the rayon level, here a great deal depends on active position of the party raykom and the rayon executive committee.

In describing the new aspects of their work, my collocutors kept returning to the subject of the changed relations between economic managers and the party raykom. This is understandable, for the economic reorganization is

most closely related to improvements in party work style and methods. They are complementary and neither one can exist without the other.

The association and its mechanism have largely freed the raykom from dealing with current affairs or the obligation to resolve operational production problems and to become involved in departmental quarrels. The party workers unanimously state that economic managers no longer come to them to resolve trifling matters.

"A person who runs to the raykom every day with all sorts of problems will lose the habit of independent decision making," convincingly states O. Sh. Tsomaya, chairman of the Abasha Association, who knows from personal experience the cost of petty supervision of economic managers. "Now, the manager can see a month drawing to an end without a single visit to the raykom, and things are going well. This has improved somewhat the raykom's authority. Now it can concentrate all its forces on strictly party matters."

Interestingly enough, today relations between party raykoms and associations are developing largely on a new basis. In order to strengthen the party's leadership under the new conditions, Makharadzevskiy Rayon, for example, plans to set up, on an experimental basis, a council of all secretaries of primary party organizations and the association's chairman. The work will be coordinated by the raykom secretary in charge of agricultural affairs.

"Party work within the framework of an association has its characteristics and specific tasks and no duplication of functions is possible," says M. M. Nikolaishvili, raykom second secretary. "The rayon has 7,000 party members, 4865 of whom are employed in the agroindustrial complex. Such a force can accomplish a great deal in surmounting departmental barriers and ensuring the rayon's comprehensive development. The raykom will formulate the association's management policy. Under such circumstances, its role can only grow."

...Council, to be counseled, Soviet system, are all words with the same root, as important as revolution, words which are becoming increasingly similar to the further strengthening, development and democratization of our society. Every real step along this way, including in the production management area, immediately yields tremendous results.

#### Targeted on End Results

In agriculture, unfortunately, departmentalism is felt particularly sharply. At times no common language could be found in Abashskiy Rayon, and to this day there is not always harmony between the grain grower, who concentrates on the crop, and the reclamation worker who looks for larger areas which he could develop faster and with less effort. Considering himself the complete master of the situation but not the land, he can be talked only with great difficulty by the farmer into performing an operation which, although promising high end results, may somehow affect departmental reclamation interests. Only yesterday one could clearly see in Abasha the results of the blithe decentralization of the country's machine-tractor fleet, still clearly visible in many other places, where the equipment was dispersed among the farms, was left idling for months on end or was used until it wore out, while



deliveries of such equipment to the countryside and its repairs and technical servicing developed into an autonomous sector separate from agricultural production. The creation of the Abasha Association greatly contributed to bringing order in the relations among the three different departments sharing the same land.

In 1980, the entire machine-tractor fleet of the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses was placed under the jurisdiction of the Gruzgoskomsel'khoztekhnika rayon association. The Abasha people had preceded this step with a thorough study of the experience in equipment concentration in Moldavia and the Stavropol' area. The specific nature of the rayon had to be taken into consideration as well. The point is that an interfarm enterprise with less than 500 pieces of machinery is unprofitable, for which reason it cannot organize their profitable operation. In Moldavia, for instance, the rayon interfarm associations have as many as 1,500 machines. Abashskiy Rayon, had only 234 tractors. Under such circumstances, the concentration of the machine-tractor fleet outside the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika would mean a certain loss.

The Abashskiy Rayon Sel'khoztekhnika Association, headed by Candidate of Technical Sciences A. V. Asatiani, is not, as he says, among the leading enterprises in the republic, being almost 40th in rank. However, the leading workers could not even dream of what it is now doing in the rayon to help agriculture. The mobility of the equipment increased immeasurably once it was taken over by a single organization. It became possible to handle it quickly and flexibly, which is very important in agriculture. The level of equipment utilization rose and the conditions for taking care of it improved. Spare parts outlays declined sharply.

This precisely is what lowers the main "departmental" rayon Sel'khoztekhnika indicators, complicating the already difficult life of the manager, who is also deputy chairman of the production association. As such, he must also oppose the selfishness of individual farms. Naturally, their managers consider it more important to have the necessary equipment always on hand, even if it is to be kept idle half the year. They are against its removal, claiming that they need it more than their neighbor does. The party raykom does not approve of such egotism, which can only worsen end results.

The association is economically interested in increasing the work load of each machine unit, for this lowers the cost of services and increases capital returns. In the final account, it is in the interest of the farms themselves. "Equipment idling does not affect me," A. V. Asatiani tirelessly explains. "It affects the cost of the milk you produce!" That is why here they allow the use of available equipment by other rayons and reclamation workers. Currently the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika charges the farms 1.5 million rubles for services, but this figure could drop to 900,000 if it were to expand its operations. This would be worthwhile!

Unlike Abashskiy Rayon, the neighboring Makharadzevskiy Rayon set up its MKhP -- interfarm mechanization and electrification enterprise -- in 1980. Initially it was joined by several kolkhozes and sovkhoses with powerful equipment and facilities for the mechanized harvesting of tea leaves, the interfarm feed preparation enterprise and part of the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika

Association. I must admit that I failed to detect any particular enthusiasm on the subject of the MKhP and some farms are still not in a hurry to join it, although its volume of work is growing. Naturally, working conditions here are different from those in Abashskiy Rayon: there the land is flat while here it is mountainous; Abashskiy Rayon grows corn, whereas here crops requiring a more complex technology, such as tea, are cultivated. However, the people of Makharadzevskiy Rayon do not question the advantages offered by a method for equipment concentration consistent with local conditions.

For many years we could not talk the land reclamation workers into undertaking the development of the excessively moist area around Paleostomi Lake in the Colchidean lowland, which had been given to Makharadzevskiy Rayon for the purpose of growing rough fodder. However short they were of fodder, the individual farms could not develop these lands by themselves. Today, as a result of work, which cost the association one million rubles, the rayon extracts from there 15,000 tons of fodder. Canals were dug and the mowed hay is hauled by the association's motor launch. The purchase of straw from outside sources has declined by 7,000 tons and such purchases totally end in the near future. In the hope of eliminating the need to haul in rough fodder for the public farm cattle, immediately after the establishment of the association, Kobuletskiy Rayon as well undertook to drain the peat marshes which were dangerous even to walk on. This is the direct result of the joint efforts of the partners in the agroindustrial complex and the increased reciprocal understanding they reached.

Departmental barriers are weakening on the rayon management level, and substantial farm funds have been invested in rural industry. On the surface this may seem quite unfair: the kolkhoz and sovkhoz profits are the main source of cash for the centralized funds, yet most of the cash is spent outside agriculture. It turns out, however, that such fund transfers benefit mainly agriculture. How?

The building which stands in Shemokmedi Village is quite undistinguishable: a vast premise housing an ordinary drying facility at one end and entirely standard equipment. However, N. F. Burchuladze, Shemokmedskiy Kolkhoz chairman, engineer-mechanizer by training and former tea factory director, shows off his enterprise with obvious pride, for this is the first kolkhoz tea microfactory, and first of its kind in Georgia. Its handling capacity does not exceed 12 tons daily, but last year it processed 1,047 tons of tea leaves during the season.

The chairman's pride becomes even clearer if we consider the old and increasingly growing disproportion between the harvesting and processing of tea leaves in the republic. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, tea procurements in Makharadzevskiy Rayon increased by more than 35,000 tons, while the capacity of tea factories increased by only 14,000. This, incidentally, is one of the main reasons for the decline in the quality of Georgian tea.

The existence of the kolkhoz microfactory means not only additional output of this valuable raw material but improved quality as well. Usually, the kolkhozes deliver the tea leaves to the factory. In the case of insufficient handling capacity, the main concern of the farms is to be able to dispose of

the raw tea leaves as soon as possible, before their quality has dropped, or the leaves have been "burned out," for a tea leaf must be treated within the first 2 hours after picking! Last year, Shemokmedskiy Kolkhoz sold some of the harvested crop to the state already as a semi-finished product treated under optimal conditions. These optimal conditions were provided by the Tea Industry Scientific-Production Association, which developed the necessary technology, manufactured the equipment and delivered it to the microfactory, whose semi-finished product it purchases. Profits from finished product sales are divided among the partners according to the value of the fixed capital and equipment outlays. Everybody benefits. This year, another microfactory will be built in Shemokmedskiy Kolkhoz. Also this year, a tea microindustry will be started in other farms, including some outside the rayon.

The CC CP of Georgia has recommended that other processing industry sectors undertake the building of microfactories. By involving rural material and manpower possibilities in expanding the capacity of these sectors, taking processing facilities closer to raw material sources and lowering transportation costs, the microfactory is by no means an amateur project. Microfactories in agriculture provide great economic benefits and introduce a progressive way of technological thinking. Therefore, the association not only helps to strengthen relations between agriculture and industry but ensures the integration of modern science as an equal and desired partner.

The following story comes from the Makharadzevskiy Natural Tea Concentrates Combine, where so-called tea-leave wastes became an product the creators of which were awarded the 1982 Georgian SSR State Prize for Science and Technology. I am relating, skipping many most interesting details, the story by K. P. Gulua, candidate of technical sciences, one of the prize winners, and the general director of the Tea Industry Scientific Production Association.

The studies which were started at the beginning of the 1970s were completed in 1976 with the creation of a fully developed technology for the production of liquid tea concentrate. The product was demonstrated to anyone who could be interested. Everyone approved and everyone said that it was necessary, but no one was willing to undertake its production. On the initiative of the party raykom, the project was taken up by the new association in 1980. The question of design, equipment and construction arose. The association suggested to undertake it itself, considering that its director was a builder by training. Construction began that same April, using the foundations which had been laid for a tar manufacturing shop. After a week's break, the first industrial batch of concentrate was produced at the very beginning of August, and was used in the manufacturing of a soft drink named "Bakhmaro." As early as 1981, the combine earned 1,258,000 rubles. The profits of a single year was twice the construction cost.

There is no shortage of raw material. The combine is currently supplied by two of the 15 factories operating in this rayon alone. Other such enterprises will be built in the republic, including one for dry concentrate. Sugar-free concentrate will be produced also which, in addition to other qualities, is also an excellent natural dye which can be used as a substitute for cocoa in pastry manufacturing. It was also established that the pectines, tannins and vitamins are used in the cosmetics industry. As to "Bakhmaro," 11

foreign countries are interested in purchasing the license for making this excellent-tasting natural tonic. The most important thing is that this provides a real opportunity for extracting from the tea leaf all the qualities with which nature has endowed it and ending the inefficient and essentially wasteful use of this most valuable resource.

"It may seem incredible, but it is a fact that the association has set up a department in charge of applying the achievements of science and technology," says O. M. Bokeriya, candidate of technical sciences and first secretary of the Gardabanskiy party raykom, happily. "In the past we could not even dream of it! We have ambitious plans. We would like to convert the rayon into a testing ground for scientific and technical progress."

This initiative was launched in Gardabanskiy Rayon in 1980. A coordination council was organized. It included the secretaries and personnel of the raykom apparatus, association specialists, farm managers, scientific associates at the numerous experimental stations in the rayon and scientific institutions in Tbilisi, and senior republic ministry and departmental officials. They drafted a 3-year work program for applying the achievements of science and progressive technology in the rayon farms and processing industries, which are like a farm belt around Tbilisi and Rustavi, the two largest industrial centers in the republic. The program was approved by joint decrees issued by the raykom and the collegiums of the departments we mentioned.

Here progressive technological methods are being successfully applied in crop growing, feed production and animal husbandry. New plant strains and hybrids are tested in the fields. Promising cattle breeds are being supplied to the kolkhoz and sovkhos livestock farms. Active and effective steps are being taken in Gardabanskiy Raykom to protect the soil from wind and water erosion. Its farmers use crop spraying methods and liquid manure, and apply new means of struggle against plant pests and diseases. Many farms are mastering the industrial technology in growing corn and other crops and the systems of bulk transportation and wasteless processing of produce. The decree passed at the end of last year by the CC CP of Georgia Central Committee emphasized the need to continue with the drafting of 3-year plans for scientific and technical progress and to develop a similar program for 1983-1985.

Achieving a drastic change in the attitude of practical workers toward scientific and technical achievements is no simple matter. Psychologically, the use of new developments makes farm managers cautious. With some justification they are apprehensive as to the behavior of a recommended new development under industrial conditions. At the same time, says the first secretary of the Gardabanskiy party raykom, the reaction of farm workers to novelties is strikingly quick and unaccounted for in any plan. Therefore, the application department created by the association will have plenty of work.

#### On the Basis of Personal Interest

"Matters do not end with the association," claims A. B. Kobalava, secretary in charge of ideological affairs at the Abashskiy party raykom. "Nor did they begin with the association. Before it, we had to take the first and most difficult step."

The Abasha farmer, accustomed to looking at the public farm as a source of sustenance because of low earnings and wage equalization, was turning away from the kolkhoz fields. Sadly leaving their homes, the people went looking for a happier life elsewhere, followed by charges of lack of enthusiasm and laziness. The kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy could be improved only by restoring the faith of the people in their ability to restore the lost fertility of the land, the reliability of the promises made to them and the power of suitably paid collective labor.

The new material incentive system, which was introduced in all sectors, stipulated, first of all, a considerable increase in wages; secondly, the system of payment in kind was restored, the abolishment of which here, in Abasha, sharply conflicted with tradition: to the local population corn is far more important than is wheat to the population of any other rayon. In order for the people not to have to look elsewhere for their beloved corn, a procedure was applied according to which wage supplements consisted of 10 percent grain for plan fulfillment, and from 20 to 70 percent of the above-plan harvest.

The new labor system had many opponents. Many people were unwilling to accept the simple fact that unpaid-for work will fill neither the granary of the individual nor that of the state. Luckily, the CC CP of Georgia firmly supported the bold Abasha initiative.

After assessing all their possibilities, as early as 1973 the Abasha people decided to average of 18 quintals of corn grain per hectare, although the previous year, which was among the most bountiful, the rayon had averaged no more than 14 quintals. "Everyone went to the front," the raykom personnel had written in the now distant year of 1917. In 1973, similar notes appeared in the Abashskiy raykom. All rayon party members followed the raykom in the battle for the harvest, and the people trusted and followed them. Those same "lazy" Abashians about whom it was said that they would rather play than work, became profoundly interested in the results of their efforts and confident in its recognition by society, and worked tirelessly.

It not only became profitable to work well in the public farm, which alone is not enough for a person, but also honorable and prestigious. A. B. Kobalava who, together with G. D. Mgeladze, covered the entire difficult road of the struggle for the upsurge of the Abasha villages, recalls the first competition for the best field in the rayon, the way during the period of procurements of the fodder and the crops, every morning the winner of the socialist competition received a congratulatory telegram in the field, the posters would carry the names of shock workers on motor vehicles and the ceremony at which the "Leading Mechanizer" certificate was awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves. Possession of such a certificate meant an annual free trip to a sanatorium or rest home, immediate loan for building a house and even the right not to wait in line at the barbershop. The red pennant, the red "Leading Mechanizer" paper and one's photograph on the rayon's board of honor are equally important forms of "shock work preferences" mentioned by Lenin in reference to collective labor.

It had been a long time since the rayon people had worked so eagerly as they did during the still memorable 1973. The seemingly impossible happened:

after the harvested corn was weighed, the people saw that yields and the gross harvest had nearly doubled compared with the preceding year. The volatile-oil crop had doubled and the vegetable crop had quadrupled. This marked the first main victory of the Abasha experiment.

In setting up their association, the Abasha people saw to it that the wages of enterprise and organization workers serving agriculture were directly related to the end result -- the increased output from crop growing and animal husbandry. Although the Abasha tractor and combine operators are paid by the rayon's Sel'khoztekhnika association, they are members of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz party and trade union organizations and enjoy the same benefits and privileges as the farm workers. During the month, the mechanizers receive only 90 percent of their wage for work done at the farm. The receive the other 10 percent at the end of the year, but only if the kolkhoz or sovkhoz has met its state targets. The amount is doubled if the plan is overfulfilled. In addition to a bonus for excellent work, which may be as high as 80 percent of the basic wage for the season, they receive up to 10 tons of corn grain as additional payment based on annual results. This strengthens the joint interest in end labor results. Here are results: in 1980, instead of the planned 47 quintals the mechanized teams averaged 55 quintal of grain per hectare at half the average rayon cost. The state received from the Abasha people 750 tons of grain in 1971. During the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan the amount almost quintupled.

Following a visit of G. D. Mgeladze to Bulgaria, the Abasha people decided to test on their fields an industrial technology and the no-assignment labor organization and wage method in corn growing. A 10-person brigade was created and chose its own leader. "He is a playing coach," jokes A. V. Asatiani, the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika manager. The brigade pledged to average 60 quintals per hectare over a 1,000-hectare area. Even by today's Abasha standards the wages of the brigade members were high. Did this benefit the farm? Let us compute this together with the manager. Last year, the rayon paid 458,000 rubles in wages and an additional payment of 2,100 tons of grain for harvesting 6,000 tons of corn grain with the help of the mechanized teams. The same 6,000 tons produced by a no-assignment brigade will cost 120,000 rubles in wages and 100 tons of grain in bonuses.

At the other end of Georgia, in Kakheti, in the Alazanskaya Valley of which the poets sing, B. I. Shindzhiashvili, Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon party committee first secretary, is expatiating on the topical subject of strict cost accounting:

"Our main trouble is that we do not know how to count. We do not know the price of our money. Wages must be such as to interest equally anyone engaged in the same type of work, whether in a kolkhoz or a sovkhoz, and regardless of the juridical affiliation of a farm or enterprise. We have applied a system never tried before. We have increased kolkhoz and sovkhoz wage equality. Have you seen the way our villages are located along the roads? One next to the other. Try to explain to a house owner in a border area why is it that his neighbor on the right receives one wage and his neighbor on the left another. We are asking for bigger gross harvests and better quality of output. We are encouraging the people to overfulfill their plans, while

telling them at the same time, do not force matters, save your reserves, dodge or we shall punish you..."

In order to eliminate losses in the sugar content and weight of the grapes, they must be harvested at the optimal period and in a very short time. A delayed harvest means that every day dozens of tons of rayon grapes "dry up." It pays to hurry!

The brigade labor organization method is used in the rayon's farms. "Everyone loses from individual piece rates," argues the first secretary. A brigade member is paid 5.1 rubles for fulfilling his daily grape picking norm, based on the field's fertility. He is paid double for covering two norms, and triple for a third. A grape picking brigade which has been able to load a truck by 0930 hours receives a 30-ruble bonus, and a driver who has brought the people to work by 0700 hours receives an additional ruble per rider. "The mentality of the peasant has been taken into consideration," explains B. I. Shindzhiashvili, holding his portable adding machine. "The people get up early, work their own plot in the morning, and their work at the kolkhoz grape fields slackens." Here is another basic feature of this incentive system: depending on the productivity of the land the brigade members receive additional payments ranging from 10 to 15 percent of the value of the harvested crop. Today no one is interested in a reduced plan, for regardless of the percentage of plan overfulfillment, the more goods the brigade delivers the more it will be paid. A bonus is given also for reaching the optimal sugar content of the grape, i.e., for quality.

The people of Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon harvested 160,000 tons of grapes in 1981 -- as much as the neighboring Kvarel'skiy and Telavskiy Rayons combined, or one fifth of the republic's total output. They led in terms of yields as well. Last year they averaged 98 quintal per hectare. For improving the quality of the grapes alone the rayon's agriculture earned more than 6 million rubles and industry received almost twice the regular amount of raw material for the production of high-quality wines.

"Everything is quite simple," B. I. Shindzhiashvili concluded his views on cost effectiveness. "If production work is profitable and the people are well paid they are happy and there is progress."

In order to achieve such progress, the Kobuletskiy Rayon association, which accounts for one fifth of the republic's entire citrus crop, is experimenting with a system for stimulating the work of citrus growers. As A. A. Gogolishvili, association chairman explained to me, essentially the citrus grower is not interested in caring for the orchard, unlike other fruit growers. He is paid a low base wage only. However, growing a tree, caring for it and protecting it from greatly feared frosts is no simple matter. This takes years. The tree reaches full maturity in eight to 10 years.

The people of Kobuletskiy Rayon are proud of the fact that they introduced a system of bonuses equal to the monthly salary of specialists in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other association subunits before anyone else in the republic. To some extent this helped to eliminate shortcomings in the wages of secondary level specialists and to increase their interest in economic management.

Without lingering, the Marakhadzevskoye Production Association allocated from its centralized material incentive fund one million rubles as an incentive to the workers in understaffed processing factories. What else could it do, when only two steps away from the factory operating on kolkhoz territory tea-leaf pickers were earning a salary higher by several hundred percent? The tea plantations, which need such still scarce factories, were hurting themselves. To save the situation, in violation of the law and after surmounting understandable objections, kolkhoz brigades had to be assigned to the factory. This made everyone unhappy, hindered the harvest and the quality of the tea suffered. Today the people are working at the tea factories. Motivated by the new material incentive system, they work well and therefore earn well. As a result of the increased volume of processing, the picking of tea leaves in the rayon increased by 5,200 tons in 1981 compared with the previous year. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses earned an additional 10 million rubles.

B. I. Shindzhiashvili, our acquaintance from Kakhetiya is right: the Soviet ruble can accomplish a great deal if used thriftily.

#### The Effect of Cooperation

I admit that the contrasts I saw during the first day of my visit to Abasha were alarmingly drastic. The feeding areas of the interfarm complex, well but simply built, were clean, tile-lined, with running water. "A real hog sanatorium," one of the republic's leaders said. We saw, squeezed among the fruit trees of the private plot of a retiree, a small cement-lined area on which a hut, made of who knows what, was standing, and healthy pink porkers were drinking water from a spring. They had been boarded here by the complex from a very young age.

The breeding farm for 1,200 hogs, the purpose of which is to increase the public herd, and two saws delivered to the minibreeding farm built with handy materials and materials obtained from the public farm are the work of the tea factory bookkeeper and his two sons, both of them truck drivers. Dozens of hogs are being boarded here for the complex. In order not to lose any of the feed which may fall into the stream a miniature pond has been built and stocked with carp. All the hogs fattened here and the newly born pigs -- 11 per breeding saw -- and half of the fat carps will be delivered to the public farm at the proper time at state purchase prices, after deducting the original cost of the pigs, the feed, the slate used in the construction of the premises and other services. Last year, the bookkeeper's family delivered 9 tons of pork meat to the state, earning 9,000 rubles. At the same time, without investing a single kopek and saving on fodder and other outlays, the complex achieved a substantial growth in animal husbandry output.

Ya. K. Vasadze left behind a well organized life and a strong sovkhos in the Ukraine in order to participate in the interesting Abasha experiment. He speaks excitedly of the future of the complex he heads, the triple crossbreeding it is engaged in, the business sense of the working Abasha families, the help they receive from the farm for feeding the animals and the substantial benefits which accrue to each of the partners in this deal. A visit to Hungary convinced Vasadze that the people there had developed even more promising partnership methods.



The director told us that the rayon has no more than 15 large projects like the one we saw here. Usually, the projects are substantially more modest. Essentially, the private plots are given public livestock, particularly hogs, on the basis of contracts and the livestock products are bought from the population at state prices. The population also contracts for the use of small low-yield plots which cannot be cultivated with machines, and abandoned land for growing fodder. In exchange, the farms receive a certain share of the grain and the livestock products.

The sole purpose of all this is to involve as extensively as possible all population strata in the production of meat, milk and fodder. Between 1975 and 1981 the population's sales of meat to the state nearly tripled; 1,600 tons, or 60 percent of total meat deliveries of 2,651 tons, were purchased from the population.

This was my first exposure to the system of cooperation between public farm and private plots. Such cooperation is described as the fourth basic component of the republic's economic experiment, along with improvements in production management on the rayon level, the search for effective moral and material incentive methods and equipment concentration.

Georgia can and must become a republic with a highly developed animal husbandry. This is what ensuring a drastic upsurge in this most important sector means. This is a difficult task even under more favorable conditions. In order to resolve the problem, the Abasha Association built and equipped farm complexes for raising cattle and hogs, a breeding farm and a dairy complex. More than a dozen livestock farms and feeding grounds were organized in the kolkhozes and sovkhazes.

According to V. P. Abramishvili, first secretary of the Goriyskiy Rayon party committee, 900,000 rubles from the association's centralized funds were allocated for the development of public animal husbandry in 1981. The kolkhozes and sovkhazes used it to build livestock farms and to buy cattle. Here hog farms have been organized at the model forestry farm, the greenhouse, the grain products combine, the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika and the rayon consumer union. This is one more way for the implementation of the food program in a rayon almost half of whose territory is mountainous.

A progressive dairy farming technology is being improved at the Telekskiy Experimental Dairy Complex in Gardabanskiy Rayon. Here all processes have been mechanized. Ten milkmaids care for 800 cows. The entire personnel consists of 36 people, who produce 9-10 tons of milk daily at a cost of 24 rubles per quintal and sell for 40 rubles. Progressive sectorial management methods are being developed at the Sartychal'skiy Livestock Breeding Complex as well. Here, applying the experience of L'vov animal husbandrymen, an assembly line-shop milk production technology has been developed, which makes it possible to increase milk production per cow by 78 kg per year. Last year the complex achieved a birthrate of 95 calves per 100 cows and is planning to raise this figure to 100 this year.

"We are waging a real civil war for the solution of the animal husbandry problem," says B. I. Shindziashvili, freshly back from a meeting of the

bureau of the Gurdzhaanskiy raykom, which discussed the problem of replacing two sovkhos directors, who had failed to secure the wintering of the cattle.

Naturally, the secretary knows perfectly well that this is not a war, even less so a civil war. However, he also knows that all available forces and resources have been concentrated on the shock livestock front and that sometimes one must act as mercilessly on this peaceful front as in war.

"During the five-year plan we must increase milk and meat production by a minimum of 50 percent. We shall be developing livestock grazing in the mountains and raise cattle in barns in the flat areas..."

Both nearby and distant neighbors of the Abasha people, who have no more than 12,000 hectares of farmland, consider them lucky. Mountainous Kobuletskiy Rayon has 1,400 hectares of arable land, or 10 head of cattle per hectare. The entire land of the private plots is in citrus fruits. Every year the population delivers to the state 60,000-80,000 tons of fruits. Both find this profitable. Corn is planted here grain by grain, as the Kobuletskiy Rayon people say, joking about their difficult situation.

Adapting itself to it, the Kobuletskoye Production Association is rebuilding the poultry farm, which will increase poultry meat production by a factor of 5. It will rebuild its hog-breeding farm and the dairy farms in the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses. However, land scarcity, which is typical of Georgia, is felt here particularly sharply and requires the involvement of the entire population in the struggle for an animal husbandry upsurge. The tenseness of this struggle is confirmed by the small patches of ryegrass planted on the steep banks of innumerable mountain streams and mowed several times a year. B. S. Dzhikiya, first raykom secretary, believes that the presence of a cow in almost every backyard by 1985 would be a major victory.

"The food program must involve every rural worker's family." Such is the combat task facing Makharadzevskiy Rayon as well. Under such circumstances, it is normal to credit additional working days to cooperative members -- 9 per 100 kg of livestock produce delivered to the state -- and to break the cooperative contract signed with the kolkhoz member who has failed to meet the output norm stipulated by the public farm, in which case he is paid only for caring for the animals, on the basis of current rates.

The rayon received from the population 1,499 tons of meat and 1,105 tons of milk on the basis of cooperation contracts in 1981. The association opened its own store in the rayon center. Such stores will be opened in other rayon settlements later. Meanwhile, the store is being supplied with products by the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov in Dvabzu Village on a monthly basis.

This kind of cooperation was started here in 1979. The first kolkhoz meeting on this subject was addressed by N. T. Takidze, raykom bureau member and association chairman. Several more meetings were held to disperse the mistrust of the kolkhoz members and to convince them that this was a necessary and profitable project. Those who needed convincing included people who were scaring the supporters of cooperation with the ghost of private enterprise.

M. M. Dolidze, the kolkhoz chairman, keeps in his safe a bulky file on new production activities important to the kolkhoz. This includes contracts with kolkhoz members, filed in different folders according to the type of cooperation, and records on goods planned and delivered. Five different forms of cooperation are possible, so that a wide choice is available. If a farmer has no cows he can take some from the kolkhoz and pay with half the cheese made from their milk. He can borrow 1,000 rubles from the kolkhoz to buy cows and be assigned a plot for growing fodder. This is the second cooperation method. The third applies to those who already have their own cows. They too may be given a plot. The two methods of cooperation for meat production are liked by the kolkhoz members. According to the first, the kolkhoz lets the farmer fatten a cow written off at the dairy farm, a steer or a hog. The second applies to kolkhoz members who raise and deliver to the state their own cattle.

"Listen, this was figured out by some clever fellow and should have been done a long time ago," says A. S. Dzhavelidze, head of a road-workers brigade. "For many years they weaned me, they distanced me, the peasant, from the land! They gave permissions and then retracted them! Finally, I could not stand it any longer: 'If you don't want it, neither do I! Somehow I'll manage!' I signed both forms of contracts and I am quite pleased. There are six in my family. and now we have everything: corn, meat, cheese and milk. We no longer buy from the market. Before the cooperation there were lines in front of the board premises to ask the chairman for milk for the children from the kolkhoz farm. Now the lines have disappeared. We have enough milk left even after state deliveries. The milk is bought by the village cafeteria, the elderly and employess with small families. Everyone is pleased!

"I am quite pleased with our kolkhoz affairs. I personally earn well at the kolkhoz in addition to what I earn from the cooperation deal. My wife is retired and receives a pension of 120 rubles. My son and his wife earn well at the kolkhoz, and my grandchildren attend the fifth and eighth grades, respectively. No one suffers from the work and no one should fear calluses!"

The term kolkhoz means that everyone who works there should live well. That is what the "civilized cooperative farmers" about whom Lenin once dreamed say today. The fourth component of the Abasha experiment is confidently working today for socialism.

Compared with the same indicators for the previous five-year plan, the average gross annual farm output in Abashskiy Rayon increased by 57 percent in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Animal husbandry output increased by 81 percent. Within that period of time the average annual corn crop -- the basic farm crop -- increased from 23.4 to 44.4 quintals per hectare.

The starting point of the long prosperous Makharadzevskiy Rayon, Abasha's neighbor, was different. However, it too achieved substantial successes during the 3 years of existence of the production association. Tea production increased by 27 percent between 1979 and 1981; citrus fruit deliveries increased by 81 percent; meat deliveries doubled, while milk and egg deliveries increased by 32 percent and 80 percent respectively.

The objective of socialism is quite clearly visible behind the production growth figures: those who do honest work must live well. During the past 5 years alone three kindergartens, seven secondary and eighth-grade schools, new housing, stores, medical facilities, service enterprises and sports grounds have been built in Abashskiy Rayon. The people are pleased with the new roads and beautiful squares, the long-awaited bridge across the Rioni River and the water main. Families have returned to their native villages.

Some 20 years ago the local girls did not look with favor at boys from Natanebi Village in Makharadzevskiy Rayon, which was surrounded by malaria causing swamps. Hero of Socialist Labor G. A. Tsitlidze, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, member of the CC CP of Georgia and chairman of the now famous Kolkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin, is particularly proud of the fact that these cursed swamps have been drained off, that the people have forgotten what malaria is and that their faces are brighter today. Natanebi Village has improved substantially in recent years. It has its newspaper, radio and television transmission systems and a motion-picture studio. The kolkhoz is currently building a kindergarten with a swimming pool in which the kolkhoz family children will learn to swim even before they learn to walk.

"I was urged to use standard building plans," says G. A. Tsitlidze, in describing his small but principled victory. "I disagreed. Why, said I, could bourgeois children have this type of swimming pool and not kolkhoz children? The kolkhoz offers a good answer to the question of what the revolution and socialism have given the peasant. I was born here, it is from here that I went to war and it is here that my children are living and my grandchildren are growing up. My dream is to prove to all that kolkhoz life is beautiful."

Another person who is full of daring plans and is confidently looking at the future is T. I. Dzhachvadze, a young kolkhoz leader in Cheremi Village in Kakhetiya. Today both the sad and happy events in his life, which seems intertwined with the history of Abasha, is known throughout Georgia. In 1953 the population of Cheremi was resettled against its will on the plain and told that this will be better for them. However, the people could not breathe the air of the flatlands, and dreamed of their native village.

Cheremi was ceremoniously reopened in the spring of 1978. A road was laid to the village by the Gurdzhaanskoye Production Association. Sixty-four families have already returned to the village, and eventually there will be 200. M. D. Barbakadze, kolkhoz party organization secretary, says that the party organization already has 14 members; two new members have arrived but are not registered yet, and soon four candidate members will join: two teachers and two mechanizers. The village has already had its first marriage. It has a secondary school attended by 50 children. Last year it delivered its first tons of corn harvested here by the grateful Cheremi people, and kolkhoz buffaloes are grazing on the mountain slopes. An irrigation system and many other projects are under construction or are planned for the future.

#### Further Progress

The logic of the development of the Georgian experiment calls for further progress.

The land must have an owner in the full socialist meaning of the term. In order to achieve this, the republic's Ministry of Agriculture, headed since the beginning of the year by Hero of Socialist Labor G. D. Mgeladze, is reorganizing its work.

Today the rayon production associations are truly managing the production process. Consequently, the Ministry of Agriculture should be able to do the same after eliminating the sluggishness of its cumbersome apparatus, streamlining its structure and upgrading its mobility. Its intention is to implement sectorial technical and economic policy actively, rather than to collect various reports. It intend really to participate in agricultural production planning. Real sectorial management means also to organize the best possible information service and thus to be the master of the situation, to forecast its development and to be able to resolve operational matters promptly.

The land must have an owner. Therefore, as its strengthens its role as sectorial headquarters, the ministry is currently drafting recommendations for the use of bold new material incentive methods, based on the specifics of the individual rayons, so that the entire system can be based on higher output. Great attention is being paid to the application of the piece rate-bonus system, which guides the efforts of the working people precisely toward high end results. As practical experience in our country and in fraternal Bulgaria shows, no-assignment brigades can work miracles, achieve tremendous labor savings and strengthen labor discipline. In the final account, the task now is to make the wage and incentive systems maximally simple, so that absolutely everything is understandable to the peasant. As G. D. Mgeladze stressed at the meeting, this is a key task in agricultural policy.

The price policy is a matter of exceptional concern for the minister and all other people one meets here. Actually, is it normal for the prices of farm commodities to remain fixed for long periods of time while life and production conditions keep changing? The Tkemali plum is a very simple example: it is a very valuable and needed crop. It caused trouble to G. D. Mgeladze when he was raykom secretary and is causing trouble to the managers of other republic rayons. With a purchase price of 20 kopeks per kg, the peasant finds it more convenient to leave the fruit unpicked. The output could be tripled, however, if the price were to be raised to 40 kopeks. At current purchase prices of corn grain and livestock products, Abashskiy Rayon must produce under incomparably worse economic conditions than other republic rayons, which have specialized in growing highly profitable crops such as tea leaves, grapes and citrus fruit. The minister firmly believes that the republic's authorities should be in a position to change prices on the basis of specific regional conditions and the interests of the entire national economy.

The foremost task of the rayon authorities and the ministry is to ensure the growth of output. This means to rely on science and global experience. That is why today the ministry is trying to bring the scientific institutions serving agricultural production as close as possible to the real needs of farming and to see to it that the objective of the daily activities of scientific associates consist not exclusively of defending dissertations but of ensuring the progress of scientific thinking and resulting practical work.

"Another matter which bothers me and on which I would like to express my personal opinion," G. D. Mgeladze said in concluding the meeting, "is my firm conviction that the Ministry of Agriculture in its present structure cannot fully resolve all its problems. Everyone knows that agriculture cannot develop successfully if the equipment is not efficiently used. However, today it is in the hands of partners, who are not responsible for increasing milk output. Anyone with practical experience will have to agree with me that Sel'khoztekhnika, the land reclamation system and the Ministry of Agriculture must be parts of the single management mechanism system. As partners in a single project, the personnel of these three sectors can no longer shift the blame around, as they do now, but undertake jointly the development and implementation of a unified land policy.

"The land must have a single owner. We kept repeating this basic truth tirelessly," the minister keeps saying. "However, sometimes we do precisely the opposite, forgetting that production specialization is entirely different from management specialization. Here is the latest example: recently, 61 sovkhoses were transferred from under our jurisdiction to that of the new Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry. However, there is no such thing as absolute specialization. The development of agricultural production is comprehensive. This applies to the specialized farms as well. I repeat, the land must have a single owner. This is the imperative of the times..."

The land must have a single owner, for which reason the Georgian Interdepartmental Coordination Council for the Management of the Agroindustrial Complex was created and held its first meeting at the end of February. Its main task, points out O. G. Vardzelashvili, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers in charge of agricultural affairs, who heads the council, is to eliminate departmentalism and to direct all members of the complex toward reaching the final target. This is the purpose of the reserves allocated to the council. It is important to consider in the plans and in all production activities the interests of the rayon as a socioeconomic unit, and to coordinate them with the interests of the republic and the entire country, without violating the sectorial management principle. No such coordination had been achieved in the past.

In the opinion of kolkhoz chairmen and chairmen of rayon production associations, personnel of the various republic departments, raykom secretaries and heads of the republic party organization, progress means to end planning "on the basis of the level reached" sooner and to organize it on a firm normative base. It means to streamline rental relations and to interest the individual farms and rayons in producing the full complement of products needed by the state. To progress, the participants in the experiment say, means to put an end to petty supervision of all agricultural production units, in the course of which the issuing of innumerable instructions hinders or even stops the real work. It is quite clear, therefore, that it is a question of resolving a broad range of topical problems within the framework of the work initiated in the country on improving the economic mechanism.

E. A. Shevardnadze, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CP of Georgia first secretary, briefly summed up the results of the economic reorganization in the republic as follows:

"We have no doubts as to the outcome of this experiment. We live with it. The beginning was hard. There were many arguments. We have never regulated the search for new methods. During the 8 years since the beginning of the Abasha experiment there have been successes, failures and errors. The main thing is that in the course of our quests we have tried to avoid to break up the existing management system. We have tried to give a new meaning to the existing methods and to bring closer to each-other and to interweave the interests of the participants in the agroindustrial complex and to make everyone interested in the end results. We have been able to achieve definite results without unnecessary bear k ups.

"Why do I mention this? Because, and this is no secret, agriculture reacts very painfully to any break. Let us remember the fate of the MTS. In our republic, in my view, we undertook their mass elimination without an serious economic preparations, as a result of which we suffered heavy losses.

"We always took the human factor into consideration. We considered the farmer's painful reaction to dismantling systems and sharp turns which could have caught him unprepared. We tried to act in a way such as not to infringe upon the autonomy of organizations and enterprises within the association, for we were dealing with living beings, with economic managers who react sharply to any attempt to infringe upon their independence.

"In creating the associations we also took into consideration the traditions and the specifics of each rayon. Frankly speaking, we ran no risk, for we were convinced that things could not become any worse than they were. Today we can confidently say that the new management mechanism is operational. We have been able to accomplish the most important thing -- to involve in it educated, competent and communicative people. We can confidently say that this applies to most, if not all, association managers. Without suitable people no association can achieve high results. The fact that more democratic production management methods are being established is very important. Cooperation and coordination of efforts instead of dismissals or reprimands have priority. Today the party raykoms as well are reorganizing their work. Maximal autonomy implies reciprocal interest. There can be no results without partnership. The good work of kolkhozes and sovkhoses benefits industry and vice-versa. Partnership benefits everyone -- the farm, the individual worker and society at large.

"This applies to cooperation between public farms and private plots, between kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the population. Not only kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers, but pensioners, school students, housewives, service industry workers and executives, in a word all possible population categories, are extensively involved in such cooperation today. We are not apprehensive when a participant in such cooperation raises as many as 40-50 pigs on his plot, for his work is a variety of public work. The land on which the participant grows corn or feed crops, the machines which assist him in his work, the feed, the construction materials and the breeding farms from which he receives the pigs to be fattened are all owned by society. The participant sells the products to the public farm at government prices. Therefore, even if he suddenly would like to become a kulak, he would be unable to do so.

"The people are doing socially useful work and the income they earn is really earned. Here as well we have nothing to fear. I often think of the fate of our mountain rayons. Their people live at an altitude of 2,500 meters above sea level. They have excellent conditions for the development of grazing and to build livestock complexes there like in the flatlands would be sheer dogmatism. We can organize there extensive cooperation between public and private farms in a great variety of areas, even forestry. We frequently speak of manpower shortages in the country, while using them very poorly. Cooperation is the real way to upgrade the efficient use of manpower resources. What is wrong if a person who has put in an honest day's work to spend a few more hours working his private plot for himself and society? Children become involved in such socially useful work and acquire a real labor education in the family and at school from early years.

"Unfortunately, we have become used to stereotype thinking and lose a great deal from it. In Abasha, where a very difficult situation had developed, we gave the raykom secretary freedom of action. He began with material incentive, which was the only proper way. The people there had been alienated from work for many years. The elimination of the payment in kind system had not been thoroughly thought out. The idea was that the farmer could buy all the products he needed. However, rivers of milk flowing between banks of cream do not appear instantly. There was no cattle in the kolkhoz farmyards and the people began to leave the villages. Today Abasha is unrecognizable.

"I repeat that this is merely the initial stage in our accomplishments. Undoubtedly, new and even more interesting forms of production organization will appear. Exceptionally noteworthy processes are already taking place. The centralization of funds led to the creation of a construction materials industry in the villages. Today brick plants are under construction, quarries are being opened and the production of quarry materials is being organized. Many republic farms and rayons have become highly profitable. There is money, but not enough to undertake capital construction in the villages to the required extent. All material resources are received through the Gosplan and are severely limited. Tomorrow the association's financial resources will increase even further, but now a real opportunity arises to free the state from parasitism and constant demands for more capital construction resources, and to develop such resources ourselves. This process, which was started with the creation of the associations, has a very bright future.

"Another very important consequence of the experiment is that a taste for the new and for finding it has developed in the people. They travel, look and study the experience of other parts of the country and the fraternal socialist countries. We made a close study of the Moldavian and Hungarian experience, of the Stavropol' area and of Bulgaria. We borrowed all that could apply to our republic, and developed some of it even further. This process can be described most accurately as interaction, reciprocal enrichment and international experience.

"Many unresolved problems remain. The republic grows 26 crops, almost all of them basic. Narrow specialization is virtually impossible. We must always consider the topography, the soil and the climate. Specialization must be combined with the comprehensive development of public farming. All of this



inordinately complicates the problem of improving the management of agroindustrial complexes further. We must continue to look for things that are interesting, truly new and truly progressive..."

Let us end with this the story of the work accomplished in the republic for reorganizing the management of the agroindustrial complex. Its lessons are comprehensive. The four basic components of the Georgian experiment are simple and effective. Refined on the basis of local conditions and enriched by local experience and initiative, they can unquestionably contribute to end results elsewhere in the country. "Life is the best teacher... We must follow life, we must give full freedom to the creativity of the people's masses," Lenin said from the rostrum of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the day after the victory of the October revolution.

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## PROBLEMS OF THE 'COTTON' COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 76-87

[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences A. Safayev]

[Text] The 11th Five-Year Plan is a new major stage in the implementation of the long-term tasks of communist construction by the Soviet people. The development of the national economic cotton complex in the country plays a major role among them. Cotton growing is the main link in this complex, which contributes to the solution of the food program and which ensures the country with cotton--a most valuable industrial crop. In assessing the contribution of the working people in cotton-growing republics, Uzbekistan above all, to the country's economic potential, in his speech at the ceremonies in Tashkent on 24 March 1982, on the occasion of awarding the Order of Lenin to the Uzbek SSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, pointed out "let us particularly mention the successes of Uzbekistan in cotton growing....A great deal can be said: During the last 2 years the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Uzbek SSR have harvested more than 6 million tons of this most valuable raw material! The sale to the government of the particularly valuable fine-staple cotton has increased by one-half over the last 5 years. You are engaged in a major project for the country and for every Soviet individual."

The national economic cotton complex (NKhK) is being developed within the comprehensive Cotton Program (CP "Cotton"). The scale of the economic sectors and land, water and manpower resources involved in it and the various uses of cotton-growing products in supplying the population with consumer goods place optimizing the development of the cotton complex among the most important national economic tasks. As Comrade Sh. R. Rashidov, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CP of Uzbekistan first secretary, emphasizes, "the 'Cotton' program is a scientific program in the full meaning of the term. It has concentrated within a single task the efforts and search of tens of thousands of people and the activities of many establishments, various ministries, departments, enterprises and institutes."

### I

Cotton plays a major role among the raw material resources extensively used in all developed countries. Its main purpose is the production of staple, which

accounts for about one-third of the weight of the consumed raw cotton. All in all, more than 1,000 different types of other useful products are made from cotton.

The development of chemical fibers created the hope that the needs of society for cotton would diminish rapidly. However, reality did away with these hopes. Whereas in industry in the finishing of private and public premises cotton can be replaced almost entirely by chemical fibers, so far this cannot be said in the least as far as clothing is concerned. The chemical industry has been unable to duplicate the hygienic qualities of cotton fabrics, not to mention to improve on them. The overall raising and consumption of cotton throughout the world is increasing rather than declining, despite the fact that the production of chemical fibers is increasing.

The heat-loving cotton plant can grow only in the southernmost areas of our country. That is why it became the basic farm crop in the central Asian republics and, of late, in the Transcaucasus. These areas have been called upon to meet the requirements of the entire Soviet Union and, on the basis of long-term agreements, to supply cotton to the European members of the socialist comity. Cotton production in our country has become extensive. In 1913 about three-quarters of a million tons of raw cotton were harvested in Russia, while in recent years the Soviet Union has firmly established itself as the leading cotton producer in the world. The record-setting 1980 harvest was only 40,000 short of the 10 million mark. Nevertheless, increased demand makes even such amazing successes insufficient. The task of increasing the volume of cotton harvested will remain topical throughout the 1980's.

Another way to ensure the fuller satisfaction of the need for cotton is to adopt a thrifty attitude toward available resources: wherever possible cotton should be replaced by chemical staples; harvesting and storage losses should be reduced, spinning and weaving waste should be lowered and the quality of the cotton should be improved. The importance of such efforts may be described with the following figures and examples: It has been estimated that as much as one-third of the entire amount of cotton fibers used in the country today could be replaced by chemical fibers in industrial and household items. For example, the percentage of cotton used for such purposes in the United States is lower than in our country by a factor of 4-5. Raw cotton losses from open-air storage are more costly than the building of warehousing premises. The amount of processing waste is several times higher in the use of low-grade (5th-6th type) cotton compared with high-grade raw materials (1st-2d industrial type). Unfortunately, low-grade types still predominate in the output of the Uzbek cotton growers, for example, who account for about two-thirds of the country's output.

During the ceremonies held in Tashkent in March 1982, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "particular attention should be paid to upgrading the quality of the cotton. This will be the Uzbek cotton growers' worthy answer to the party's call for production intensification. However, it is precisely in this area that you have unused reserves, to put it mildly, or, more precisely, shortcomings. I was told that the share of 1st- and 2nd-grade cotton has dropped in 5 years from 70 to 46 percent of total procurements. Comrades, this situation must be changed as soon as possible."

In our country, cotton growing has become one of the large specialized sectors which, in addition to the usual features of specialization is also characterized by the fact that it is concentrated in the warmest parts of the country which have fertile land and extensive irrigation possibilities.

While manual labor predominated in cotton growing and little use was made of chemization and machinery, it was a question of a strictly specialized sector which extended only to the storing of the crop and the production of staple. However, the conditions under which cotton was grown became more complex with the development of the virgin lands and increased water supply difficulties. The role of reclamation increased and the need for complex land-working equipment arose. The fact that cotton was grown as a single crop led to the spread of typical cotton plant diseases. Efficient crop rotation, the steady replacement of strains and industrial feed-growing, with its own scientific base, proved to be more or less successful weapons in the struggle against them. Chemical fertilizers and chemicals were applied in increasing amounts.

Manual methods for preparing the soil, planting, cultivating and harvesting millions of tons of cotton became simply impossible. The need for machines increased with every passing year. Furthermore, whereas standard earth processing equipment can be used in preparing the soil, the processing of the crops required tractors and attachments of special design, and mechanized harvesting demanded essentially new types of machines. As a result, a specialized subsector developed within the machine-building industry, serving the requirements of cotton growing and the production of fibers and fabrics.

Relations with other industrial sectors and service industries appeared and expanded similarly. A set of production facilities appeared, developed and became increasingly more complex, steadily interacting with cotton growing, forming the national economic cotton complex. Its economic relations spread over a steadily increasing of economic sectors and subsectors.

One of the most important directions in improving all planning work is the proper setting of priorities in the development of sectors and economic rayons, making progressive changes in national economic proportions and upgrading the efficiency of capital investments and of overall public production.

Cotton growing is a clear example of priorities in the agricultural development of Uzbekistan and other Central Asian republics. For decades it was the main direction followed in the utilization of the cultivated land in Uzbekistan: Here areas under cotton exceeded 1.8 million hectares in 1980. After the Great Patriotic War, mass cotton cultivation was undertaken in the other Central Asian republics, spread to Kazakhstan and, stepping across the Caspian, gained a foothold in Azerbaijan. The resulting need to provide proper conditions for the development of cotton growing and processing is substantially affecting the industrial structure of these republics. The composition of their public product is changing.

Cotton remains the basic raw material used in the production of fibrous materials and retains a dominant position in the structure of the country's textile balance. At the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the national

economy used four times more cotton fibers than any other natural vegetal staples and triple the amount of chemical fibers. The further increase in cotton production through 1990 and beyond is planned.

All of this demands the mobilization of additional possibilities for most effectively resolving all interrelated problems in this area and surmounting existing difficulties. The latter arise and remain as a result of planning shortcomings, the slow application and utilization of the methods of target-program control and the incomplete solution of most important organizational problems related to the national economic cotton complex.

The difficulties caused by the rapid increase in the volume of output begin with seed growing. To this day, the selection workers who develop zoned strains have not entirely coordinated their efforts. Protective measures of a passive nature, consisting of a faster change in strains and efficient crop rotations still predominate in the struggle against the chronic disease in cotton--wilt--which specialists compare to cancer in man. The "chemotherapy" of the stricken plants yields no radical results and the "surgical" uprooting of contaminated crops causes heavier damage than the disease itself.

However, strain changes and crop rotations also cause temporary delays in the growth of cotton production, which should be compensated for by the safety of future crops. The correlation between current crop shortages and future compensations depends on many additional conditions and can be determined fully only with the economic-mathematical modeling of the expected long-range situation and at least on the scale of a large rayon, not to say an entire republic. So far no such possibilities exist in terms of individual farms, which consider it immeasurably more important to fulfill their current assignments than to expect prosperity 10 years in the future. This leads to disturbed crop rotation and creates favorable conditions for the spread of the disease.

The cotton growing areas are experiencing a tense situation in terms of the availability of fresh water. That is why the interest shown by the Central Asian republics in plans for transferring to them some of the stock of the abundant Siberian rivers is understandable. However, the implementation of such tremendous projects would take several 5-year or 10-year periods under the most favorable circumstances. For the time being, therefore, we must take into consideration the existing extensive opportunities for the more efficient utilization of available local water resources. Obviously, both problems must be resolved together. This becomes closely interwoven with the work of the machine-building sectors. The loading of their capacities and the development of earth processing equipment invariably limit their opportunities for supplying the cotton-growing industry with mechanization facilities. Here again we must look for an optimal balance in the distribution of efforts and the coordination of deadlines.

For many years the problem of preserving the raised and harvested crop has not been resolved completely. The volume of the gross cotton harvest grows with every season and the volume of improperly stored cotton does not decline. A contradictory situation develops. The percentage of the high grades shipped

to light industry enterprises for processing is substantially lower than it was in the harvested cotton. The quality of the raw cotton substantially worsens as a result of imperfect storing conditions. This causes tremendous losses for the light industry and the consumers of fabrics and staples. The disproportion between the crop and the possibility of its storage is based on departmental discoordination and discrepancies among the indicators which must be met at the various stages of the production and utilization of the staple. In cotton growing the main result is the amount of raw cotton; the second prerequisite is the share of high-grade categories. The machines used in the production of staples and fabrics are designed for the processing of high-grade raw materials and can process low-grade cotton only poorly and with tremendous overexpenditures. Estimates have confirmed that outlays for ensuring the proper protection of raw cotton are far smaller than the loss caused by its lowered quality and losses directly caused by poor storage. The tremendous usefulness of combined planning in the development of the elements of the cotton complex and the expediency of having a single nondepartmental crediting authority within the complex are obvious. So far, the efforts to surmount existing difficulties on the basis of the current sectorial and territorial planning procedure have been unsuccessful.

It is an unquestionable fact that more cotton is needed. However, the resources which can be allocated for this purpose are limited by the possibilities of the entire national economy. Furthermore, they are subject to the additional restrictions within each of the sectors involved in the development of the cotton complex.

The target program approach facilitates the search for an optimal correlation among the efforts of several interrelated sectors in resolving basic joint problems related to the growth of the national economy. The problems of the theory and practice of the formulation and implementation of the cotton program, covering all producers and consumers, in the broadest possible meaning of these terms, are becoming increasingly relevant.

## II

In practical terms, work on the Cotton Complex Program in the Soviet Union was undertaken at the beginning of the 1970's by the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute (TsEMI) in cooperation with scientists at the Uzbek Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics (IE). Currently a collective of scientific associates of the optimal planning and management department of the IE and the TsEMI have completed the development of the scientific-methodological and organizational foundation leading to the drafting of an original comprehensive program on the scale of the entire national economy.

The Cotton Complex Program is being developed as a long-term strategic program whose objective is to ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the Soviet national economy and the members of the socialist comity for cotton and cotton products. It is a complex of interrelated resources, performers and deadlines of scientific research, industrial and organizational-economic nature, the implementation of which, regardless of territorial and

sectorial jurisdiction, ensures the intensification of all units within the national economic cotton complex. The cotton comprehensive program includes several most important subprograms which cover the basic directions in the development of the cotton complex. This is necessary in order to ensure the practical organization of production management based on the hierarchical principle.

As a target of the Cotton Complex Program, the NKhK has a variety of functions and structural parts. The central part is cotton production itself, involving all material and manpower resources directly used in the production cycle, starting with the growing and treatment of the seeds and ending with the harvest and the primary storing of the crops. The second part, as is the case with any agroindustrial combination, includes the treatment of the cotton and the use of the staple and the other products. The feedback which develops in the use of these products, their interchangeability in particular, is taken into consideration.

However, we deem it necessary to take into consideration also the third part, which is usually not included in the structure of agroindustrial complexes. This applies to the industrial and nonindustrial areas of public production, which provide capital and working assets and other services. This not only considerably enhances the share of the industrial elements but makes it possible to take fully into consideration the role and place of the complex within the national economic plan and to establish more precisely their influence on the development of each of the related sectors and, consequently, to assess national economic outlays and results and the efficiency of solutions more completely.

At the core of the complex, cotton growing has a determining impact on the end objective of its development--the volume of cotton output in each planned and long-term period and the respective level of satisfaction of needs for fibers and cotton goods. These indicators must be achieved under the conditions of rigid restrictions on the amount of land allocated for cotton growing, for it is a question of irrigated areas on which a number of other most important crops such as grain, watermelons and grapes could have high yields.

According to our estimates, the labor of mechanizers accounts for no more than a quarter of the total labor outlays in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Manual and unskilled labor is still used to a considerable extent.

Therefore, many resources invested in cotton growing could be used in other agricultural sectors, hence their use in one or another direction should be based on estimates of the relative economic effectiveness in terms of the need for end products. This is a very important argument in favor of adopting a comprehensive approach to such computations.

The second structural component of the cotton complex includes the processing of the cotton and the utilization of the fibers. The output of cotton growing is subsequently subjected to further industrial processing and only a certain percentage of it goes into cottonseed oil, which is a nutritive product. Chemical staples can replace 70 to 80 percent of the cotton needed, particularly

in the manufacture of industrial and household items. For example, cotton fibers are no longer used in manufacturing cords for automobile tires. Chemical fibers improve the quality of the tires, extend their durability and ensure tremendous savings in this area by reducing rubber, fiber and fuel outlays. However, in many other areas the substitution of natural with chemical fibers has not been completed because of the unavailability of the latter, despite the obvious advantages of such substitution.

In order to resolve the problem of the sequence and pace at which chemical materials can replace natural fibers on a substantiated basis and most economically, an optimal balance of textile materials must be drawn up. It will enable us to determine the needs of the country (including export possibilities) for cotton staples more accurately.

The purpose of the third part of the complex is to provide the first two with productive and working capital and necessary services. The current sectorial planning system with supplemental refinements based on territorial plans requires the full poststadial linking the volumes of output in previous stages with the requirements of subsequent stages. In practice, however, the proportions estimated in advance are frequently violated. Shortcomings in planning, excessively stressed planned assignments, particularly in capital construction, and the reduced volume of reserves of material values and production capacities lead to the violation of computed proportions. Disproportions increase as a result of the periodical review of basic planned assignments.

It is at this point that the "priority scale" is applied. Some consumers enjoy absolute priority and no one revises their assignments. This is followed by the different degrees of priority. As a result, some customers are allocated sufficient materials while others receive only half or even less than half of what they need: the needs of the cotton growing industry are not fully met and some of the available facilities cannot be usefully operated because of their incompleteness. Let us bear in mind that it is a question of the output of sectors such as machine building and the chemical and petroleum refining industries, i.e., items which are quite expensive and quite frequently scarce. The proper assessment of the losses suffered by the national economy from such scarcities should be the basis for the establishment of priorities. The existence of the Cotton Complex Program as well enables us to determine initial requirements more accurately (in accordance with the effectiveness with which the same goods and materials are used by other consumers). In precisely the same manner, computations relating to the complex are added to strictly sectorial data on changes in real conditions.

The development of a set of production facilities related to cotton growing demands the coordinated activities of several sectors. This includes mining, which provides raw materials for fertilizers, many industrial and agricultural processing sectors, which also need land, fresh water, machines, mechanisms, manpower and fertilizer, and all production facilities which successfully use cotton or chemical fibers, from tires to clothing.

It is self-evident that it would be expedient to include in the complex not all directly or indirectly related sectors but only those whose functioning



directly depends on the needs of the cotton growing industry, whose activities are based on the processing of the cotton or, finally, whose output is substantially interchangeable with cotton products.

Therefore, the Cotton Complex Program represents a multisectorial complex operating on the national economic scale, with a great number of internal relations which, in some cases, reflect the direct economic proportion which depend on the existing systems of sectorial and production specialization facilities such as, for example, among the amount of harvested cotton, the need for harvesting equipment, storage areas and cotton treatment capacities and, in others, reflect the nonlinear and frequently contradictory interdependencies, such as the quality of the soil and the structure of the applied fertilizer, weather conditions and available irrigation resources. Connections with the sectors which are not part of the complex, for one reason or another, either combine it with the necessary capacities of suppliers or consumers or result in not always obvious feedbacks.

### III

Cotton growing has continued to develop both as a result of the use of production intensification conditions, which increase yields per hectare, and through the extensive expansion of the areas under cotton and the involvement of the virgin lands, achieved essentially with the extensive cultivation of the virgin lands in desert and semidesert areas.

Naturally, the division between extensive and intensive development is not so straight. The development of new areas involves their reclamation and chemization, the zoning of selected grain strains and other intensification methods. In most cases, however, each new hectare under crops and new quintals of the crop harvested from such land are more expensive than increasing production on developed land. Determining the best possible ratio in the allocation of efforts between the development of new lands and upgrading the fertility of developed land is a most complex planning task. It is insufficient to seek a solution only for a specific period in the future such as, for example, for 1990. The development of new land itself and raising its fertility to the needed level require 5 to 7 years or more. Therefore, by 1990 we must initiate and undertake the development of lands which will reach full capacity toward the year 2000 or even later.

From the very beginning the Cotton Complex Program was based on the principles of dynamic programming, i.e., involving the use of a system of optimizing plan computations for each year within the stipulated period, in accordance with the assignments and the simultaneous amending of production levels in subsequent years in such a way that outlays during the preceding year do not increase excessively. This method ensures the minimum level of outlays for the entire period in accordance with individual annual possibilities. The computation itself is made for the entire planned period simultaneously.

The advantage of the target approach becomes particularly clear in the development of complex technical and economic systems, for it provides additional opportunities for determining more precisely balance ratios and assessing

resource effectiveness. The main objective in the development of this entire system is established and followed by the formulation of intermediary objectives the achievement of which leads to the achievement of the main one. The objective of each higher work level can be attained only after resolving the problem of the preceding one. Furthermore, we must deploy our forces in such a way that they may be sufficient for the entire program.

The main objective in the development of the cotton complex is the total satisfaction of all the requirements of the national economy and the population for cotton goods. However, the limited nature of cotton production resources and technologies does not allow us to resolve this problem within a short time. Attainable intermediary levels of partial, of an incomplete satisfaction of established (and increasing) requirements must be established. They are based on our practice of planning at the end of each 5-year period. Their implementation is possible only with the active participation of each of the sectors within the complex and the establishment of all the necessary external relations. This means that the chemical industry must supply fertilizers and chemical means for plant protection and cultivation; the machine-building industry must produce the necessary number of developed machines and design new ones; the land reclamation system must develop new land and improve irrigation on developed areas; the feed production industry must develop and zone new cotton strains, etc. The cotton growers themselves face corresponding assignments. They must be concerned with increasing yields, improving the quality of the raw cotton and mechanizing the sowing, cultivation and harvesting of the crop. Light industry must ensure the fuller utilization of the delivered raw material and master the use of new machines which will enable it to produce high quality fabrics and threads and to reduce processing losses.

In order to meet these assignments-targets (let us call them secondary-level targets), which number between 150 and 200, additional conditions must be created. This includes further design and research work, providing new machinery and new types of raw materials, etc. In this case we already have between 1,000 and 1,300 subtargets. Subtargets of the fourth and subsequent levels are included in the plans of the individual sectors and do not have to be included in the structure of the Cotton Complex Program.

In the quantitative assessment of the final objective of the development of the complex, defining the needs of the national economy for cotton and cotton fibers becomes a most important problem. The need indicator includes the mandatory saturation of all consumers who cannot replace the respective product as well as those who have absolute social priority, regardless of economic results, such as the medical industry, defense, and a number of long-term export obligations. The sources for the satisfaction of consumers, who could use both cotton products and their substitutes, are determined on the basis of comparisons among their respective outlays. Outlay differences become the yardstick of national economic effectiveness.

On a long-term basis, needs can be assessed only in terms of a variant computation, whose limits must be narrowed as we formulate our long-term forecasts and plans for reaching social and economic targets. The number of such variants can be considerable. According to our computations for 1995, there is

a 30-percent differential between the maximal and minimal cotton production variants. Naturally, this is a rather wide range of results which, nevertheless, quite clearly reflects the complex nature of such computations. At the time they were made, no long-term estimates had been made for most of the sectors within the complex and the accepted tolerances had to be wider on either side. The variants of sectorial and national economic plans drafted at the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan enable us to reduce the gap substantially and to earmark more clearly the necessary measures for their implementation.

We must point that each intermediary objective can be developed as its own independent target. This method is entirely suitable in planning the assignments of each sector within the complex and sectors which, without being part of it, maintain production-economic relations with it. This is one of the important advantages of the target approach to planning, for it ensures the application of a standard method at different planning levels and the strict balancing among production assignments.

The allocation of resources and organizational efforts to reach intermediary objectives on the same level is an important stage in the elaboration of the target plan for the development of the cotton growing complex. A comparison between the funds needed for achieving all of these objectives and the overall availability of resources reveals the disparity between them and makes it possible to correct both until a balance has been reached. A system of priorities is also set in supplying these targets with resources and, therefore, in determining the sequence in which they are to be reached. Since this planning stage is of a clearly manifested intersectorial nature, its results offer valuable plan information for intrasectorial computations as well.

Programs of measures, including economic-mathematical models of respective economic situations and available basic information for optimizing computations were elaborated in the course of planning the development of the cotton complex for more than 20 secondary-level targets. Development systems were earmarked for the others, on the basis of which and with the participation of specialized sectorial organizations similar subprograms were drafted with a large number of optimizing and simulation models.

The optimizing mechanism for improving the individual programs is so structured that as a result of the combination of existing circumstances the closest possible approximation to the optimal value of respective intermediary objectives can be achieved. Although during the past 10 years the studies here were conducted without adequate coordination among the activities of scientific institutions, planning and design organization, ministries and departments, by now a number of methods have been developed for optimizing the individual units and production facilities within the complex. The situation is more difficult in the area of coordinating such methodical developments, for there still is no proper authority in charge of such coordination. Nevertheless, common experience in the implementation of sectorial and national economic optimizing leads us to believe that a certain ability has already been acquired in coordinating the solution of individual problems.

#### IV

The work which was done proved that it is precisely the theoretical summation of planning national economic complexes that remains the topical task of economics and that the experience gained in working on such planning offers valuable data for such a summation. Individual scientific developments carried out in this direction have already been usefully applied. In particular, it is a question of optimizing the utilization of the land and the fertilizers, limiting the harmful effect of fertilizers and toxic chemicals on the environment, reducing the amount of labor needed during seasonal work in cotton growing, the utilization of the machine fleet and many other optimizing computations.

The very fact of achieving practical economic results from the application of such projects is encouraging. However, it also proves that these are merely the first steps in the comprehensive elaboration of the entire problem. Further studies of and improvements in methods for planning the optimal development of the national cotton growing complex are needed. A restraining factor in this case is the fact that for the time being the other, the organizational-management problem, is being resolved too slowly.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev already pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress the exceptional importance of improving the methods for the comprehensive solution of major national intersectorial and territorial problems: "This will require uniform centralized programs covering all work stages--from designing to practical implementation. It is important that for each case specific agencies and individuals be assigned. They would assume full responsibility and coordinate all efforts within the framework of one program or another." This instruction applies fully and entirely to the cotton program as well.

All-union conferences on optimizing the development of the national economic cotton complex were held in 1973 and 1978. By their recommendation the further development of the Cotton Complex Program was contemplated in terms of ensuring radical improvements in the organization, coordination, material, cadre and financial support and the creation of favorable conditions for the experimental testing of elaborated methods and their practical utilization.

The creation of a special agency in charge of the centralized management of the economic problems of the Cotton Complex Program is particularly relevant. This is dictated by the interests and requirements of numerous sectorial scientific research organizations, VUZs and other departments which need scientific-methodological management and coordination particularly urgently. The concentration of trained skilled specialists and the available material, financial and other resources within a single center will contribute to the successful implementation of the measures planned for the Cotton Complex Program.

The point is that cotton production is increasing. Labor outlays and utilization of fresh water have reached major scales. A large amount of land which can be used in growing valuable food crops is under cotton; intensification funds are being rapidly increased but are far from always used with the proper effectiveness; many other aspects of such activities could be substantially

improved. Under such circumstances, despite all the advantages of the sectorial principle for the elaboration of plans for the implementation of a uniform technical policy, the adverse effect of departmental coordination is being increasingly felt.

So far there is no complete unanimity of views on how the national economic cotton complex should function within the current state and sectorial planning and management levels based on the sectorial production principle. The elaboration of national economic complexes is sometimes pitted against the existing planning system, i.e., essentially a suggestion has been made to replace the existing and already tried planning system with a new, untested and largely incomplete one.

We consider another correlation between sectorial development plans and complexes of national economic significance more realistic. First of all, such complexes cannot cover all areas and all activities of industrial, agricultural, transportation and other sectors. It is only the directions in the economy which must be developed at a faster pace, thus changing the overall production structure, and those which are considered of particular social significance for a specific planning period and, finally, those which, by the nature of their production relations have a clearly different production technology, produce items serving the same purpose or make use of a specific group of resources, such as the cotton complex, which should be the targets of comprehensive planning.

With this approach, the comprehensive programs will expand the sectorial planning structure, refine the most important ratios, substantiate and optimize a considerable percentage of economic relations and contribute to improved efficiency.

Secondly, the essential problem of who should manage the funds arises. Should it be special organs within the complex or, as before, the ministries? Since today's emphasis is on the further strengthening of sectorial organs on a current and long-term planning basis, in our view it is the ministries which must remain the "owners" of resources. However, their responsibility to consumers must be increased considerably. It is true that this does not as yet provide a direct answer to how to ensure the priority of a complex over other consumers in the case of resource scarcity. The broadening of the planning of complexes, we believe, will indicate a method which will make possible the inclusion of priorities in the planning mechanism.

The experience acquired in the solution of major intersectorial problems proves that it would be expedient to entrust the planning of the development of the complex to a nondepartmental organ, a kind of headquarters, which would coordinate the plans and supervise their implementation within the entire complex. The funds required for its maintenance could be obtained as a result of the optimizing the complex. Otherwise it would be inexpedient to increase the size of the administrative personnel.

The systematic implementation of the comprehensive approach itself will dictate the content of the priority problems which require an urgent solution, although

many of them could be formulated in advance. Some of them include the setting of prices for the various grades of staples, interrelationship between agricultural enterprises and seasonal manpower drawn from the cities, the assignment of obligations related to the storing and primary processing of the staples among agriculture, the state procurement organizations and light industry, the allocation of funds among the state and units within the complex which generate them (material incentive), cost effectiveness interrelationships within the complex, and many others.

The possibilities of optimizing the national economic cotton complex have already been confirmed with a number of experimental computations. This applies mainly to the optimal balance ties among the individual production units within the complex. The improvement of economic relations within the complex and of its outside relations would make it possible, according to available assessments and results of individual experiments, to reduce the time for achieving intermediary objectives by 10 to 15 percent, or to reduce outlays within the planned deadlines by 3 to 10 percent. Optimization will define the most suitable growth rates of production facilities within the complex and, therefore, their position in sectorial plans.

Changing the structure of the country's textile balance--the role of natural and chemical staples which are needed for the satisfaction of requirements--is an important consequence of optimizing the production and distribution of the output. This contains substantial possibilities for economizing on capital and operational outlays. The definition of expedient requirements concerning the quality of cotton staples is an additional result of such computations. So far, cotton producers and consumers have held essentially opposite positions. The former are ready to sacrifice quality and to maximize the overall harvest volume for the sake of quantity, because of existing ratios between prices and outlays; the latter are formulating increasing requirements concerning quality without lowering their quantity requirements.

The experience in optimizing all stages and aspects of farm work, related to the growing, harvesting and storage of the staples, confirmed the extensive opportunities which exist to improve indicators. All farms within the entire agricultural part of the complex can lower their water outlays, save on areas under crops, ensure the better utilization of the equipment and save on working time.

We have already learned how to include in optimizing computations the requirements and outlays for the elimination or restriction of the harmful effect on the habitat which develops as a result of cotton growing intensification. The area of experimental and practical optimizing is continuing to expand and its potential effect is rising.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium support the suggestion of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences to include the Cotton Complex Program among the most important national programs for 1981-1985 and through 1990 and to ensure it with the necessary resources and a management organ. At the same time, in our view, the role of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Gosplan must be increased in the solution of these major problems.

This could accelerate the development of an operational Cotton Complex Program in the country. Matters should not be limited to the creation of yet another scientific council with the right of an advisory organ. It would be better for such high-level organizations to find the possibility of dealing with the affairs of the Cotton Complex Program on a steady basis, as part of their official duties.

The third all-union conference (April 1982) dedicated to topical legal problems related to the implementation of the Cotton Complex Program in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, approved the unified coordination plan for scientific research through 1990. The work has now reached a stage in which the centralization of research and the operative management of the implementation of the optimizing plans on the basis of which the experimental computations were carried out have become a practical necessity.

In conclusion, let us say a few words on the place held by the national economic cotton complex in the overall sectorial and territorial planning system. If we eliminate the contradictions within the sectorial principle we already mentioned, the question arises of whether or not territorial planning covers all the needs of the cotton complex. Thus, the opinion was expressed in the course of the elaboration of the Uzbek automated control system that since cotton growing is the republic's all-union specialization and accounts for a very important part of its gross output, all the problems within the complex will be resolved within the framework of the republic automated control system.

We must not forget, first of all, the increasing role of other republics in cotton production, such as Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. Furthermore, the tasks facing the republic automated control system are substantially different from those of the cotton complex, and so are the data used in each case. The republic does not resolve the problem of the country's textile balance. Its basic assignment is to process the cotton and the purpose of the Cotton Complex Program is to substantiate this assignment. The reallocation of funds among sectors which support cotton growing and the further processing of cotton staples is substantiated within the framework of the complex. This goes far beyond the range not only of a single but of all cotton growing republics.

The CC CPSU decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" states that "centralized planning, combined with the extensive initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs, enables us to ensure the balanced and effective development of the Soviet economy. The mandatory requirement of a truly party-oriented and internationalist approach to this matter is to resolve all economic and social problems above all on the basis of nationwide positions and to oppose all manifestations of parochialism and departmentalism."

Planning the national economic complex is a special form of planning work which coincides with neither the sectorial nor the territorial structure of the plan. However, it could become a very useful link between the basic directions in planning, which is precisely what our planned economic management mechanism lacks today.

The timely and practical implementation of such measures, as well as other previously formulated constructive suggestions regarding the Cotton Complex Program will contribute to the even greater increase in the effectiveness of scientific research in the formulation of plans such as the food and many other national economic programs.

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## CRADLE OF NATIONAL STATEHOOD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 88-98

[Article by Academician B. Rybakov]

[Text] I

Kiev is one of the oldest European cities. For more than 3 centuries it was the center of the first eastern Slav feudal state--Kiev Rus'. It was not only the capital city of this huge state, which covered virtually all of the Eastern European plan, but a center for the consolidation of the Slavic tribes, a cultural focal point of ancient Russian nationality which subsequently gave birth to the three fraternal Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples.

The major historical role which Kiev played in the Middle Ages is confirmed not only by ancient chronicles, which describe the history of the city (the popular uprisings of the Kievians and the defense of the city from the Stepnyaks), and not only the splendid buildings decorated with frescoes and mosaics, but the heroic poems which sing of Kiev and its heroes. Historians are rarely given the opportunity to determine what the people's reaction was to one phenomenon or another in the past. Usually court and monastery chronicles shun descriptions of the people's life in favor of details of quarrels among princes and strife. In this respect, Kiev is the exception. In the distant Russian north, 2,000 km from Kiev, until the beginning of the 20th century folk storytellers solemnly sang about ancient events and invasions by Pechenegs or Polovtsy, and virtually all epics begin with the words: "Great was the city of Kiev...." This is the first line of many hero songs. It was thus that the peasants of Arkhangel'sk and Olonets knew, from such heroic songs, about the distant past of Rus' from the times of Vladimir and Yaroslav Mudriy.

Byzantine and Western European authors (Emperor Constantine the Great, Bishop Adam of Bremen) wrote about Kiev in the 9th and 10th centuries. Rulers and geographers of the Arab-Persian East were interested in Kiev and the roads leading to it, as they marked on their maps the approaches to this city and computed the goods exported from it. Kiev was the "closest city of the Rus' to the countries of Islam. A rich place and the seat of kings. It exports various furs and precious swords" ("Book of the Parts of the World." From the first half of the 9th century).

The greatest Russian princes waged long, bloody wars for the right to own Kiev in the 11th-12th centuries. A Kiev chronicler from the middle of the 12th century explained and justified this gravitation toward Kiev by the fact that "who would not like to be the prince of Kiev, for it is the entire honor, glory, greatness and leader of all Russian lands. Merchants and other people come here from many distant countries. All kinds of goods from different countries may be found in it" ("Nikonovskaya Manuscript," 1155). Western writers confirm this statement, mentioning the eight markets of Kiev and describing the capital of Rus' as the rival of Constantinople.

For a long time many historians believed that following the seizure of Kiev by the forces of Andrey Bogolyubskiy in 1169, Kiev allegedly waned and lost its former glory. This thesis is totally wrong. It appeared only because the Kievians, who reported the event in their chronicles, were eyewitnesses to the siege and plunder of the city and described these events quite picturesquely in their chronicles. Literary skill replaced historical truth. It is true that Kiev stopped being the capital of all Russian lands as early as 1130, when about 15 autonomous Russian principalities had been formed and Kiev became the capital of only one of them. However, even at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries it continued to prosper and remained the biggest cultural center not only of Rus' but of Europe. New monumental buildings and works of art were created here as good as Western post-Roman art. The Kiev goldsmiths perfected their skills in making splendid items of gold with enamel and silver with black enamel, whose finishes amazed not only their contemporaries (such as, for example, Theophilus from Paderborn, the German craft expert), but 20th-century art experts as well.

At the turn of the 13th century a great collection of chronicles was drafted in Kiev, describing the history of the Slavs and the Rus' states from the first centuries AD to 1198. It was here that the immortal "Story of the Iгореv Regiment" was born, a patriotic poem which called upon the princes to unite in the face of the common danger and wisely exposed the historical origins of the intestine strife.

The Batyya invasion and capture of the city in December of 1240 was a sad milestone in Kiev's history. The people of Kiev courageously defended their city. However, the flight of the prince with his troops and the overwhelming numerical superiority of the enemy ("one could not hear oneself speak from the neighing of the horses and the roaring of the camels") crushed their resistance. The final bulwark of the Kievians was the ancient part of the city, where once the Kiev princes had built a small fortress on a hill. The captured citizens were able to hide their treasures and to this day gold and enamel diadems, bracelets and necklaces are found in the course of earth removal projects and archeological digs in the old sections of the Ukrainian capital.

Kiev was wrecked, and for more than a century played no substantial role in European history. It was only in the second half of the 14th century that once again it became the center of a big principality, whose possessions covered the ancient Russian land (three principalities: Kiev, Pereyaslav and Chernigov) and stretched along the Pripyat' to Turov, along the Dnepr to Mogilev and along the Desnya to Bryansk. These lands were part of the Grand

Duchy of Lithuania. We know their history from the "List of Russian Cities, Distant and Close" of the end of the 14th century, which includes more than 70 sites among "Kiev cities." Once again Kiev was the center of a vast area although it had lost its political independence.

During the 15th-17th centuries Kiev became the largest center of the Ukrainian people, who were defending their freedom in the struggle against the Polish nobility which owned the Ukraine. Once again it became an important craft and trading center. Here uprisings against the Polish royal rule broke out frequently. The year 1648 became a turning point in the history of the city, when Ukrainian cossacks captured Kiev and, crossing the ancient Golden Gates, Bogdan Khmel'nitskiy entered the ancient historical center of the city; in 1654, after the Pereyaslavskaya Rada, which unified the Ukraine with Russia, Kiev solemnly welcomed the great Muscovy Embassy. The war with Poland, which broke out again, ended in 1667 with an armistice, according to which the right bank of the Dnepr once again fell under the king. However, the Moscow diplomats, displaying inordinate skill, stubbornly fought for retaining one area on the right bank and, in the final account, succeeded. Naturally, this area was Kiev. Turkey, which was allied with the Crimean Tatars, tried to capture the city but failed. Kiev became once and for all part of the Russian state.

In 19th-century imperial Russia, Kiev was the third most important "uncrowned" capital, after Petersburg and Moscow. After the Great October Revolution, having experienced a number of severe trials in battles with the bourgeois-nationalistic forces, after the founding of the USSR in 1922, Kiev became the capital of the new Socialist Ukraine. The interest of researchers in discovering the roots of this city, with its centuries-old great history, is entirely natural.

## II

The first historians of Kiev Rus', who participated in drafting the chronicles in 997, were largely unfamiliar with the beginning of their capital. They were satisfied with recording the ancient folk legend of the epic manner in which Kiev was founded: the Slavic Polyane tribe (which later began to call themselves Rus'--"Polyane, now known as Rus'") lived on the mountainous bank of the Dnepr. The Polyane were "wise and knowledgeable men." They were pagans and worshipped lakes, springs and sacred woods. Three Polyane brothers (Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv) lived in the "mountains" but then built a new "city" in the center of a pine forest, where they could hunt, and which they named Kiev in honor of the elder brother, Kiy. Although the record of the legend is very brief, it includes the trinity of heroic brothers, which is always typical of epic legends. The names of the brothers may have originated in the Shchekovitsa and Khorevitsa hills along the Dnepr. The date of the founding of Kiev is not indicated in the legend, being "lost in the darkness of the centuries."

However, we have unexpectedly come across data which allow us to disperse this darkness somewhat: According to N. Ya. Marr, a major expert in the field of Armenian literature, the semi-epic history of the Armenian people of the 8th century includes a legend of three brothers, which is extraneous to the

text, and which the scientist justifiably relates to the Kiev legend. The eldest brother in the Armenian legend is known as Kuar (Kiy); the middle brother is Meltey and the youngest is Khorean (Khoriv), who is said to have lived in the land of Paluni (Plain). In the course of time, the brothers-princes built a new city on Mt Karkey, where there was "space to hunt and...abundant grass and trees," and in which they placed two pagan idols. This is an almost total coincidence of the two legends. However, the legitimate question is how could 7th-8th-century Armenians become familiar with the epic Slav legend of Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv?

Two possibilities exist here. First, Slavs came into contact with Armenians at the time of Mauritius, the Byzantine emperor (582-602). The second real opportunity for the Armenians to become familiar with the Kiev legend is provided by the events of 737, when the Arab military commander Marvan was fighting the Khazars and reached the "Slavic river" (clearly, the Don), where he captured 20,000 settled Slavic families which he moved to Kakhetiya, which is Armenia's immediate neighbor. This second variant is more likely than the Danube variant, although the Danube variant is supported by the fact that it was precisely in the lower reaches of the Danube, as we shall see later, that the real Prince Kiy lived and ruled and even built (after the founding of Kiev) the small city of Kievets. The Armenian record is of value to us by setting a more ancient date of the founding of Kiev, at least before the 7th-8th centuries AD.

A third way exists to determine Kiev's age--archeological data on settlements within the area of the current city. Scientific digs have taken place in Kiev since the beginning of the 19th century. Accidental findings in the course of various earth removal operations have yielded a great deal of knowledge as well. However, a coordinated picture of the centuries-old life of this ancient city has been provided only by Soviet archeologists (M. K. Karger, P. P. Tolochko, S. R. Kiliyevich, Ye. Ye. Borovskiy and others). Let us stipulate that when we speak of the appearance of one or another city at the dawn of statehood, we should not expect the archeologists to unearth for us powerful walls, towers, big palaces, streets, merchant squares, ports, temples or suburbs, for these are features of a latter epoch, when the city blossoms. We should not be disappointed by the fact that at the time of its founding the future capital may be a small settlement or a small fortification.

The second prerequisite for the use of archeological data in understanding the historical significance of one or another center is to take a broad view on the life of the entire area surrounding the center. In this case both the position of the center within the area and the position of the area among its neighbors, its overall historical-geographic situation, are important. This is the only approach which can help us to understand Kiev's historical role. The study of archeological data covering the 2,000 years prior to the founding of Kiev Rus' leads to the following conclusions: At the end of the Bronze Age the area of the middle regions of the Dnepr was the easternmost area inhabited by the Slavs. It was from here, from the forests and steppes of the Kiev area, that the colonizing stream of the pre-Slavs flowed to the north and northeast into the forest zone; those same pre-Slav farming tribes, generically known as "Skoloty," who had a substantially different economic

life from that of the Scythian livestock breeders, but who were considered by the Greeks as Scythians, lived here during the Scythian period (6th-4th centuries BC). The Skolot "kingdoms" traded in grain with Greece via the Black Sea port of Olvia, not far from the Dnepr estuary. The area of what was to become Kiev was then the northern edge of one of these Skolot "kingdoms," whose center was more to the south, around the bend of the Dnepr, near the lower reaches of the Rosa River, where traces of antique imports and huge earthen fortifications, located in the very heart of this vast archeological group of villages and settlements, conventionally known by the researchers as the "Kiev group," were found. It stretched along the Dnepr (the ancient Boristhen) for a distance of 400 km, corresponding exactly to the "Boristhenite" land described by Herodotus (5th century BC), which took "11 days of sailing" to reach. The prosperity of this area disappeared as a result of the Sarmatian invasion in the 2d century BC. The colonizing migration of the Slavs toward the northern forest zone intensified.

During the period of the Roman Empire, which moved close to the Slavic lands under Emperor Trajan (turn of the 2d century AD), farming resumed and the forest steppe zone was revived. Hundreds of Roman coins of the 2d-4th centuries, discovered in the forest steppe Slavic zone of the middle reaches of the Dnepr, prove that extensive trade relations were maintained with Rome. Many coin treasures, sometimes measured by the bucketful, have been discovered in various areas on the territory of Kiev itself.

A look at the map showing areas in which Roman coins have been found in Eastern Europe as a whole proves that the area of the future Kiev was the northern border of the area where Roman silver was used. It is an area richly saturated with treasures. Many coins and valuable Roman items have been found on the Kiev heights and their foothills, including imperial medallions. Unquestionably, treasures were concealed in these areas where "wise and thoughtful" people traded.

Not only was trade revived but a general upsurge in the standard of Slavic life in the forest steppe was noted in the 2d to the 4th centuries AD. Agriculture developed, a witty farm calendar was drawn up, the potter's wheel was developed, a general defense line was established and crafts were advanced. The mass influx of Roman silver into Slavic lands, which indicated a trade balance favorable to the Slavs, began with the age of Emperor Trajan and, obviously, it was no accident that the 12th-century Kievan who composed the "Tale of the Igorev Regiment" described the happy times in the history of the Slavs as "Trajan Centuries." Have there been legends describing ancient fairs at which merchants from the outside paid in Imperial dinars, coins which were in circulation for 2 more centuries? The idea has been expressed by historians that on the basis of coins which were found we should perhaps celebrate the 2,000th anniversary of Kiev's founding. In any case, the "Trajan centuries" played an important role in the life of the Slavs along the Dnepr: The center of differentiation based on property, the rich social upper crust, moved from the area of the Rosa River, to the north, to the estuary of the Desnya, the area of the future Kiev. This was a sign that major preparations were under way for the founding of a big historical center.

The preliminary study of archeological data has taken us very close to the time related to the legend of Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv. We must begin by excluding the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, when the middle reaches of the Dnepr were struck again by nomadic Huns. The legend says nothing about the creation of Kiev as a fortress for the defense from raids. Archeological data tell us more about the fires and destruction of the Slavic settlements by the Huns than about peaceful construction.

Archeological data from the 5th and 6th centuries of "Great Kiev," thoroughly studied by Ukrainian scientists, give us the following picture: The most noteworthy section is the so-called Zamkovaya Gora (Kiselevka), located above Podol at Borichev Vzovz, bordered on the west and north by the Kiyanka stream. This area had been settled as early as Roman times. Let us now recall the legend: Initially, Kiy was on a mountain, "where today (during the life of the chronicler--the author) stands the Borichev elevation." Subsequently, Kiy and his brothers built a small city elsewhere, not far from pine trees and hunting grounds. Not only Roman but Byzantine coins of the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th centuries have been found on Zamkovaya Gora, or Gore Kiy (of Emperor Anastasius, for example). The archeologists are also well acquainted with this "city" located elsewhere--a small fortress on the Starokievskaya (Andreyevskaya) Gora, which then became part of the city of Vladimir I at the end of the 10th century and was the administrative and religious center of the Rus' capital. "The key 'city' was indeed small--120 by 150 meters. It was protected by a dike and moat from the southeast and by the inaccessible steep mountains on the northwest. According to the Armenian version of the legend, pagan idols were erected in the new city. In 1908 archeologist V. V. Khvoyko unearthed in the very center of this city a most interesting pagan altar pointed in the directions of the world. Facts dated from the 5th and 6th centuries began to substantiate the legend.

### III

Thoughts on the distant epic period of the founding of Kiev began to be expressed as early as 900 years ago. Some found it a reliable ancient legend while others considered it doubtful. In the 11th century ancient Kiev and rapidly developing Novgorod were rivals. The Novgorod historians extended this rivalry to history. They denied the primacy of Russian statehood in the south, in Kiev (as did, for example, latter Normanists of the 18th-20th centuries). This trend was supported in the chronicles by an imaginary date related to Kiy's life--the year 854. No real grounds for such dating exist. Another more underhanded version appeared: How was it known that Kiy was a prince and had founded the city? There may have been simply a crossing on the Dnepr and the boatman was named Kiy: "The ignorant say that Kiy was the boatman and the crossing was known as Kiy's crossing." The Kiev historians responded to the "ignorant." The first answer was given in a ceremonious form by the compilers of the 1093 chronicle. The translation reads as follows: "In the way that in olden times there was the king Rome (Romulus), in whose honor the city of Rome was named. There was Antiochus and the city of Antiochia....There was also Alexander (of Macedon), after whom Alexandria was named. In many other places cities were named after kings and princes. In this manner, in our country as well the great city of Kiev was named after Kiy."

Twenty years later, the great Russian historian of the middle ages--the Kievian Nestor--mounted a full-scale research project to trace Kiev's most ancient history and was able to prove the total groundlessness of Novgorod's nihilism. Nestor studied the ancient legends (in his time the Goth campaigns of the 4th century, the Slavic prince Bus, who was captured by the Goths, the invasion of the Avars and the Slavic campaigns in the Balkans in the 6th century were still well remembered) and described Kiy in greater detail than did the short legend. "If Kiy was a riverman," wrote Nestor, "he could not have traveled to Constantinople. But Kiy was a prince in his tribe and had come to the emperor, whose name we do not know. We know, however, that the prince received a great honor from this emperor. On his way back, Kiy built on the Danube a small city where he planned to settle with his tribe. However, the local population objected. To this day the people of the Danube describe the area as the 'Kievets City.' Kiy returned to his city of Kiev, where he died....After the death of Kiy and his brothers, his dynasty ruled the land of Polyane." Sixteenth-century Moscow historians, who have in their possession ancient manuscripts which have not come down to us, transcribed quite accurately Nestor's study, preserving a most interesting addition to it, which could also have been included in the initial Nestorian text, which had been revised twice: According to the Moscow (Nikonovskaya) chronicle, Kiy was along the Danube during the war against the Turko-Bulgarians, 5th-century nomads living along the Black Sea steppes and who attacked Byzantium in 499. The Slavs began their raids on Byzantium in 493. Subsequently, particularly during the reign of Emperor Justinian (527-565), vast numbers of Slavs poured into Byzantium, and its emperors frequently recruited into their service individual Slavic princes with their forces to protect their Danube border.

Although Nestor did not know the name of the caesar who had rendered "great honor" to the Polyane Prince Kiy, he did not invent him or name him at random. Now, with Byzantine sources at our disposal, we can say that this historical situation in which a Slavic prince was flattered and rewarded by the Byzantine caesar for services rendered, built a fortress in the lower reaches of the Danube and was later forced to abandon it because of local enemies (Turko-Bulgarians?), quite likely occurred at the end of the 5th and first half of the 6th centuries AD.

What is exceptionally important is that Nestor placed his topic about Prince Kiy and Kiev immediately before his story on the Turko-Bulgarian and Avar attack on the Danube (480-490). On this basis, the Kiy age should be considered as beginning with the reign of Emperor Xenon (476-491) and Anastasius (491-518).

Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea tells a story quite similar to the Kiy chronicles. One of the military commanders serving Emperor Justinian, bearing the Antian (East Slav) name of Khil'budiy, was sent to the Danube to defend the northern border of the empire. He was defeated by other Slavs and returned to his homeland. Justinian turned to the Antians with the suggestion to occupy a city on the Danube to defend the empire. The Antians, who were Slavs living between the Dnepr and the Danube, elected Khil'budiy, who went to Constantinople to see the Emperor. This coincidence with the chronicle version is almost total. Justinian, a brilliant emperor and creator of the

Justinian Code, and the builder of Sophia of Constantinople, was well known to the Russian medieval scholars and it would be difficult to assume that it was precisely he who was the "unknown caesar" in Nestor's story: Russian sources do not mention Anastasius. It is possible that Procopius of Caesarea recorded the still fresh tale of Kiy and his accomplishments on the Danube of a somewhat earlier age, under Anastasius. Actually, the same situation could have repeated itself.

For the sake of caution, let us date the period of the historical Kiy, the prince of the Polyane land, between the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th centuries. It is during the same period of time that the new city appeared on the high mountain which was named Kiev in honor of its creator. Judging by the sequence of events in the Kiy chronicles, the Polyane prince initially built a city on the Dnepr and then left for Byzantium.

This did not put an end to speculations on the beginnings of Kiev. According to A. A. Shakhmatov, when Prince Monomakh was crowned in Kiev in 1113, the Nestorian manuscript, which had been completed under the previous prince, fell into the hands of Sylvester, who made a number of alterations in it. Sylvester, who completed his work in 1116, included in the chronicles an entirely new motif, which pushed Kiev's prehistory several centuries back. The church legend of the apostle Andrew (1st century AD), who according to Sylvester was in Synop, on the southern Byzantine shore of the Black Sea, added its coarse fabrication of the incredible travel of the apostle from the south to the north, crossing the entire Rus' up the Dnepr. Reaching the bank of the river, at the foothills of the mountains, where Kiev was to arise subsequently, Andrew apparently predicted that "a great city will be founded...on these mountains." He put a cross on the mountain "where Kiev was to be."

We see, therefore, that Sylvester does not reject the legend of the founding of the city by Prince Kiy in the Nestorian expanded version, but prefaced it in the edited text with his story about Andrew. Could it be that this unexpected addition was the result of the abundant treasuries of Roman coins with which the land of Kiev is still so rich? If many dozens of such caches and individuals coins were to be found in Kiev during the 19th and 20th centuries, in the days of Nestor and Sylvester, when the city was undergoing intensive construction and various earth removal works were being carried out in many places, ancient coins could have been found in many places. Therefore, Sylvester's addition should be considered less a fabrication than a conjecture explaining (quite primitively, naturally) such interesting findings.

According to Shakhmatov, the final draft of Nestor's "Tale of the Years" was completed circa 1118, under the supervision of Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich, Monomakh's son. The grandson (on his mother's side) of the English king, husband of a Varyag princess, father-in-law of the Norwegian and Danish kings, a prince who had spent 20 years in the northern part of Rus' in Novgorod, Mstislav was closely related with all of northern Europe and it was precisely from such positions that he looked at the history of Rus', exaggerating the role which the northern Varyags had played in its destiny. Whenever possible, Mstislav promoted legends of the Varyags and the vocation of the Varyag princes. He identified the Varyags with the Rus', thus originating the erroneous and tendentious Norman theory.



This tendentious version severely misrepresented the real history of the appearance of Kiev and Kiev Rus'. Improperly, Novgorod, the new city built in the 9th century to oppose the Varyag raids on the northern parts of Rus', took the place of the truly most ancient eastern Slav city of Kiev. Fortunately for science, the Norman editors of the 12th century did not delete from their chronicles Nestor's research on Prince Kiy, as they had done with some other parts of history. Actually, the objective archeological data which proved that the city was built at the turn of the 6th century would have sooner or later restored the historical truth. However, we would have been deprived of a most interesting testimony of events of that time: the ties between Kiev and Constantinople, the people of Kiev on the Danube, wars with Turkic nomads in the Danube steppes and the prince of the Polyane himself--Kiy--the founder of a dynasty of Slavic princes.

The archeological complex of the 5th-6th centuries related to the historical Kiy--Gora Kiya (Zamkovaya Gora), the commercial Podol, an old settlement, and even the new fortress Kiya on Starokievskaya Gora--is in itself insufficiently impressive or extensive to enable us, on its appearance and dimensions alone, to establish its important role to all Slavs and to anticipate its brilliant future.

Only a broad view of events throughout the Slavic world and of the Kiev mountains in these events can allow us to understand what was begun in the 6th century and ended with the creation of the state of the Rus', with Kiev as its natural and firm center.

Chroniclers began the history of Kiev Rus' with the story of Prince Kiy, i.e., as we have now clarified, with the 5th-6th centuries AD. The events of that time are the following: First, there were a number of raids by nomad people, under the pressure of which some alliances of Slavic tribes (such as the Duleb alliance) broke down while others strengthened (Rus', which united the Polyane and Severyane in the 6th century). Secondly, the great migration of the Slavs in Europe began, described by Nestor as follows: "A long time after they had settled their land, the Slavic tribes spread along the Danube, where are now (the beginning of the 12th century) Hungary and Bulgaria." This tremendous military-colonizing migration of the Slavs began at the very end of the 5th century and continued throughout the entire 6th century, redrafting the ethnic and political map of Europe. A separate Slavic branch was created--the southern Slavs; new states appeared, the heirs of which are contemporary Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

The Slavs migrated from their original lands in two main directions: the western one reached the middle reaches of the Danube and went south; these Slavs retained the name Slav ("Slaveni" or "Sklaviny"); the eastern Slavs were named "Anti"--a word of unknown origin which was abandoned soon afterwards. This eastern migration moved along the Dnepr and the Steppes toward the lower reaches of the Danube and further on south across the entire Balkan Peninsula and as far as the land of ancient Sparta. What was the origin of this migration which defeated Byzantine resistance and left to the Slavs virtually the entire Balkan Peninsula? One of its components consisted of the Slavic tribes

coming from the forest steppes along the Dnepr, which have left clear archeological traces of their stay along the Danube, consisting of silver fibulae (clasps for cloaks) of a particular type used along the Dnepr. These were fellow tribesmen and contemporaries of Prince Kiy who accompanied him to the Danube. Their campaigns are also recalled by the author of the "Tale of the Iгореv Regiment," who wrote that Boyan the Storyteller described ancient campaigns of galloping "to the Tropheum Trajni through fields and mountains."

The "Tropheum Trajni" was a huge monument in the lower reaches of the Danube, erected by Emperor Trajan in celebration of his victories. It was 3 to 4 days' travel away from Kievets on the Danube. This grandiose monument, visible from afar, rising in the steppe, pointed to the Slavs the way "through fields and mountains" toward the Balkan range, today's Bulgarian Stara Planina.

In all likelihood, the invitation from the unknown caesar was issued to Prince Kiy not at the time when he lived in his distant city on the Dnepr but when the Kiev units were fighting in the lower regions of the Danube and could have easily carried out the emperor's instructions.

Like Kiy, the Slavic princes were members of the part of the tribe which participated in the southern campaigns leading to the borders of Byzantium, without settling there but going back to its original land. This particularly applies to the first stage of Slav-Byzantine relations, when the border of the empire had not as yet been breached along its entire length and when the Danube was still dividing the two opposing forces: the southern right bank was still controlled by Byzantium and its allies (some of them Slavs), while the northern left bank was already being filled with Slavic units. This is confirmed by, among other things, these silver clasps (fibulae) of the Dnepr type, which were part of the Slavic attire. Such fibulae dating from the 5th to the 7th centuries frequently turn up on the northern bank of the Danube and almost never on the southern, the Byzantine bank. They reflect the initial stage of the confrontation between the Slavs and Byzantium, when the Slavs were only gathering along the bank of the Danube, preparing to conquer the entire peninsula. Obviously, this earlier period is the one related to the activities of Prince Kiy, in whose city, judging by archeological finds, the same type of silver fibulae were worn.

The second stage involved more people. After seizing the border fortresses, the Slavs literally spread throughout the lands of the Balkan Peninsula and settled in the fertile valleys.

Soviet linguists have observed something of great importance in the dialects of the Bulgarian language: In many of them we can trace the ancient contacts between the predecessors of the contemporary speakers of the dialect and distant Baltic tribes (the predecessors of the Latvians and the Lithuanians) who were considerably more widespread at that time. This means that not only Slavic tribes which were living in the original Slavic forest steppes were participating in the campaigns against Byzantium in the 6th century but also more northern tribes of the vast forest zone, who mixed in the course of the northern colonization (1st-3d centuries AD) with the local Baltic tribes and assimilated them (the Krivichi, for example).

Let us consider these Eastern European events of the 5th and 6th centuries from the Kievian viewpoint. The city of Kiy was on the border between two topographic areas--the forest steppe and the forest. Culturally, its area had always been part of the southern forest steppe zone, but its location in this zone and the distance which separated it from the steppes, with their warlike nomads, created favorable living conditions here at a time when the invasions of the Huns and the Avars had made the southern steppe particularly dangerous. When the colonizing movement to the north, to the forest zone, began in the first centuries AD, the area of what was to become Kiev was the final point of the ancient Slavic lands abandoned by settlers going into the forests.

Some commercial relations may have existed between the south and the north, as indicated by coins which have been found. When the Slavs in the forest steppe zone established powerful tribal alliances (one of them ruled by Kiy), and moved inside the steppe, reaching the borders of the empire, the movement included the northern forest tribes as well. Their way to the south went along many rivers such as the Dnepr, Desnya, Sozh, Pripyat and Berezina. It was at that time that a new historical role was assumed by the Kiev mountains, as the place of the future city of Kiev was along the Dnepr, below all of these rivers. The estuaries of the Pripyat were closest to Kiev. All tribal units which came down the rivers of the forest zone in the direction either of the southern Chernozem or for the purpose of participating in campaigns against the Danube cities could not avoid the Kiev area. The city, which was located near the estuary of the Desnya, blocked the way to the entire huge basin of the upper Dnepr (about 200,000 square km), which gave the ruler of these areas a far greater role compared with an ordinary tribal prince or even an alliance of tribes. Dozens of tribes whose princes were trying to lead their people to the south depended on the will (and possibilities) of whoever owned this exceptionally important area. It was precisely at that time that the building of a new fortress became necessary on the inaccessible mountain over the Dnepr. Prince Kiy, who lived in one of these hills (Zamkovaya Gora) had to move from the hills of commercial Podol' and the river ports to the highest point on the Dnepr and built a fortress which would enable him to watch over the Dnepr for a distance of 20 km to Vyshgorod and the Desnya estuary. By controlling a main way such as the Dnepr, Prince Kiy could extract a fee both from those who sailed from the upper reaches of the Dnepr or the Desnya to Pripyat and from those who, enriched by booty from the south, were returning to their Krivich, Drevlyan, Dregovich or Radimich forests. The units of the tribal alliances could join the troops of the Polyane prince and, with them, fight the nomads and make their way to the Danube.

Prince Kiy's city in the mountain did not spread, for it was a time not of construction but of campaigns and not of production but of trophies. However, since then, Kiev's historical role has been steadily growing. In all likelihood, it is precisely at that time that several forest steppe Slavic tribes merged into one big alliance: the Rus' (along the Rosa and Dnepr Rivers), the Severyane (along the Desnya and Seym) and the Polyane who lived north of the Rosa, near Kiev. Initially, the Rus' may have been the leaders in the new alliance; the possible center of this tribe, not far from the Rosa estuary, could have been on Knyazh'ya Gora, where Shevchenko's grave is today. At some point, primacy switched to Kiev and it was precisely around it that the eastern Slav tribes were consolidated.

This alliance of middle Dnepr Slavic tribes was known as Rus', or "Russian Land" (in the narrow meaning of the term). However, the capital of this alliance was the Polyane Kiev, which required a special explanation on the part of the chronicler about the "Polyane who are now known as Rus'." Nevertheless, he described Kiev as "the mother of Russian cities."

Subsequent events in the eastern Slav world confirmed Kiev's firm position as the main center for the unification and protection of the Slavs. The settling of the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula was completed by the turn of the 7th century. The Slavs of the eastern half of the peninsula acquired a new collective name given by the Turk-Bulgars. They assimilated the Turk and retained their great closeness to the eastern Slavs (the "Ant"), from whom they separated in the 6th century.

The steppes were occupied by new hordes of nomads, among whom we can single out the Hazars. The chronicler proudly states that when the Hazar khan demanded a tribute from the Polyane, the Polyane sent him a sword--a symbol of armed independence. It was approximately then (unfortunately, unrecorded, perhaps the turn of the 9th century) that the Dnepr alliance developed into a superalliance involving several alliances of Slavic tribes listed in the chronicles: Rus', Polyane, Drevlyane, Polochane, Dregovichi and Sever. All of them are encompassed within the concept of Rus'. This accounts for nearly half of the eastern Slavs. This alliance, which covered a territory of about 120,000 square km and stretched 700 km to the north, reaching the Western Dvina, had either become a real state or was in the process of becoming one. Constantine the Great, the Byzantine emperor and writer, gives us most interesting details of the administration and operation of that country in the middle of the 10th century, when Kiev Rus' had already become fully formed. The Kiev prince wintered with his unit. A description of his itinerary includes a list of virtually all tribal alliances: Drevlyane, Dregovichi, Polochane and Sever, to which the big Krivichi alliance was added. For 6 months the participants were fed by their vassals and collected tribute consisting of furs, honey and wax.

The prince returned to Kiev in the spring and everything he had collected was shipped to the world markets. One such trip, described by Constantine in detail, led down the Dnepr to the Black ("Russian") Sea and to the Bulgarian shores and to Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Arab and Iranian authors of the 9th to the 11th centuries also write about another direction followed in Kiev's foreign trade at that time. First, there was the dry-land itinerary from Kiev to Bulgar on the Volga (near Kazan'), split into 20 road stations. Second, the Kiev merchants and military men rode to the rich Orient, again starting from Kiev; then, down the Dnepr and bypassing the Crimean, to the Kerch Peninsula and the Sea of Azov, up the Don River, to the Volga and around the Hazar capital of Itil' (which charged high customs fees) to the Caspian. According to a contemporary, the Rus' settled on either bank of the "Khorezm Sea," the name which the chronicler gave to the Caspian. Ibn Hordadbeh, a 9th-century Iranian author, informed of the affairs of the Rus', for they had to pass through an area under his jurisdiction (he was in charge of the mails on the southern bank of the Caspian Sea), reports that, traveling on camelback, the Rus' went to Mesopotamia and Baghdad. In a different direction, their caravans went to the east to the distant Balkh, the territory of today's Afghanistan.

The Kiev historians of the middle ages proudly compared their city with Rome and Alexandria, for Kiev was the capital of the biggest feudal state in Europe. It had successfully protected the Slavic peoples from nomad raids. It received goods from different countries and maintained annual relations with Byzantium, the Arab Caliphate and Western Europe. The Kiev princes became related to the imperial and royal homes of Byzantium, Hungary, France, Poland, England, Sweden and Norway. The Kiev historian begins the entire history of Rus' by answering the question "Where has the Rus' land come from and who was the first to rule Kiev?"

We can now say that Kiev began to play a historic role from the moment of its founding. It appeared as a historical necessity 1,500 years ago and has honorably reached its great anniversary.

The oldest Slavic city, the hero city of Kiev, is greeted not only by the fraternal Slavic peoples--Ukrainians, Russians and Belorussians--but by the entire family of Soviet peoples.

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## SOCIALIST KIEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 99-107

[Article by Yu. Yel'chenko, Kiev Gorkom, CP of the Ukraine first secretary]

[Text] The depiction of the contemporary socialist image of a large city such as Kiev is no easy matter. The city is 15 centuries old, but is unquestionably unique in terms of the scale, grandeur and greatness of accomplishments during the Soviet period.

The Victory of the Great October, which inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind and marked the beginning of the socialist calendar, is the main event which played a decisive role in the destinies of Kiev as in those of our entire homeland. It predetermined the birth of the fraternal USSR, the 60th anniversary of whose founding will be celebrated by the entire Soviet people. The true blossoming of Kiev, the capital of Soviet Ukraine, the 1500th anniversary of whose founding will be celebrated at the end of May, is related to the victory of the October Revolution.

These notable days, Kiev is welcoming like brothers the representatives of the great Russian people and of all the peoples of our socialist homeland. This is a real holiday of the friendship and the triumph of the Leninist national policy of the communist party.

Still topical for us today are Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words expressed 17 years ago on the occasion of the presentation of the Gold Star Medal to the city-hero of Kiev: "The growth and blossoming of the capital of Soviet Ukraine is the result of the great political and organizational work of the communist party, the constructive toil of the Kievians and the entire Ukrainian people; it is the result of the cooperation and mutual aid among all the peoples of the Soviet Union."

1

The grandiose figure of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin raises, as though rushing forward, at the point where the green Shevchenko Boulevard slopes down the hill to meet the noisy Kreshchatik. The following words by Lenin have been engraved in gold on the pedestal: "A free Ukraine is possible through the united action of the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Without such unity

there could not even be a question of it." This behest of the great leader resounds particularly loudly today, on the eve of the great anniversary.

Lenin was not able to see Kiev. However, he followed closely the activities of the Kiev bolshevik organization and the development of the proletarian struggle in the city. Here the members of the Ul'yanov family engaged in active revolutionary work -- Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Anna Il'inichna, Mariya Il'inichna and Dmitriy Il'ich. The people of Kiev also value the fact that during that period Mariya Aleksandrovna Ul'yanova -- Vladimir Il'ich's mother -- lived in the city. Also linked with Kiev are the lives of Lenin's loyal fellow-workers A. S. Bubnov, S. V. Kosior, G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy and G. I. Petrovskiy. Lenin's ideas, the ideas of the October Revolution, were and remain the powerful force which ensured victory over the counterrevolution and the foreign intervention during the Civil War and which was the source of the mass heroism shown by our people during the trying times of the Great Patriotic War. This is the force which allows us to achieve ever new successes in the development of the national economy. It is indeed symbolic that it is precisely on the eve of Kiev's 1,500th birthday that the construction of a great marble palace has been completed -- the new building of the Kiev branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum, which was solemnly inaugurated by Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CC CPSU Politburo member and first secretary of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee, on 21 April 1982.

The preparations for the celebration of the city's 1,500th birthday became to us a stage in the nationwide movement in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. The working people of the Ukrainian capital are preparing to welcome the great holiday with great accomplishments, like the rest of the Soviet people.

Kiev's principal wealth is its people, whose labor makes the city more and more beautiful with every passing year.

The present Kievian generation is honorably continuing the work of its fathers and grandfathers through its efforts to make a substantial contribution to the economic and defense power of the Soviet state. Its tireless creative toil and the fraternal mutual aid of the peoples of our country made possible the tremendous successes which have been achieved in all areas of the city's economic and social life. Here 139 Heroes of Socialist Labor, thousands of Soviet Union order and medal bearers, a large army of frontrankers and production innovators and people infinitely loyal to the cause of the party and the ideals of communism live and work.

Their hopes and expectations were expressed with tremendous emotional force in an appeal to the people of Kiev, which the city newspaper published at the beginning of the year. The signatories to this document include a worker, a director, a teacher, a medical worker, a writer, a sculptor, a salesclerk, a cook, a pensioner and a student.... "Dear people of Kiev," the appeal reads, "let us dedicate the flames of our hearts and our labor enthusiasm, creative searching and sincere thrusts of our souls to the implementation of Lenin's behests and the building of communism! Let the preparations for and celebration of the 1,500th birthday of our native Kiev become our contribution to the nationwide movement for properly welcoming the noteworthy event in the

life of our beloved homeland -- the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and a vivid demonstration of inviolable unity and friendship."

Some of the best people in the city, who signed the appeal included:

Vasiliy Ivanovich Kiselev, CPSU member since 1918, delegate to the 26th party congress, a person whose biography is the mirror image of that of our socialist state;

Anatoliy Akimovich Donchenko, grinder at the Arsenal imeni V. I. Lenin Plant, Hero of Socialist Labor, Great Patriotic War veteran, member of the city party committee bureau, true representative of the Soviet working class, an ideologically convinced and purposeful man, who puts labor for the good of the people above everything else;

Ivan Ivanovich Radziyevskiy, bearer of the Order of Lenin, descendant of the first metallurgical workers to go to the revolutionary barricades. Member of the CC CP of the Ukraine, deputy to the republic's supreme soviet and delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress. For almost 40 years he has worked as a milling-machine operator at the Leninskaya Kuznitsa Plant;

Aleksey Fedorovich Fedorov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, legendary commander of a partisan formation;

Boris Yevgeniyevich Paton, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, head of the world-famous scientific and technical electrical welding center;

Oleg Konstantinovich Antonov, general aircraft designer, Hero of Socialist Labor, laureate of the Lenin and State Prises of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR;

Aleksandr Terent'yevich Gonchar, well known writer, Hero of Socialist Labor and laureate of the Lenin and State Prises of the USSR;

Nadezhda Vasil'yevna Onatskaya, Hero of Socialist Labor, principal of Secondary School No 173.

These people, like the other signatories, are our city's pride and glory .

2

We have become accustomed to view Kiev as a traditionally large industrial and scientific center, and we sometimes forget that it became one only in Soviet times. As we know, during the period of the establishment of capitalism in Russia, Ukrainian industry was developing at a rather fast pace. Mines, blast furnaces and the plants in Yuzovka, Gorlovka, Khar'kov, Yekaterinoslav and other cities were expanding rapidly. However, the tempestuous current of industrial development seemed to bypass Kiev. Slightly more than 15,000 people were employed in the city's factories and plants in 1913-1914.



Today the industrial enterprises of the capital of Soviet Ukraine employ almost half a million people, more than half of them in machine building and metal processing. All in all, more than 1.4 million people are employed in the various economic areas. Our city produces seaworthy fishing trawlers and river boats, airplanes, automated machine tools, excavators, equipment of the chemical, food, printing and medical industries, computers, cables, semiconductors, motorcycles, cameras, television sets, and various instruments. It has a substantial light and food industry. Last year, sales of goods made in Kiev exceeded 6.4 billion rubles.

The new sectors -- instrument making, radioelectronics, and the semiconductor industry -- developed particularly rapidly during the last three five-year plans. Today, alongside the famous collectives of Arsenal, Leninskaya Kuznitsa and Bolshevik, major labor successes are being scored by the workers of Tochelektropribor, Elektronmash and the imeni S. P. Korolev Production Association.

The number of people employed in science and scientific services is growing particularly fast. More than 160,000 people work in this area, which is second only to industry. The Kiev scientists largely determine the scientific policy and level of research in the republic and, in some areas, in the country as well.

Kiev has almost 300 scientific research and design-engineering institutions. Science has become a major sector and a real production force, which is qualitatively and increasingly influencing the overall process of the city's socioeconomic development.

The requirements of the scientific and technical revolution lead to the creation of large scientific and technical complexes. World famous among them is the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton. It includes an institute, a powerful design subunit and a group of experimental enterprises. It is precisely and largely thanks to this collective that the USSR holds a leading position in the world in terms of the amount of mechanized welding performed.

The institutes of cybernetics, knowledge of materials, superhard materials, organic chemistry, physiology, etc. are making a tangible contribution to the development of science and technology.

The accelerated development of sectors which determine scientific and technical progress and the rapid growth of the city's scientific potential were bound to influence the qualitative structure of the working people. Their general education standards and professional training are rising steadily. The number of graduated specialists in the city today exceeds 500,000, 300,000 of which have higher education. Let us point out that before the revolution Kiev had only 668 engineers.

The high level of scientific and technical development predetermines the extent of the responsibility of the Kiev people for the solution of complex socioeconomic problems, as formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1981 Central Committee Plenum. It is a question of ensuring the

entire growth of the volume of output with a lesser growth of labor resources and capital investments.

The 21.7 percent growth in the volume of industrial output planned for Kiev will be achieved essentially through higher labor productivity. Compared with the previous five-year plan, the growth rates of capital investments will be reduced by one half, whereas the commissioning of capital assets will be increased by 20 percent.

One of the principal ways to resolve this problem is to accelerate the industrial application of scientific achievements. A time-tested and quite efficient system of party influence over the acceleration of scientific and technical progress has been developed in Kiev. The stages in the long process covering measures of scientific, industrial, organizational and political nature range from individual problems pertaining to one production system or another to broad comprehensive target programs covering topical scientific and technical and socioeconomic problems. Two thousand contracts for creative cooperation between production workers and scientists, seven comprehensive target programs and the establishment of training and scientific-production associations confirm such firmly established work methods.

The steadily strengthening creative relations and cooperation between science and production increase the latter's efficiency. Let us consider the social side of the process as well: work for the good of the entire society, initiative and selfless aspiration to apply a scientific idea or a progressive technological development as rapidly as possible are its notable features.

We see Kiev's future as a concentration of a large family of major scientific and technical and scientific-production complexes engaged in the joint solution of most complex scientific problems and raising the production process to the highest levels of scientific and technical progress.

The Kiev scientists and production workers realize on the basis of personal experience that the highest labor productivity can be reached only through scientific and technical progress. This makes the dynamic development of the urban economy and the increased volume of industrial output year after year and five-year plan after five-year plan possible. Compared to the prewar level, they have increased by a factor of 30; they have risen by a factor of 85 in the chemical and petrochemical sectors and of 185 in the machine building and metal processing industries.

The 10th Five-Year Plan was indicative in this respect. Output rose by 9.4 billion rubles compared with the Ninth. Above-plan production amounted to 427 million rubles. The series production of 766 new items was mastered. The volume of output bearing the state Emblem of Quality increased by a factor of 6.5. The assignments on the utilization of capital investments, totalling more than 5.3 billion rubles were fulfilled ahead of time. These figures represent the selfless toil of hundreds of collectives and the intensive efforts of the party organizations.

Among the problems related to improving the well-being of the people no social problem in our city is being resolved so consistently and persistently as the housing problem. Residential construction in Kiev over a 5-year period equals the entire amount built before the war, bearing in mind that at that time its population had already reached 850,000. Over the last two five-year plans about 25,000 apartment units have been built annually.

It is true that the housing problem remain grave. This is due to several reasons, the main among which is the exceptionally high rate of population growth. Since 1961 the city's population has expanded from 1.2 to 2.3 million. Kiev's headlong industrial development and the unparalleled scope of capital construction required considerable additional manpower, which could not be secured exclusively through natural growth.

The relocation of the people living in wooden barracks, basements and semi-basements had been virtually completed toward the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan and relocations from old and uncomfortable houses will be completed over the next few years. This is no simple problem, bearing in mind that the time for the active reconstruction of several city rayons has come. The old section of the city requires major reconstruction, which should be done naturally without damaging historical and cultural monuments. We also take into consideration the fact that expanding the city limits would be inexpedient. It would not only be uneconomical but would disturb the city's natural features. Kiev is justifiably considered one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

The blossoming chesnut branch on Kiev's seal is not accidental. The streets drowning in vegetation, the numerous parks and squares and picturesque, tree- and shrub-lined slopes are the special pride of Kievians. It would be no exaggeration to say that a real "cult of green plants" rules the city. The abundant greenery is noted by anyone who visits the capital of Soviet Ukraine. Nature has bestowed upon Kiev favorable soil and weather conditions. However, it is not nature but human hands that have given the city its unique appearance. It is hard to believe today that only a few decades ago Kiev was entirely different, as confirmed by dozens of photographs from prerevolutionary times kept in the museum. At that time it was hardly green. Strips of baren soil could be seen even along the slopes of Kiev's pearl -- the world-famous Vladimirskaya Hillock. The city acquired its greenery only during Soviet times, and the largest vegetation-covered areas were developed essentially after the war. Today there is an average of 19.5 square meters of greenery per city resident. Kiev has 99 parks, more than 360 lakes and many beaches and mass recreation areas.

In the new botanical garden of the Academy of Sciences a unique collection of lilacs, numbering 140 varieties and strains, are proudly displayed to visitors. This is a true man-made miracle. Poets and composers have repeatedly sung of the unique blossoming Kiev chesnut trees.

The development of a concerned attitude toward nature and the multiplication of its riches are among the important tasks of the city party organization.

The current pace and scale of city landscaping are clear examples of the successful resolution of its urbanization problems.

Thanks to the continual and tremendous concern shown by the party, our government and the republic's administration, life in our city is steadily improving. Kievians are responding to this concern with their specific labor contribution to strengthening the economic power of the Soviet state. They are working hard to develop the complex and many-faceted urban economy.

Water supplies have improved, and 400 liters per day per urban resident are already available. The network of consumer services is being systematically expanded. Today it includes almost 1,500 enterprises offering 680 types of services to the population. Passenger transportation and telephone communications are developing at a high rate. This too is no simple problem, considering the city's growth. Priority is being given to electric traction, particularly the subway, which already has about 30 kilometers of tracks. Over the last 5 years the capacity of the telephone grid has increased by 40 percent. This five-year plan it will be increased by another 120,000 sets.

Kiev's health care achievements have been considerable. According to official data, more than one third of deaths in Kiev in 1911 were among children under 5 years of age. The population was constantly subjected to epidemics of smallpox, cholera and dysentery, which were particularly widespread in workers districts. The proletarian rayons of Shulyavka and Podol had a particularly high mortality rate. How striking is the picture of our socialist Kiev! Today, nearly 50,000 medical workers care for the health of the city's population. The fame of surgeons Heroes of Socialist Labor and member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences A. P. Romodanov and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Corresponding Member N. M. Amosov, gerontologist and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences member D. F. Chebotarev and many others has spread far beyond the republic. Kiev is proud of major medical facilities such as the Motherhood and Childhood Protection Center, headed by Ye. M. Luk'yanova, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences corresponding member, and the Scientific Research Institute of Clinical and Experimental Surgery, headed by the famous surgeon A. A. Shalimov, member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences.

Our plans for the development of public health during the 11th Five-Year Plan are even greater. Compared with the 10th, health care funds will be increased by 70 percent. The problems of hospital therapeutic and surgical aid to children and of emergency medical aid will be resolved on the level of modern requirements. This calls for the construction of 15 polyclinics and 14 hospitals and medical buildings, including three maternity homes. The fastest possible completion of the new hospital complex for Great Patriotic War disabled veterans is a matter of honor for all Kievians. In accordance with the socialist pledges of the city's working people, it will be commissioned this year, or 1 year ahead of schedule.

Socialism has opened truly inexhaustible opportunities for the spiritual and cultural growth of millions of people, as most vividly confirmed by Kiev. It would be insufficient to say that literate and highly educated people live and work in this city. The city's entire public education system is a model for the solution of this problem on the highest governmental level. This,

however, did not happen by itself. Sometimes we simply do not think of the tremendous efforts which had to be made so that today we can say with full justification that here no one is illiterate and that the problem of universal secondary education has been virtually resolved. The Ukrainian capital has 260 schools and 40 vocational-technical schools. The number of schools is increasing every year; 25 new schools were opened during the last five-year plan, and the same number will be opened this five-year plan as well.

With increasing energy the general-educational schools are engaged not only in providing instruction but mainly in upbringing, raising worthy builders of communism, those who will be entrusted with the fate of the homeland tomorrow. This is precisely the way the 14,000-strong army of teachers in Kiev sees its main, its first duty.

Under the Soviet system Kiev became a major center for training higher and secondary specialized cadres. The city has 18 VUZs and 32 technical schools attended by 212,000 adolescents from all union republics. Several schools have been presented with high government awards. The Order of Lenin has been awarded to the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, the university and the conservatory. It would be hard to find today in our country a place where graduates of Kiev institutes and technical schools are not at work. This is another essential feature of contemporary socialist Kiev.

The children -- our youngest citizens -- are an important feature in resolving the most important problem of the communist education of the growing generation. As elsewhere in the country, our children enjoy special privileges. Nevertheless, the Kievians are proud of the fact that this is the third time during which the Ukrainian capital has formulated and is implementing its special five-year plan under the Leninist slogan "Only The Best for the Children!" A set of measures for the training, upbringing and improving the health of children and adolescents is being systematically implemented, and the necessary material and technical facilities to this effect are being provided. The establishment of a network of maternity homes will be practically completed this five-year plan. Soon all city rayons will have children's preschool establishments. Every year, all senior students attend about 60 work and recreation camps. The equipment in the general education schools is being improved. The amount and variety of goods for children are increasing and their quality is improving. The network of music and art schools, sports areas and playgrounds, libraries and clubs for adolescents has been expanded in recent years.

The city's cultural life is becoming richer with every passing year. The united international culture of the Soviet people is growing and strengthening on the fertile soil of mature socialism. The large unit of Kiev workers in literature and the arts is making its contribution to shaping the new man and his spiritual enrichment. The largest detachment of the artistic intelligentsia in the republic -- writers, composers, painters, cinematographers and journalists -- is working fruitfully. It includes 44 laureates of the USSR Lenin and State Prizes, 29 people's actors, and six Painters of the USSR. There is hardly any need to praise famous creative groups such as the UkSSR State Academic Theater for Opera and Ballet imeni T. G. Shevchenko, the State Honored Academic Ukrainian Folk Choir imeni G. G. Verevko, the UkSSR

Academic Dance Ensemble imeni P. P. Virskiy, the honored Dumka Choir and bandura orchestra and others.

The thousands of amateur performers are a vivifying source of folk creativity! This, plus the broad network of cultural and educational institutions -- 68 movie theaters, 1,357 libraries and 32 museums -- we realize the tremendous opportunities for the spiritual and cultural growth of the Kievians. The Ukrainian capital has become the center of a wide exchange of spiritual values for all fraternal union republics and many foreign countries.

Let us also mention the concern which the people of Kiev show for the city's historical monuments. The considerable expansion of restoration work makes this particularly clear. The preparations for the celebration of Kiev's 1,500th birthday provided a new impetus to these efforts. The ancient Sofiyskiy Cathedral and Andreyevskaya Church have been restored, the post office and the Moscow Gates of the Pecherskaya Fortress have been repaired, and the Zolotyie Gates have been remade. The construction of a monument to the brothers Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv and their sister Lybedya who, according to a legend, founded the city, is being completed on the bank of the Dnepr.

The people of Kiev sacredly honor the memory of the courageous fighters for our present happy life. The revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and the people are the moral foundations for the ideological tempering of the youth. With every passing year, the Soviet people are increasingly showing their infinite gratitude to those who defended the freedom and independence of the homeland in fierce battles with the enemy, without sparing their own lives. Every 9 May hundreds of thousands of Kiev residents bring flowers to the grave of the unknown soldier. About 1.3 million people from Kiev and guests of the city have visited the grandiose memorial complex "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" on the Dnepr, since its inauguration last year.

In the course of the preparations for the celebration of Kiev's 1,500th birthday, an obelisk made of white marble dedicated to the city-hero was erected on Pobeda Square, one of the largest in the city, and a monument to the heroes of the Dnepr Flotilla was unveiled. A monument complex depicting the historical act of the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia and monuments of N. V. Gogol', P. G. Tychnina and A. Ye. Korneychuk will be unveiled for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

4

The tempestuous development of the economy and the tremendous social changes are having a favorable influence on the entire moral features of the Kiev people. The citizen of Kiev is a zealous patriot and internationalist, and an industrious and honest person whose features include collectivism and responsibility for assignments.

These qualities are developed as a result of our party's vast ideological-theoretical and educational work and asserted through the entire socialist way of life. Naturally, the labor collectives, in which the civic activeness of the Soviet person is chaped, play an important role in this matter. In

this connection, let us mention some of the most characteristic features of this process. This mainly applies to the socialist competition, which is acquiring an increasingly rich content and shows a clear trend toward high work efficiency and quality, and true socialist labor discipline.

The movement under the slogan "Highest Possible Returns From Each Working Hour" was born in Kiev during the period of preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. Today it involves more than 650,000 people. It combines a number of patriotic labor initiatives, for it is equally open to any working person regardless of his place of work.

The specific results of the struggle for highest returns are clearly seen in last year's figures. The tasks on the volume of output and labor productivity were overfulfilled. The number of lagging enterprises declined sharply. Working time losses dropped by 14 percent. Our city was awarded the red challenge banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee. The same high award was presented to 16 Kiev enterprises and organizations.

The brigades working on the basis of a single order provide great opportunities, which are specifically inherent in the socialist production method. A great deal has already been said of the advantages enjoyed by such collectives. Our own example proves them. For example, 70 percent of the workers in the leading machine-building enterprises are using this labor method; here the output per worker is 35 percent higher compared with work based on separate orders.

While ensuring substantial economic results, the brigade also has a tremendous educational impact on shaping the high ideological and moral qualities of the working people. Organized on a voluntary basis, it helps every member of the collective to develop a responsibility for the common project and feelings of comradeship and mutual help.

Today the city has about 15,000 brigades working on the basis of a single order, totalling 138,000 members. By the end of the five-year plan such brigades will be created wherever this does not conflict with production expediency.

The party members have always acted as the organizers and inspirers of the masses at all the stages in their struggle. They were in the front ranks of those who defended the Soviet system in the Ukraine during the Civil War and headed the struggle of the Kievians during the fascist occupation. They were in the vanguard during the difficult period of restoration of the urban economy destroyed by the Hitlerites. Today there is no single responsible sector in Kiev without party members or not subject to the influence of the city party organization.

This article discussed the achievements of the city's working people during the period of socialist construction. Naturally, we also have difficulties and unresolved problems. Their elimination requires above all intensified organizational and political work and increased cadre responsibility. The city party committee sees the guarantee of the worthy contribution of the

people of Kiev to the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress in the steady growth of the militancy of each primary and shop party organization and the vanguard role of the more than 210,000-strong detachment of party members. This is natural, for the leading and guiding role of the communist party in our society is codified by the USSR Constitution, the adoption of which marked a new stage in the development of socialist democracy.

The possibility of participating in the administration of social and governmental affairs has increased for the citizens of Kiev as for the rest of the country. The city's interests are protected by seven representatives to the USSR Supreme Soviet and 28 to the republic's supreme soviet. Workers account for more than 62 percent of the 3,550 local soviet deputies, almost half of whom are women. The soviets include representatives of all national economic sectors in the city, party and nonparty people and the young. The local power organs include many representatives of the various nationalities living in Kiev. The 102,000-strong detachment of people's controllers is acting with increasing energy and aggressiveness. The role of the trade unions -- the most widespread of the social organizations -- is growing with every passing year. The participation of the large detachment of Komsomol members in the solution of socioeconomic problems and in the city's entire social life has increased.

Members of more than 100 nationalities live and work in Kiev as a fraternal family, in circumstances of creative search and enthusiasm. It would be impossible to enumerate all the tremendous and truly historical changes which have taken place in our multinational city under the Soviet system.

Inspired by the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and unanimously approving of the activities of our party's Central Committee and Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding fighter for peace on earth and for the happiness of the working people, the working people of the city hero of Kiev are advancing toward the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR full of creative forces and energy, prepared to continue to strengthen the economic and defense power of our beloved homeland with their selfless toil.

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WEIMAR, 1945

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 108-114

[Article by G. Marutov]

[Text] In issue No 8 for 1981, KOMMUNIST published the article "New Documents of the Great Patriotic War," covering the period from 2 April to 13 October 1945. The greatness and nobility of the exploit of the Soviet people is apparent behind its few lines. Following their victory in this most difficult and bloody war, they did a great deal to support the misled and hungry German people, to help them to return to peaceful labor and to inspire in them constructive energy. The Soviet people never equated the German people with the Hitlerite clique. That is why the soldiers of the land of the soviets came to Germany not as conquerors but as saviors of its people from fascism, tyranny, obscurantism and barbarism.

While in Germany, as the published materials indicate, the Soviet troops showed their concern for preserving the values of German classical culture. One of the documents mentions the name of the author of this article, at that time a political worker with the Eighth Guards Army, who was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting historical monuments in Weimar and partially in Erfurt. I would like to mention some related facts.

The closer we came to the end of the war, the more Goebbels' propaganda frightened the German population with the threat of revenge on the part of the Russians. In order to postpone the hour of reckoning for their crimes, the fascist leaders wanted to force the Germans to make more and more senseless and bloody sacrifices and to instill in them the monstrous idea of "self-annihilation." Reality refuted Goebbels' lie and fear was replaced by a feeling of respect for the generosity and true humaneness of the victorious Soviet soldier.

The lie was exposed, but the method of anti-Soviet blackmail has been kept in the arsenal of bourgeois propaganda. Now, when the state leaders on the other side of the ocean, guided by their political ambitions and monopoly interests, are intensifying the arms race, the bourgeois ideologues are once again using the poisonous weapon of their spiritual predecessors in the "Third Reich." By frightening the people with the "Soviet military threat," the mass information media in the West are trying to accustom the European population to the necessity of using nuclear weapons in the "European military theater."

Europe, with its millions of people and great cultural values created in the course of centuries, has been assigned the role of a testing ground for the use of nuclear missiles and the neutron bomb in the American military doctrine of limited nuclear warfare.

...It was the summer of 1945. The place was Germany. Two of the documents published in the journal are dated July--a month during which the Eighth Guards Army entered Thuringian territory on the heels of the withdrawing American forces.

Weimar was the area in which the army command and several military units were billeted. We knew perfectly well that we were in the city in which Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Kranach, Bach, and Liszt had lived and worked, a city whose population was reputed for centuries to consist of 10,000 poets and 10 other people. History itself had seen to it that this small German city, magically transported from centuries back to the 20th century, had become universally famous.

In our country, even during their lifetime, Goethe and Schiller had many true admirers. However, these two names became truly known in our country only after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which exposed millions of workers and peasants to books and knowledge and made the working people the rightful heirs of all the cultural values created by the human genius.

The Soviet people found noble humanistic ideals, profoundly consistent with the heroic epoch of the building of a new society, in the works of the great German poets, which were imbued with the spirit of the struggle for the bright future of mankind. The works of Goethe and Schiller, translated into the languages of the peoples of our country, had been frequently published and republished in mass editions. Under the Soviet system, Goethe's works have been published 188 times in 19 of the languages of the peoples of the USSR and foreign countries, in a total of 8.2 million copies; the works of Schiller have been published 155 times in 20 languages and a total of 3.5 million volumes. One of the many editions of these classics of German literature in our country will remain particularly memorable: "Faustus," which was published in the autumn of 1942.

Need we mention that during the first day of our arrival in Weimar we visited the home of the great Goethe? It was on Frauenplan Square, dating from 1709, and familiar to us from many photographs and Eckermann's diaries. Many such homes may be found in Thuringia, but perhaps only one of them bears the mark of eternity, for the artistic characters born in it have become immortal. It seemed that here we could meet with "old acquaintances"--the characters of the literary works written here--and listen to the voice of the author reading his poetry. Johann Wolfgang Goethe lived in this house from 1782 until his death on 22 March 1832. It was here that virtually all the works of the great German poet were created and the brilliant "Doctor Faustus" was written.

On that clear day in July the house, like the rest of the city, was a sorry sight. On 9 February, precisely 3 months before the end of the war, without the least military necessity, the Anglo-American air force had bombed Weimar. A direct hit wrecked the German National Theater--the pride of the German people.

Schiller's house and other historical and architectural monuments were destroyed. All in all, more than 3,000 buildings were wrecked or damaged, and more than 1,200 people died.

Goethe's house museum suffered greatly as well. Nearby bomb explosions destroyed part of the building. The first person we met here was Prof Hans Waal, the museum's director. He later told us that almost immediately after the Americans had left, he was approached by a man with a red star on his cap who said: "We are interested in how soon the museum can be restored and reopened." The question struck the museum director, for nothing similar had been asked of him by any of the visitors in American uniforms. The American command showed no interest whatever in cultural values, apparently being involved in more important matters: In only 2 days--2 and 3 July 1945--3,022 heavily loaded freight cars left in a westerly direction from the Gotha Railroad Station. The microfilms of 3.5 million patents and scientific and technical documents were removed from the Zeiss works.

In order to protect the house-museum from possible happenstances, by order of the army military council it was guarded on a round-the-clock basis.

Guards were put also in front of Goethe's cottage and the Goethe and Schiller Archive building in Generstrasse. Incidentally, this German literature archive, the largest of its kind in the world, contains hundreds of thousands of autographs, manuscripts and documents. A guard was also posted at Martin Luther's cell in the severely damaged Augustinian monastery in Erfurt.

Gradually, a peaceful life developed in Weimar. The wreckage was removed, but a great deal more time, effort and funds were needed to rebuild everything the air force bombs had destroyed. The bombing of Weimar cannot be explained by any loss of orientation or fateful pilot error. The same senseless cruelty was displayed shortly before the end of the war by the Anglo-American air force in bombing other cities which had no military importance. The road of our army to Weimar crossed Dresden, where we spent several weeks. Here our frontline soldiers saw something they will never forget. All that remained of the old part of the city were burned-down homes, crumbling walls and a shapeless mass of bricks, stones and sand. Zwinger--the palace of the Saxon kings, in which the Dresden Gallery was located (the paintings which had been removed from it were found and rescued by the Soviet troops) had been swept from the face of the earth. The opera, the theater, several ancient cathedrals and other monuments lay in ruins. Before the very end of the war, thousands of refugees had rushed into Dresden, seeking shelter in the hope that the bombs would spare this most ancient German cultural center. Mass air force raids were mounted on 13-14 February 1945, and many of the refugees were buried under the wreckage together with the city residents. More than 135,000 people died.

At almost every step, we came across plaques on which the names of those who must have lived there and who were now missing were inscribed. Occasionally, we read "everyone here perished." The central part of the city, an area of 15 square km, had become a vast cemetery.

We glanced at a mound of ashes containing the warped, heavy bindings of ancient books.

The fate of books is inseparable from that of people, from the destiny of mankind. I recalled then the evening of 10 May 1933 in Berlin, and the bonfire in the square in front of the university. Loads of books banned by the fascists were being brought there from all over the city. The Storm Troopers were burning books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Liebknecht, Bebel, Heine, Heinrich Mann, Spinoza, Einstein, Barbusse, Remarque, Feuchtwanger, and Hemingway. The huge crowd of raving Nazis gathered in the square shouted and applauded each time a quantity of books was thrown into the fire.

The Berlin fire, like those which followed it, was both a terrible and a pitiful farce, an attempt to destroy the human mind and to free the people from the "chimera" known as conscience. However, this was merely the beginning. "Where books are burned," Heine wrote, "people are later thrown into the fire." The Hitlerites had built a death camp several kilometers outside Weimar, at a site to which the admirers of Goethe and Schiller made pilgrimages. A total of 56,000 concentration camp inmates were burned in the Buchenwald crematoria. It was here that Ernst Thälmann, the leader of the German proletariat, was murdered. The fascist leaders, who adored symbolism, thoughtfully selected the place where these unparalleled crimes were to be committed. According to their plans, Weimar was to embody not the traditions of humanism, but the cannibalistic morality of the newly hatched masters of Europe.

The victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite Germany meant the victory of the forces of progress over reaction, the victory of the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism over the man-hating racist ideology.

Years passed. A socialist state is developing successfully in the center of Europe, on the territory of the defeated fascist reich. The noble ideas of proletarian internationalism have become a firm part of the consciousness of the German workers, peasants and intellectuals, who have built a new society and are actively fighting for peace the world over.

We cannot but feel proud of the Soviet people, whose careful attitude toward the cultural values of the German people set an instructive example of the fulfillment of international duty. I have before me an excerpt from the tenth volume of the "History of the Second World War, 1939-1945." "The respectful attitude of the Soviet soldiers toward the German cultural and national values (the rescue of the Dresden Gallery, the world-famous library in Gotha, etc.) had a major impact on the national self-awareness of the Germans. For example, when wreaths were placed on the graves of Goethe and Schiller in Weimar on behalf of the Stalingrad Guards, the news flashed across Germany" (p 381).

All we can add to the historical documents is that the German people, to this day, decades later, remember the Soviet soldiers who rescued the outstanding works of German art and literary and historical monuments, and preserved them for the present and future generations, with gratitude.

In 1967, learning that the Soviet troops had fired a salute in Weimar in 1945 in respect for the memory of Goethe and Schiller, the Pioneers at Weimar's Theodore Neubauer Secondary School, headed by Senior Pioneer Leader Toni Fischer and some teachers, decided to find out who they were and to invite them

to visit the GDR. Letters were sent to various places in the Soviet Union, addressed to the Soviet War Veterans' Committee, the editors of central and oblast newspapers, radio stations, the VUZs and private individuals. Several schools became involved in the search. All of those to whom the children had addressed themselves became truly interested in the project. Long months were spent in waiting, until finally the Pioneers of Secondary School No 17 in Dneprodzerzhinsk found someone. They began a correspondence with the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archives in Podol'sk City, Moscow Oblast. No information was available on the salute, but the archives of the Eighth Guards Army included an order to protect the historical monuments of German culture. The archive reference read: "Carried out."

The persistence of the young Weimar people could not leave others indifferent. As a participant in these events, I deemed it my duty to tell them what had happened.

It was the morning of 5 August 1945, at the cemetery in Weimar. The sky was cloudless. The alley, lined with ancient linden trees, led us to the steps of a terrace dominated by a mausoleum with an octagonal dome. Groups of officers and soldiers arrived, one after the other, until the vast square was full. The army command, staff and political workers, and city people were all included. The terrace was becoming crowded. Conversations died away. Silence prevailed.

The general commanding the Eighth Guards Army, formerly the 62nd, that which had defended the city on the Volga and had become legendary, the army which had boggled human imagination because of the unmatched courage of its soldiers, stepped to the center.

This was perhaps the first time that lines by their admirer, the light of Russian poetry, Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin, had ever echoed through the mausoleum which contained the remains of the brilliant German poets. This was how the famous general began his speech:

"Long live the sun, let darkness disappear!"

How could the army commander imagine, in the days of the historic battle, that the day would come when he would speak of Goethe and Schiller in the very city where they lived and worked? Of course, he could not. Without a doubt, however, had he been asked to do so at that time, he would have accepted most confidently, so infinite was his faith and belief in our victory, feelings shared by the entire Soviet people.

Now V. I. Chuykov was saying that the Hitlerite clique had wanted to extinguish the sun of world culture and restore the darkness of medieval savagery and superstition, and had tried to turn the Germany of Goethe and Schiller into the Germany of the bloody bandits Goebbels, Goering, Himmler, Ribbentrop and others led by the maniac Hitler.

"The Hitlerite clique has been destroyed... It was unable to extinguish human thought. Today, the works of the great sons of the German people-- Goethe and Schiller -- who through their fiery words fought against the same dark forces

of obscurantism, which the Hitlerites resurrected, can be heard now with new strength.

"The end conclusion of earthly wisdom:  
Worthy of life and freedom  
Is he who battles every day for them!"

"Friedrich Schiller praised the omnipotent power of love in his work entitled 'Treachery and Love.' Henceforth it is love rather than treachery which will prevail. To quote Goethe, only he who is willing to battle the remnants of fascism and its man-hating ideology every day is worthy of life and freedom."

In conclusion, he said:

"On behalf of the Stalingrad Guards, who defeated fascist Germany and raised the flag of victory over Berlin, I lay a wreath on the grave of the great German poets who fought for the triumph of the bright human mind."

In the mausoleum, a narrow staircase cut out of the rock leads us to a simple domed crypt. Schiller and Goethe lie in two oaken sarcophagi, side by side. Wreaths of pine boughs and flowers, with ribbons bearing the inscription "From the guardsmen of Stalingrad" are placed on the coffins.

As we pointed out, no report of this fact was found in the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archives. It is easy to understand why no written records are available. The homage paid by the Soviet soldiers to the memory of Schiller and Goethe, which might have surprised the people of Weimar during the first postwar year, was a natural duty, a spiritual need, for our people, raised in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism... This required no official records.

It would be fitting to mention Goethe's words to Eckerman: "National hatred, generally speaking, is a peculiar thing. It is always the strongest and most intolerant at the lowest levels of culture. However, there is also a level at which it disappears entirely, so that man rises somewhat above the nation and experiences the successes and failures of a neighboring nation as if they were his own. This level of culture is consistent with my character, and I firmly practiced it before the age of 60."

The feeling of deep respect for the spiritual values of each nation is based on the very foundation of socialist morality, which encompasses the best humanistic traditions of world culture.

...During the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the GDR, this author was invited to visit Weimar. I shall never forget the warmth of the meetings, the words of thanks, or the friendly feelings of gratitude toward the Soviet soldiers.

Everything which was destroyed by the war in Weimar has been most thoroughly rebuilt. The city is for the most part as Goethe and Schiller knew it, with its ancient fortified towers and palaces. A greenbelt of parks extends along

the banks of the Ilma River, with flowers, fountains and bronze statues here and there. The buildings have classical colonnades, narrow windows, and peaked towers with colored shutters. The houses surrounding the marketplace are particularly beautiful, with their unique bright colors. Everything reminds one of old times. The people of Weimar mention the help they were given by our country in restoring the historical monuments which suffered during the war with gratitude.

A folk holiday -- the traditional Onion Day -- is celebrated in Weimar on 4 October. From early morning on, there is a brisk trade in onions, which the peasants bring from nearby and distant villages to the market square. Amateur orchestras play, and the people of Weimar and their guests dance and compete in games of strength and skill.

On this same morning, again traditionally, a special session is held by the magistrates of the two competing cities -- Weimar and Heldrungen. The participants gather in the same "White Swan" where Goethe and Schiller used to go to talk to the simple people. Over the entrance of this ancient hotel are inscribed these words from Goethe's letter to his friend Zelter: "The White Swan welcomes you always with its open wings..." Now deputies and activists were seated at the decorated tables to discuss the results of the farm season. Although the discussion dealt with local affairs, there was also talk of what beyond the boundaries of Weimar excites the people.

Luitpold Steidle, who was the city's mayor not so long ago, addressed this meeting. He said: "I and Comrade Marutov, who is sitting here, had met before. This was many years ago, in Stalingrad. At that time, however, we did not know each other, for we were on different sides of the barricade. Now we have the same humanistic goals and are fighting for them together. Such is the dialectics of life. This is noteworthy." As a regimental commander in Paulus' Sixth Army, which surrendered, together with the regiment, on 28 January 1943, Steidle participated actively in the work of the Free Germany National Committee. He was the first minister of public health for the GDR government. His memoirs, entitled "From the Volga to Weimar," translated into Russian, have come out in several editions in his homeland. I believe that his words express the thoughts of many GDR and FRG citizens who experienced World War II and who do not want to see it repeated.

The following day, 5 October, a ceremony was held in the German National Theater in Weimar in honor of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic. The performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by an orchestra and chorus made an indelible impression. Inspired by Schiller's poetry and born of the genius of the greatest of composers, this symphony expresses all mankind's dream of a time in which freedom, fraternity, justice and happiness will prevail. The path toward the realization of this dream leads through struggle, suffering, and the unification of all those who are fighting against violence, darkness, and slavery. Here, in the land of Schiller, the appeal "People, embrace!" was heard once again in the tremendous power of Beethoven's music.

The works of the outstanding masters of European classical culture are precious to us because of the tremendous artistic impact with which they promote the ideas of humanism and fraternity among nations. They are also precious to us

because in the struggle for peace among nations, these ideas unite all people of goodwill, whatever their religious and political convictions and views.

World War II brought incalculable hardships to Europe and caused the death of millions of people. It did vast and irreparable harm to the cultural values created by the European nations. Old paintings and manuscripts were burned and shells and bombs destroyed the immortal works of architects and sculptors. Now that the clouds over Europe have darkened once again, we must not allow this to be repeated yet again.

Marching along the paths of war, our soldiers saw the evidence of barbaric excesses committed by the fascists in Yasnaya Polyana and Mikhaylovskoye, the blasted cathedrals of Kiev and Novgorod, and the plundered cities and villages. The Soviet people and all of mankind can never forget these losses.

9 May 1945...

The more distant in time this date becomes, the more we realize its historical significance, and the more grandiose the exploit of the Soviet people, who crushed the hordes of fascist aggressors and saved the world from the brown plague, appears to us.

People throughout the world also remember this day with gratitude because Victory Day became a turning point, the first day of peace, the beginning of the longest peaceful period in Europe in the past 200 years. For almost 40 years, the peoples of Europe have been free from war, which in the century of nuclear missiles, hangs as a threat over hundreds of millions of human lives, constituting a mortal danger to all mankind.

An increasing number of people in all countries and on all continents realize that the Soviet Union and its consistent peaceful policy are making a decisive contribution to the preservation and consolidation of peace. The Soviet people, who experienced all of the hardships of the war, are fully resolved to defend the cause of peace. This is confirmed by the far-reaching new proposals formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, their sole purpose being to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement and to spare Europe and the entire world a nuclear conflagration. The real threat of a nuclear catastrophe, in which the whole planet might find itself involved, has arisen in connection with the plans for the deployment of new types of American missiles in Western Europe. All of the forces in all countries which favor progress, which accord high value to the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, are energizing their struggle for a limitation on nuclear armaments and a peaceful future on the European continent.

During the visit he paid to the FRG, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "...It is our duty to tell the whole truth about the war, particularly to the young. We must speak not only of the tragedies of the past, but also of what a nuclear war might mean.

"Whatever may divide us, Europe is our common home. For centuries, a common destiny has linked us, and it still links us today." These words evoke a warm response from millions who support the cause of peace throughout the world.

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## ALONG THE ROAD OF INTERNATIONAL LITERARY CONTACTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 115-125

[Article by N. Fedorenko, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding member]

[Text] The uninterrupted process of communication and interaction among the literatures of people inhabiting Eastern and Western lands has gone on since times immemorial. That is why the huge world of literature can be classified by continent, area and country, as we do with geography, only arbitrarily. In a certain sense, the world of the art of words is integral and all-embracing, although it is frequently subjected to the appearance of schools, currents and trends of different origin and orientation. This is a single world as is the history of mankind. Its achievements are solutions of a single great equation created by the entire development of literary creativity. "The world is divided into countries and continents. It includes many obstacles -- social, political, ideological, linguistic, cultural and others. However, it is also indivisible, for it is the home of mankind. In this home peace is a prerequisite for the happiness of its inhabitants," notes the appeal to the writers of Europe, the United States and Canada, which was signed in Sofia by noted Soviet and foreign literary workers. War and culture are incompatible. Such was the main conclusion drawn at the international, and now traditional, meeting which was held in Sofia in 1977.

Unquestionably, the time has long come for the unification of the spiritual values and cultural resources of West and East for the sake of the great objective -- service to mankind on the road to revolutionary change. The peoples of the individual countries have acquired huge riches of wisdom and knowledge. When we read Pushkin's "I hear the now silent sound of divine Hellenic speech...", we feel the desire to become familiar with eternal spiritual values. The high examples of material and spiritual creativity generated by the Oriental peoples during the period of feudalism retain their significance and their unique historical and esthetic value to mankind. We continue to admire works preserved as monuments of architecture, literature and the arts as the embodiment of mankind's powerful constructive spirit.

Since most ancient times many communications have existed within the global literary process, developed through familiarization and exchange, interpenetration among literatures and their influence and enrichment. In addition to everything else, this has largely contributed to the elimination of national one-sidedness and limitation. The results and scale of influence of the

process of international literary contacts are multidimensional and could hardly be added up. However, the existing method for their computation is moral, spiritual. A lively interest in the literary creativity of any nation is also an interest in the creator himself and in the people, in their aspirations, ideals and unique national originality. For the best works of art are a synthesis of the time and something of universal significance inherent in our epoch and linked with the historical destinies of the people. Such works contain a great deal of typical and original features which are of unique ethical and esthetic value to us. "The fruits of the spiritual activities of the individual nations," Marx and Engels emphasized in their "Communist Party Manifesto," become common property. National one-sidedness and limitation become less and less possible and a single universal literature is formed from the multiplicity of national and local literatures" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 428).

It is unquestionable, however, that this applies not to the elimination of divisions among literatures, which will always have their specific social, national and ethnographic features and characteristics, but to the harmonious combination of all values, the shortening of spiritual "distances" among nations, and the rapprochement among all world literatures.

The process of contacts and interpenetration among literatures has been with mankind throughout its historical development. We cannot fail to see in this the embodiment of the live ties linking centuries and peoples and the unbroken ties between generations. It would be difficult to imagine in our time that any literature could exist and develop creatively if it is isolated or separated from others. The artistic successes and achievements in the art of writing of any nation today inevitably become available to all other nations and countries. The process of literary contacts among peoples assumes new and increasingly universally significant forms, which develop in the course of the advancement of life itself. Here the future and the past frequently cross paths. The past is represented by the unfading literary values created in previous centuries. The future appears in today's new literary creations which will have a generous and fruitful development.

The most important task of our literature, which holds leading positions in the universal artistic process, is precisely to express through its art the true nature of our state system, its deeply humanistic nature and the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet people, based on the social nature of the lofty communist ideals of our society. The effectiveness of our literary initiatives aimed at awakening the awareness and responsibility of the people for the preservation of life and civilization on earth is organically linked to this task. I believe that the writers of the world, the Soviet artists above all, are still not making full use of the tremendous literary resources concealed in the art of writing and its creative potential, particularly in the light of the extensive relations maintained by the USSR Union of Writers, which has friendly contacts and cooperates with 100 writers' organizations in all continents. It is self-evident that such creative ties are an expression of reciprocal interest and ideas.

# I

In our time of tempestuously developing communications, the problems of international exchanges of spiritual values, with a view to achieving a better understanding of the varieties in the life and creativity in various Eastern and Western countries, are becoming increasingly important. It would be difficult to find a place on earth uninvolved in this steadily developing process, or people who have remained totally untouched by this phenomenon.

The effectiveness and scope of international cultural exchanges are unquestionably directly dependent on the intensification of detente, improvements in the political climate, normalization of intergovernmental relations, restraining the arms race, preservation of security and elimination of the threat of a military conflict. Every citizen of our planet is concerned with the fate of peace and with his own destiny. Could mankind be marching toward a catastrophe, toward the death of civilization? The declaration issued at the international meeting of writers, held in Tashkent in 1978, dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the first conference of writers from Asian and African countries, emphasizes that the writers of the two continents, like all progressive mankind, cannot remain indifferent "as long as the blood of innocent people is being shed, fighters for freedom waste in jail and hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance continue to rage on our ancient land.... We identify ourselves with the just cause of the struggle of mankind for peace, total and complete disarmament and human security and prosperity."

The true masters of the word cannot create if they are totally deprived of social and human contacts. They always remain historical and social persons who are responsible for the fate of man and mankind. The great works of art, which were created by mankind in the course of the centuries and are being created today, are emerging on the fore of the spiritual battle which has developed in our restless world. We read the books which are our national and spiritual heritage and the works of foreign writers in accordance with the imperatives of the time. The thinkers and artists of all ages reflect the insight of our time. We fully share their sadness and joys, for the true works of literature are related to the fate of man, his trials and his happiness. "Today," L. I. Brezhnev said in his greetings to the participants of the meeting of writers from Asian and African countries in Tashkent, "there is no more important task than the unification of people of good will in the intensification of the struggle for peace, the termination of the dangerous arms race, and the opposition to plans for the production of neutron bombs and other means for the mass destruction of people." Unquestionably, this appeal will meet with the response of all those who cherish the ideals of peace and international security, for the sake of humanistic objectives.

Under the conditions of the struggle for improving the international political climate, the various forms of contacts among peoples have begun to gain a significant and vast content. The process of expansion of these relations is unquestionably contributing to the better and deeper understanding of the social, conceptual and cultural positions of the different countries. Naturally, this process can be productive if it is reciprocal rather than reduced

to the development of literary contacts among nations and cultural interrelationships between West and East.

From the Soviet viewpoint, cultural exchanges are an important link in the objective process of interaction among different sociopolitical systems, based on the principles of equal and fruitful dialogue aimed at developing reciprocal understanding and cooperation. All of this must be based on the interest to improve the international climate and to strengthen peaceful coexistence. In his preface to the collection "Peace is the Priceless Possession of the Nations," which was published in Greece in 1978, L. I. Brezhnev wrote: "Naturally, cultural exchanges alone do not make the shape of things. However, when they turn into a system, when contacts develop in politics and economics, it is possible to say that a new climate has been created. Reciprocal acquaintanceship leads to reciprocal understanding; reciprocal understanding leads to reciprocal trust, which leads to cooperation. And cooperation is one of the cornerstones in strengthening peace and friendship among nations." Improving the international climate is the high duty and obligation of all artists in the world, of all honest writers who have dedicated their work to serving the people.

The approach which some of our Western counterparts have taken to cultural contacts is different. Thus, Robert F. Barnes (University of Indiana) takes a different stand in his article "Cultural Exchange and Competition Between Social Systems. An American's Point of View:" "In the long term, the role of economic and spiritual relations will assume an increasing importance, not only in real international politics but in the public view. In the future, the struggle of ideas may prove to be the decisive factor in the competition between the two powerful systems." R. F. Barnes in fact calls for making use of the opportunities for cultural exchange, which were opened by the Helsinki conference, for the purpose of achieving a "peaceful change" in the Soviet political system, presenting the inflated "problem of human rights in countries with a communist system" as a "dramatic symbol" and "central problem affecting every person and every society."

Our opponents are resorting to a variety of means and traps in an effort to depict their actions as a general "concern" for the "violation" of "human rights" and "freedom" of creativity in the socialist countries, and a "threat" to eternal values which, according to them, are inherent in any social system, are universal in nature, and define the development of a culture and all spiritual life. In reality, however, all of this is nothing but an attempt to impose on the socialist countries an order alien to them and the standards of the bourgeois society with its class-antagonistic contradictions, consumerist attitude toward culture, spiritual devastation, faithlessness and utilitarianism.

This kind of approach hardly contributes to the intensification of trust and mutual understanding among nations, not to mention any improvements in the international climate. Actually, it leads to a division among cultures and nations, inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and attempts to weaken the foundations of their governmental system, to discredit the socialist way of life and to insult the national dignity of the peoples. The supporters of the Western way of life are

displaying fanatical persistence in their extensive propaganda, drilling into the heads of the people that the socioeconomic and legal order and spiritual life in the bourgeois society are "standards" of justice and democracy. However, does everyone agree with this? What is the real situation?

As we know, bourgeois propaganda uses the mass information media, which it controls, for the dissemination of ideas which instill in the human mind very definite ideas and concepts. Its main purpose is to disorient and disinform the people and to develop a conformist awareness, which it can manipulate to suit the power of the rich. Typically, it has been admitted that the main task of bourgeois propaganda "is to create a person totally deprived of any ability to understand the nature of things and to think critically and sensibly, a person who has been reduced to the lowest possible emotional level in which he can act exclusively under the impetus of external and therefore artificial stimuli and directing forces" (see "Psikhologicheskaya Voyna. Sbornik Statey" [Psychological Warfare. A Collection of Articles], Progress, Moscow, 1972, pp 16-17).

It is hardly a secret that to discredit someone, the aspiration to make him feel helpless in the face of the irreversible march of events and attempts to present cruelty and aggressiveness as allegedly eternal human features strikingly deform contemporary spiritual life and artistic creativity in bourgeois society. Unbridled pursuit of material wealth, insatiable consumption and pitiful hoarding has led the Western world to a loss of spirituality and to the creation of spiritually poor societies, saturated with the goods produced with someone else's toil, but with an adipose heart, spiritually and morally exhausted. Spiritual nudism, which insults the dignity of man and public morality and the terrifying epidemic of pornography and eroticism, used as love surrogates, lead to the fact that true love become a dying phenomenon. Man feels the emptiness which leads to violence and gangsterism among the youth. Gangs of children of very rich parents, of multimillionaires, are terrorizing American society. "Mass culture," with its conveyer belt of obsolescent books, rules unchallenged. Everywhere the feeling is the same: the people are monstrously alienated, alone, isolated. The philosophy of immorality and shameless permissiveness, and the disease of alienation and fatalism have an extremely destructive impact on the entire spiritual life of the contemporary Western world in which the cult of irresponsibility, unconsciousness and irrationality becomes omnipotent. It is a world in which everything becomes unsteady, unreliable, doubtful and depreciated. Hence unrestrained criminality, destructive rage or senseless illusions and the expectation of a miracle in which, deep within himself, no man believes. The very atmosphere of social life is imbued with the premonition of impending catastrophe.

We know that madness and nuclear affliction, which lead to unpredictable consequences reign in the West. However, as the saying goes, if the pitcher goes to the well too often it will break even if it is nuclear...

"It seems to me that the most serious obstacle in the pursuit of an effective U. S. policy is that it is intellectual," recently said Jean Kirkpatrick, who is one of President Reagan's closest advisers, meaning by this that U. S. policy, which is almost bordering on insanity, remains too "rational" and

"sensible." She explained that this residual "rationalism" stems from the "desire for peace and an end to the arms race." Matching premise with conclusion, Kirkpatrick calls for the use of irrationally "strict" facts: the effectiveness of violence "as a tool for political change, the vulnerability of the developing countries, the helplessness of the UN and the limited reliability of some U. S. allies." Force and the absence of sentimentality remain the main features.

Marx pointed out the negative nature of bourgeois culture when he wrote that "capitalist production is hostile to some sectors of spiritual production, such as art and poetry" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, part 1, p 280). Pointing out that the depreciation of the human world directly parallels the increased value of the world of objects, Marx irrefutably proved that the basic contradiction in capitalism -- the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private method of acquisition -- leads to economic as well as spiritual crises. Man and his qualities are rated not on the basis of creative capability but on the amount of available capital as a result of the distortion of the nature of labor and the priority which capitalism ascribes to the expression of labor results in terms of monetary value. Marx clearly showed how the monetary-market approach corrupts human relations: "I am as powerful as is my money. I may be deformed but I can be even the most beautiful woman. Therefore, I am not deformed, for money reduces to naught the effect of the deformity and its repulsiveness. As an individual I may be deformed, but money gives me 12 pairs of legs. Therefore, I am not deformed. I may be a bad, dishonest, narrow-minded person, but money is honored and, therefore, so is their owner" (Ibid., Vol 42, p 148).

Such was Marx' merciless depiction of the real situation with capitalist relations during his lifetime. The situation is the same today. The facts prove that not all people want to have more things but that everyone wants to live differently. Here is an example: according to the press, Angelica Weddegen, a student from Koblenz in West Germany committed suicide. Bernhardt, her 20-year old fellow student explained her action as follows: "Angelica's case, if you wish, is the pure psychological drama of the German youth. The destroyed country was rebuilt. Here everyone works and makes money... Everyone has his refrigerator and television set... However, we no longer believe in anything. That is the tragedy. We live, as though in shadow, in a world which does not belong to us. We are not satisfied with a beautiful car, baseball, whiskey or the twist... We envy the people in our age group in the East... They live while we do not."

Is this frank admission of the West German youth not a typical feature of today's capitalist reality? The forecasts of bourgeois sociologists on the future of Western society are no less indicative. Erich Fromm, the famous German-American researcher, who believes that the "death of the individual" is a characteristic trend of our time, claims that society is entering a stage of development in which the population is well fed and dressed, all wishes are satisfied and those which cannot be do not arise. These are automatons who can be led without a leader. They create machines which act like people and people who act like machines. Alienation and automation lead to

increasing madness. Life has no meaning, there is no joy, faith or reality. The individual is "happy," although he cannot feel, think or love.

The only possible conclusion is that the unwanted personality of the individual becomes atrophied. He becomes unnecessary in an anonymous and alienated society deprived of spirituality. Such admissions reveal the profound crisis in the science, culture and spiritual life of Western society. Is it not symptomatic that the alienation of man, his destiny in the century of cybernetics and space flights, and the possibility of preserving his individuality in a "mass society," and the question of whether or not man has become obsolete are the most sensitive problems facing contemporary social philosophy in capitalist society? The fate of the individual, man's lot in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism are creating profound universal concern. Many works of social criticism by Western authors show the sinister picture of the tragedy of the individual in contemporary bourgeois society. The breakdown of consciousness, the incurable illness of alienation and the loss of faith and convictions of man living under the conditions of non-spirituality and moral devastation are created by the very way and nature of life in Western countries, particularly in contemporary America.

What is the attitude of contemporary Western literature toward this sinister reality in bourgeois society? How is literature affected by the transformation of spiritual output, which triggers new internal contradictions within bourgeois culture, particularly between the cultural "vanguard" and "mass art?" "The instability of life is the leitmotif of today, heard always and everywhere, including in art," sadly admits Phillip Evergood in the article "Art is no Fly-Swatter." In today's America, he goes on to say, "where one can buy and sell anything one wishes..., the fraudulent artist, the militant ignoramus, the beatnik, and the "beatle" have conquered the imagination of the biggest collectors, largest museums, biggest Wall Street brokers and party goers with the help of an artistic label." The main reason for this, F. Evergood adds, "is quite frightening and sinister. The desire to make as much money as quickly as possible is the main culprit." Is this not a proof of a crisis of conscience, of morality?

In his study of how the mass market at which "mass culture" is sold and used came into being, the writer Ernest van den Haag points out in his work "Our Happiness and Despair Are Immesurable" that the consumers of "mass art" feel as though they are purchasing petty models and prescriptions for life at a discount -- a new vitamin for the tired and the sated, or new food for the romantics. The boundary which separates the fictional characters and their views from the real ones becomes so shaky that the confused audience no longer distinguishes between advertising, promises and prescriptions, on the one hand, and true works of art, on the other. Under these circumstances, he goes on to say, "art cannot spiritually enrich the viewer and the listener, or to develop him. Art loses its ties with life. The language of art is no longer heard, and works of art are reduced to a set of rules and stipulations as to how to act and what to expect from life... True art, like love, creates in man a feeling which is deeply personal, durable and increasingly stronger. In the opposite case it turns into entertainment, rather boring at times, like love when it is reduced to sex or greed... Mass dishes are cooked for entertainment purposes, while true art (and love!) dedicate

themselves to creation... Our entire society is so structured that it does not help to understand and to feel art, and no understanding is expected on the part of the broad public. That public is seduced by anything that is noisy, garish and easy, such as advertising and trite novels." Even when an effort is made to make mass output serious, Haag points out, "it poses false problems which it resolves with stereotypes. It does not dare to discuss real problems or suggest real solutions. By its very nature mass output "excludes true art and inevitably replaces it with universally accessible culture surrogates."

Are these not the reasons for and the poisoned source of anti-intellectualism and lack of spirituality among the American bourgeois public? The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the feeling for the past, that great feeling of historicism and perspective, without which a literary work is deprived on depth and weight, is poorly manifested in the works of many American artists. At the same time, we find in American political journalism frequent peremptory and complacent statements that the Americans are free from the burdens of the past and of previous centuries and are not bound by traditions... However, is this very view of historical experience and the priceless human values created by the human genius in the course of centuries as being an unnecessary burden and ballast not strange in itself? "To expel man from the novel means to expel society also, Jacques Borel, the French writer, emphasized. "It is a fact that together with man society leaves the novel; material and linguistic formalism is interested neither in society nor in the profound psychology of man... Any literature which remains pure literature, entertainment, satisfied with the development of literary techniques deserves scorn. The people expect and hope that literature will speak to them of man, of human life, suffering, passion and death."

In the light of facts which mercilessly prove the "loss of individuality," and the dehumanizing and "death of man" in the absurd and cruel world of contemporary capitalism, the following question naturally arises: how does all of this fit with the worldwide campaign promoted by the U. S. authorities and propaganda regarding "human rights" in other countries? Was it not for the sake of distracting them from their internal tragic situation that the American ruling forces had to turn "human rights" into a problem of governmental and international policy? Is it not logical to ask by what right is someone "sticking his fingers in other people's eyes, and who is doing it?" What is this? Bare practicalism or political cynicism? Characteristically, this obsession displayed by the newly-hatched priests of "justice" and "defense of the truth" is cynically and frequently displayed at international literary symposia and writers' meetings (in particular, at the round table meeting of Soviet and American writers in Moscow in 1977; at their second meeting in New York in 1978, etc.). We can only think of Lenin's words: "...Gentlemen bourgeois individualists, we must tell you that your speeches about absolute freedom are nothing but hypocrisy. In a society based on the power of money, a society in which the toiling masses live in poverty while a handful of rich lead a parasitical life there can be no true and real 'freedom'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 12, p 103).

This writers' round table meeting laid the beginning of creative relations between Soviet and U. S. literary workers, as was pointed out during the



debates and in the press. It gave an impetus to the matter by opening new horizons in the light of the Helsinki European conference. Let us point out for the sake of the truth that not all round table meetings were smooth and peaceful. Some questions triggered sharp and frank arguments, which only proved the importance of the writers' dialogue. It would be rash, however, to claim that the Moscow writers' forum was held in propitious international conditions. Very regrettably, the opponents of detente made tireless efforts to spoil USSR-U. S. relations by all possible means and to turn them back to the Cold War period. Some oracles of Western mass information media tried to present the Helsinki agreements as Washington's "error," for the "agreement concluded by the 35 countries was a major success for Kremlin diplomacy."

The manipulation of public opinion and the attempt to distort reality are old and familiar bourgeois propaganda methods from which, as the Americans say, "the smile freezes on one's face." Something as important as the Helsinki Final Act cannot have winners and losers. Detente, peace and security benefit all nations, including the American, although it is to the great honor of the Soviet Union that it played the most responsible role in the preparations for and adoption of the accords, while the Cold War priests from THE NEW YORK TIMES cynically prophesied that "what Ford had done in one fell swoop could be undone by Carter in one fell swoop." This applies even more so to Reagan.

The second meeting between Soviet and American writers, which was held in New York in 1978, was the extension of the same efforts, in accordance with the Helsinki Accords, "to encourage...further interest in the cultural riches of other member-countries, realizing that each separate culture has its merits and value."

The participants in the meeting covered a broad range of problems related to concepts and creative practices of writers in today's world. There were some extravagant asides as well. Arthur Miller, the once popular American playwright, including in our country, who joined the discussions toward the end, found nothing better to do than to attack the round table discussion and its participants who were essentially unfamiliar to him and whose works he had not read, for which reason he found such meetings senseless. It would have been a different matter, he went on to say, if seated behind the round table were his friends and like-minded people who, as he let it be understood, covered the entire esthetic and ideological horizon...

In accordance with the understanding which was reached, the round table co-chairmen, who met in Los Angeles in 1980, discussed problems related to the fourth meeting between Soviet and American writers. Regrettably, it was precisely then that the propaganda "Blitzkrieg" launched in the United States assumed a truly hysterical tone. Abandoning all common sense and forsaking even basic human dignity, the mass information media behaved like enraged animals set loose. This attitude was affected by the paranoia caused by the fall of the shah's dynasty, which was at the service of American militarism, the failure of the hegemonistic Panamericanism plans, and the bitter disappointment caused by the revolutionary development of Afghanistan. Acting in an atmosphere of extreme bitterness, the White House began hastily to proclaim entire areas thousand of miles away from the American shores "areas of U. S. vital interest." Furthermore the use of all necessary means, including

military force, was threatened, should an outside force attempt to gain control over the Persian Gulf area.

In an effort to prove the legitimacy of U. S. aspirations to play a "leading role" in the world, Z. Brzezinski, the notorious spokesman for American global hegemonism defined the "areas of vital interest," as though referring to soybean or corn plantations in Alabama or Oklahoma. They covered the virtually entire globe -- Europe, Southeast Asia, the Far East, the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

Many people in Washington love to speculate on the need to ensure the safety of sea lanes for petroleum supplies to the United States. "This," L. I. Brezhnev said, "is still somehow understandable. But how can it be achieved by turning the area of contacts into a gunpowder dump? Obviously the result will be the precise opposite."

The vile fumes of adventuristic doctrines of "acting on the basis of force and from a position of strength," the raising of the peanut curtain and the proclamation of a crusade against cultural exchanges, taken up with the onset of the pursuit of the presidency were like the auctioning of political passions. The prevailing imperative was that if you disagree with me you are a criminal. However, ambitions and attempt at diktat in international relations have never been beneficial. On the contrary, they have frequently proved to be the reason for the vanishing of the pretenders to universal domination from the political arena. It is an old truth that impulsiveness is a dangerous condition in making decisions of international importance.

The anti-Soviet hysteria suited Washington not only for the sake of helping certain forces to win the presidential elections by riding its crest. "The main thing," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "was that the United States formulated the intention to set up a network of military bases in the Indian Ocean, in the Near and Middle East and in African countries. The United States would have liked to subordinate these countries to its hegemony and freely to siphon off their natural resources and to use their territory according to its strategic intentions hostile to the socialist world and the national liberation forces. That is the essence of the matter." It is hardly necessary to prove something long been recognized by all: peaceful coexistence is the only sensible alternative to thermonuclear confrontation. "...In the nuclear age peaceful coexistence...is the only possible basis for maintaining relations," states the joint 1972 Soviet-American document "Foundations of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America."

The adoption of an aggressive militaristic policy and a course toward the resumption of the Cold War by the Carter administration marked Washington's further attempt to resolve its foreign policy problems primarily through force. This includes intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, fanning international conflicts and other actions which aggravate world circumstances. Reliance on military power in all its forms, from threats and militaristic demonstrations to open aggressive actions, was and remains the main method. The Reagan administration has achieved even greater "success" on this road to insanity.

By what right does the United States assume for itself the role of supreme arbiter on the way the nations structure their lives and on the basis of what principles and values does it structure its internal order? The answer is, by the right of might, which all others must obey. Such is the nature of "humane imperialism..."

Nevertheless, despite White House opposition, to put it mildly, the fourth meeting between Soviet and American writers was held in Los Angeles on the premises of the University of Southern California. The round table topic was "Universal Human Spiritual Values and Literature." The discussions attracted the greatest American writers: R. Bradbury, E. Albee, E. Doctorow, E. Hardwick, H. Salsbury, F. Gray and others. Norman Cousins, president of the editorial council of THE SATURDAY REVIEW and I were co-chairmen.

The participants noted the important fact that USSR and U. S. literary workers had been able to hold a round table meeting despite the Cold War wind blowing between East and West.

Let us point out that the very fact that a writers' round table meeting was taking place did not trigger a uniform reaction in the United States. The authorities and the secretary of state personally, as Norman Cousins reported, opposed the meeting and had made the same type of vain attempts to wreck it as those of the American administration when it unilaterally broke inter-governmental scientific and cultural relations with the Soviet Union. This attitude may have been based on the hope of drawing the applause of the opponents of cooperation with the Soviet Union, detente and peace. However, this could have hardly lowered the popularity index of the White House further.

The atmosphere of interest and the good wishes addressed to the forum on the part of the administration of the University of Southern California, which had organized the meeting, and the American literary workers, who invariably displayed their support and hospitality, were even more noticeable against the background of the negative attitude of the American administration. I remember the speech by the head of the university, in which he emphasized the importance and relevance of the American-Soviet literary dialogue under the present circumstances. His speech showed that soberly thinking Americans favored a course of detente and mutual understanding instead of confrontation.

Despite the different interpretation of many problems, the participants in the round table discussion found a number of common points and a common language, the moment discussions turned to the need to ease international tension and return to cooperation in accordance with the Helsinki Accords.

Many speakers discussed the great responsibility of the writer in today's world and the need to continue the struggle for the preservation of peace.

## II

The Soviet Union has invariably supported the full implementation of the Helsinki Accords in politics and economics and in the humanitarian area and the adoption of an identically responsible and attentive approach to all three links of this single chain. We are also guided by the stipulations of

the Final Act, which call for the dissemination of ever broader information on and understanding of the various aspects of life in other participating countries, the broadening of reciprocal information to this effect, and the development and discovery of new forms of cultural contacts. Our society is open to learning about the best foreign artistic creations. We have never professed great-power exclusivity or distanced ourselves from foreign literatures, unlike America, for example, in which the tradition of isolationism paralleled by unrestrained expansionism have always been strong.

We consider the exchange of cultural values among nations an organic part of strengthening peace and mutual understanding among countries. That is why our policy in literature and art reflects and strengthens this process as a whole. The land of the soviets has the largest readership in the world. With unparalleled activeness the Soviet people try to learn about progressive cultural values, domestic as well as foreign. Our country's legislation codifies the citizens' right to exposure to the artistic and esthetic achievements of world culture. According to Article 46 of our constitution, "USSR citizens have the right to use the achievements of culture. This right is guaranteed by the universal accessibility of the values of domestic and world culture available in state and public facilities and the development and equal location of cultural and educational institutions throughout the country's territory; the development of television, the radio, book publishing, the periodical press and the network of free libraries; and the broadening of cultural exchanges with foreign countries." For the first time in the history of mankind the state has assumed the responsibility to supply the necessary literature to the people by creating the required conditions for the creative development of millions of people.

The publications of the products of world culture in the USSR is a prerequisite for the implementation of this constitutional stipulation. Between 1971 and 1974 alone we published 3,109 books by foreign writers in 76 languages of the peoples of the USSR in a total of 212,334,000 copies. Frequently books by classical and modern writers in capitalist countries undergo considerably larger editions than in their homeland, be it the United States, England, France, the FRG or elsewhere. Books published in millions of copies literally vanish from the book stores. The works of Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo, Balzac, Dickens, Dreiser, Lu Singh, Kawabata and Hemingway are the constant companions of the Soviet readers.

Izdatel'stvo Nauka publishes the most outstanding books in the world, with commentaries, in its "Literary Monuments" series. Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennaya Literatura has published 200 titles in the "World Literature Series" in a total of 300,000 copies. This is a unique experience in the world in comprehensively assembling the masterpieces of domestic and world classics and the immortal artistic values created by Western and Eastern writers.

Lenin considered the exposure of the people, rather than a limited circle of the elect, to the great legacy of the world classics particularly important. His dream has now come true. We can say with legitimate pride that it is precisely the translation of works of fiction and the publication of the best works of world literature in our country that have reached a scale unattained by any other country, and it is precisely the policy of the state in

this area that has made the Soviet people so thoroughly familiar with the works of foreign writers. It is precisely socialism that has become the bridge linking the humanistic legacy of the past to the real world of the present, preserving for mankind the spiritual continuity of the times and comprehensively enriching this legacy, introducing new traditions in the development of culture and tirelessly developing its internationalist content.

The publication of the "World Literature" series is only one example of the extensive publication of foreign works in the USSR. In addition to the government's Izdatel'stvo Progress, which was set up for the publication of works by foreign authors, and which publishes a huge amount of books translated into Russian every year, and the recently organized Izdatel'stvo Raduga, which specializes in the publication of translated works of fiction, a number of other book publishing houses exist in the center and in all Soviet republics, engaged in the publication of foreign authors in the 76 languages of the peoples of the USSR. Two respectable journals are published in large editions in our country: INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (in Russian) and VSESVIT (in Ukrainian), which deal exclusively with Eastern and Western literatures. To the best of our knowledge, these are the only journals of this kind, without a parallel in any Western country, including the United States. For example, INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, a quarter of a century old monthly, comes out in 300 pages and about half a million copies. The journal covers all most substantive and noteworthy processes taking place in the global literary process. It would be simply impossible to enumerate the materials it has published in recent years. It has a bibliographic index which provides complete information on the materials it has published between 1955 and 1974.

Our position is totally clear: we are open to anything that is truthful and honest and are ready to increase our contacts, using the favorable conditions created by detente. However, our doors are closed to works which promote war, violence, racism, hatred of man and immorality.

We know that some influential circles in the developed capitalist countries have no interest whatsoever in meeting their obligations based on the Helsinki agreement to contribute "to the further dissemination of books and works of art," which implies the implementation of extensive programs for cultural exchange precisely in the areas of the press, publishing and literature. They have adopted rigid positions and ignore the agreements reached in the area of cultural exchanges. They are frequently guided by the strategy of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, how could the mass readership in the FGR for example develop an objective idea of the literary process in our country if most works translated here from the Russian and publications in the Russian language consist of the writings of a pitiful handful of "dissident" renegates, most of whom are already notorious in the West for their double-dyed anti-Sovietism. For example, judging by local press reports, eight Soviet books and 11 books by "dissidents" were published in the FGR in 1974; 10 and 12 respectively came out in 1975, and four and 11 in 1976. Books by Soviet writers, to the extent to which they are published at all, are issued in miserably small editions.

However, it is easy to understand that the main feature which underlies this entire malicious stupidity and the gross forgeries on the part of Western propaganda is a hostile attitude toward our philosophical and esthetic outlook and the humanistic nature of our artistic method. It is a question of depriving the Western reader of direct access to the works of Soviet authors and the literature of socialist realism whose core is the Marxist-Leninist concept of the world and man. The bourgeois ideologs and mass information media are making endless insinuations regarding the Soviet writers, for the literature of socialist realism is imbued with the omnipotent humanistic feeling of restructuring the world on the basis of truth, goodness and beauty. The essence of socialist humanism is the harmonious development of the working people and the most fruitful manifestation of their creative, moral and esthetic potential. The assertion of heroism, of a heroic action and dedication to the social interests and the people were and remain the most important social and moral objective of Soviet art. The social role of our literature has increased and become renovated and enriched with the new coloring of the Soviet way of life.

### III

In our country the last few years have been characterized by the development of all the genres of contemporary writing. Looking closely at the development of the genres we can see -- naturally not directly but through complex intermediary steps -- the key feature of our present spiritual life: an aspiration to the full and comprehensive perception of the world and deeply realized historicism. The main guideline in Soviet literature is to come closer to the real processes of social practice and the profound study of the complex problems of present-day reality. This study is being conducted with the type of clarity and consistency of thought which have come to us through sociohistorical experience and the feeling of high artistic responsibility.

Socialist realism proved capable of condensing the experience in artistic thinking accumulated by mankind throughout its entire history, giving it a new quality which has been revealed so clearly and distinctly precisely in our time in the mature socialist society in which there is no separation between people and literature. The literature of socialist realism has already become an international, a universal phenomenon, for it is an artistic method which marks a new age in the esthetic development of mankind and is international in terms of its nature and essence. However, although international in spirit, Soviet multinational literature does not lose in the least its unique national characteristics and the originality of its poetic charm.

What is it in Soviet literature that attracts famous foreign writers? It is its revolutionary inspiration, national features and humanistic content, which are organically interrelated with the esthetic renovation of the method of realistic art itself. "It is obvious," writes Heintz Plavius, the well known GDR critic, "that as an artistic method realism has proved to be the most adaptable to change and to mastering previous experience among all methods. Socialist realism has the same ability. The present stage in its development may be defined as follows: against the background of its increased esthetic sovereignty it encompasses the experience of the entire universal culture. In my view, this is the guarantee for its further

upsurge." To this we may add that socialist realism, which encompasses the most valuable features and traditions of world literature, contributes its own creative experience and artfulness to the treasury of universal human values. Our literature is strong because it synthesizes the most valuable features and traditions of the literatures and ways of life of each one of the peoples inhabiting the multinational Soviet state. It also draws on the spiritual wealth of other nations and cultures and in turn exerts a favorable influence on them and enriches them.

Naturally, it is not simply a matter of the fact that in a small number of years and decades Soviet literature covered a centuries-long path or that it covered it within an extremely short time. The main thing is that it covered this distance in a new way, that it developed on the creative basis of the new method and under new historical, social and esthetic conditions. Under such unusual conditions speed, intensiveness and the dynamism of growth became the common, the determining pattern of the overall multinational literary process. The historical creativity of the Soviet people determined the innovative nature of Soviet literature. Today it is no longer alone -- for more than 30 years the literatures of the other socialist countries have co-existed with our own, following the same path and developing under conditions which reflect, in their own way the processes of building socialism. However, for a long time Soviet literature was the only one in this respect. It was unique. As Mayakovskiy said, the revolutionary newness of literary work "is biting, militant, active." It has shaped the progressive nature of Soviet literature based on its close ties with life. This precisely was the main reason for the stormy ideological conflicts it created in the course of its entire development.

All of this helps us to understand why our ideological foes are trying to ignore or at least to distort the meaning of Soviet literature, for it is a confirmation of the tremendous vital strength of socialism. Noteworthy in this respect are Mikhail Sholokhov's words to the effect that the militant role of Soviet literature and art in the global process of development of artistic culture is determined above all by the charge of communist idea- and party-mindedness inherent in the best works of our artists. Frankly speaking, it is precisely this that triggers the rage of our ideological opponents and their accomplices, the revisionists. They would like to persuade us to abandon our clear positions of convinced fighters for socialism and communism and to abandon party-mindedness and nationality as the basic principles of artistic creativity.

During the more than 60 years of existence, reflecting the process of the building of socialism and actively participating in it, from a literature of different nations Soviet literature became a single multinational literature. This process did not affect in the least national specificity. It was not a simple aspiration toward the "common" to the detriment of the specific, but a movement toward reciprocal enrichment and, through it, toward synthesis. The achievements of Soviet culture by one nation and the creative discoveries of the writers of one people or another became the possession of all, easily and naturally, helped by the singleness and unity of the social processes taking place in all parts of the country. At the very First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers Maksim Gor'kiy said: "...I deem it necessary to point out that

Soviet literature is not only the literature of the Russian language but an all-union literature." This fact was already clear to the great Gor'kiy at a time when the "roads of friendship" along which the Soviet writers reach the cultures of the fraternal peoples were only beginning to be traced on the map of Soviet literature.

The development of a single multinational literature is based on a complex and greatly contradictory but steadily advancing process of broadening of contacts and interweaving of national-original traditions and the general socialist nature of Soviet literature. Today the problem of the national development and preservation of national originality faces many nations under bourgeois social conditions as well, and in the case of the cultures of "small" nations it frequently becomes a matter of life or death.

The steadily growing role of the realistic trend in the national literatures and creative practices of progressive writers and poets in Asian and African countries is noteworthy. In this connection, the artistic experience of Soviet multinational literature and the ideological and esthetic gains of socialist art become particularly important to them. As the noted South African writer Alex La (Guma) points out, the mind is inspired "by the fact that the Soviet writers and artists are guided in their work by the method of socialist realism and are inspired by the leading idea of serving the interests of the toiling people in the struggle for the creation of the new man, peace and the preservation of the immortal traditions of civilization.

Also characteristic is the fact that today the progress achieved in the development of the national literature of the Eastern peoples in the Soviet Union, which made a tremendous leap in the development of their artistic cultures in more than 6 decades, has become a matter of great interest to the writers in Asian and African countries. The blossoming of national literatures and arts in the Soviet East offer one more very substantive proof of the groundlessness of the Eurocentrist cultural confrontation doctrines.

It is hardly necessary to provide detailed proof of the fact that the Soviet Union and its literature play an unusual role. It is a question of an exceptionally important phenomenon in the history of writing -- the problems and paths of artistic innovation, for under the new circumstances of our revolutionary age socialist realism has acquired the importance and position of the leading creative method in the world's literary process, and asserted itself as the most fruitful way in the development of literature. It is precisely socialist realism that is the highest ideological and artistic qualitative achievement of universal spiritual culture. It embodies the imperative of our age of being an art of tremendous historical and artistic synthesis.

All of this confirms the fact that the all-round enhancement of the responsibility for the preservation of the true spiritual values, the realization of the entire vital importance of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and the understanding of the essence of the laws governing the development and the highly humanistic vocation of literature and art must be considered as the most important principle guiding international literary interrelationships. Without this, any idea regarding



artistic values becomes a meaningless rhetorical exercise. We believe that the preservation of artistic values means awareness of one's duty to history and mankind, and to present and future civilization.

The situation regarding current international cultural exchanges does not encourage any kind of placidity. Regrettably, the leading forces in the Western countries, the United States above all, blinded by class hatred and prejudice, are blocking the readers' access to a type of literary creativity, which opens to them a vast and unknown young world of spiritual and artistic values, with fanatical stubbornness. This applies to all forces which, to put it mildly, feel very hurt by the positive development of relations between West and East and refuse to consider the ratio of forces which has developed in the world soberly and to abandon their sinister plans. Their clear objective is to spoil the international atmosphere with the toxins of suspicion and hostility, to spoil the process of detente by all possible means, and to gain a free hand in promoting the further spiraling of the nuclear arms race which is overwhelming the planet. However, the peoples have become tired of living under the shadow of nuclear clouds. They want a secure life and disarmament rather than war. Today no one has the right, literature and art in particular, to remain aloof from the common efforts aimed at strengthening international security, preserving peace and ensuring favorable conditions for the exchange of spiritual values between West and East.

Detente replaces dangerous and senseless confrontation with the resolution of existing problems through talks based strictly on the principle of equality and identical security. All literary workers of good will favor this sensible approach, which is gaining an increasing number of supporters even among governmental leaders in Western and nonaligned countries. Real prerequisites exist for preserving detente as the dominant trend in world politics.

One of the universal principles of human community life comes to us from the depth of the millenia: treaties must be honored. This rule in international relations, which has remained inviolable since most ancient times, reflects the eternal aspiration of the people to meet mutually unseful agreements regardless of historical vicissitudes and trials.

It would be difficult to imagine that any literature could exist today and develop creatively by itself. Under contemporary conditions artistic accomplishments in literature and art quickly become accessible to all nations and countries. The rapprochement among national literatures is acquiring ever new aspects, as they appear in the course of the dynamics of life itself.

Let us emphasize that in today's world literature is increasingly becoming an area to which the struggle for the preservation of peace, detente and social progress is being extended. Here the main direction of our efforts is the struggle for reducing international tension, creating an atmosphere of reciprocal understanding and cooperation and defending the interests of the Soviet state and the socialist comity. We proceed from the fact that the works based on an active life stance should serve the real objective of helping the peoples to become acquainted with each-other and to build spiritual bridges between people, for many misconceptions and erroneous conclusions stem from ignorance of the real situation in the Soviet Union.

However, we can say with complete confidence that international literary interconnections appear and develop according to the laws of the objective dynamics of history and that written works continue to gain access to the hearts of readers wherever they may be. Artificially erected "paper barriers" and "China walls" of isolationism and alienation have never been able to save obsolete outlooks, antipeople's regimes or the rule of reactionary forces. Political taboos, censorship, police repressions or the bonfires of Red Guards or Pol Pot followers, in which the masterpieces of world art and human thought were burned, have never helped. Every possible method has proved helpless in the face of the irrepressible advance of what is progressive, life-asserting and revolutionary. This was, is and, as history mercilessly proves, will always be the situation.

Allow me to cite in conclusion the words of the noted English writer Jack Lindsey in his article "Looking Through the Years:" "This is guaranteed by the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and L. I. Brezhnev, its leader, aimed at surmounting the current deadends and to create a balanced system of agreements which would allow mankind not only simply to survive but to advance considerably on the path of peace, progress and democracy and to resolve the current difficult problems it faces. I support these efforts with all my heart."

In our time, when the sinister threat of nuclear catastrophe hangs over the world, international contacts and relations, including the exchange of spiritual values, assume particular importance and relevance. The difficult international circumstances demand of us not to burn bridges or block the channels of communication between nations but comprehensively to broaden the paths of contacts and reciprocal understanding.

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CSO: 1802/13

## WHAT KIND OF WAR?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 pp 125-126

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] One more military conflict broke out when the British conservative government decided to use military force in its dispute with Argentina on the subject of the Falkland Islands (the Malvinas) and imposed a total naval and air blockade of the islands. The first shots and explosions thundered over the South Atlantic. This means that one more hot point emerged on the world map, caused by the aggressive actions of one of NATO's main partners, threatening to worsen considerably the entire international situation by creating a chain reaction, so to say. Unfortunately, there have been sad precedents of this kind in modern history.

The style typical of international aggressors seen in the actions of London's ruling circles cannot fail to draw attention, i.e., the decision to ignore the peaceful recommendations of the UN and to resort to force. As we know, the military action was approved in the British capital at a time when a diplomatic settlement was still possible and the Argentine foreign affairs minister had come to Washington to continue the talks leading to such a settlement. Instead of talks, however, the Thatcher cabinet, which has actively participated in all of NATO's militaristic projects, chose the path of armed aggression against a member-country of the OAS which, incidentally, is also a member of the nonaligned movement. Is a more convincing proof of the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that imperialism is the source of international violence and wars possible? Truly, like the leopard in the African saying, imperialism does not change its spots.

What triggered the fit of blind fury of the British imperialists, leading them into such actions? Naturally, the main reason is a recurrence of colonialist policy, which had given Great Britain in the past the bad reputation of being the suppressor of the freedom and independence of the nations. The British Empire has long vanished, but the colonizers' instincts, as we can see, still live in the English ruling class. An inevitable analogy comes to mind: more than 25 years ago, in 1956, that same class organized and participated in the "triple" -- Anglo-Franco-Israeli -- aggression against Egypt. The latter's "fault" was that it had dared to nationalize the Suez Canal, which was its national property but had been bringing steady and steadily greater profits to British stockholders. But let us look at more recent

examples: for more than a decade London has used violence, literally terrorizing thousands of people in order to retain control over Northern Ireland, which it treats like a semicolony, with the help of plastic bullets and torture chambers.

We must agree with Western observers according to whom domestic policy considerations played a great role the Thatcher cabinet's decision to start a military conflict. More specifically, it was an effort to draw the attention of the British public away from the worsened consequences of the economic crisis felt by millions of people and the catastrophic failures of the conservative's economic policy by fanning chauvinistic passions. Despite all this, the importance of these events exceeds the framework of the narrowly egotistical interests of British imperialist circles. The class hopes of the leading forces of world imperialism are clearly visible in this case.

Actually, ignoring the details, the nature of London's actions is easily detectable: it is an attempt by a leading capitalist country to punish a second- or even third-rate capitalist state for its "wilfulness," i.e., for defending its interests, especially if it belongs to the developing world. It is an attempt to teach a lesson to someone unruly in order to prevent others from doing the same. Life has shown the worth of the West's claims that it supports the sovereign rights and interests of the peoples.

Conceivably, the aim is to teach this kind of "lesson" mainly to any country unwilling to remain in the capitalit-oriented orbit. However, as the imperialists centers realize perfectly well, such a step could have very serious consequences. The lessons of Afghanistan, where attempts to destabilize the people's regime met with firm counteraction, or Angola, which has friendly relations with the members of the socialist comity, for which reason it can defend firmly its vital interests, have not been lost. That is why a country firmly oriented toward capitalism becomes a "whipping boy" and naked force and economic blackmail are used in pressuring it. The result is that it is precisely such an orientation that turns into a factor which weakens the ability of one country or another to mount the firm defense of its interests.

Under such circumstances, there is nothing amazing in the fact that not Argentina, which is in the Western Hemisphere and is allied with the United States with the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, but Great Britain which fell under Washington's protection. The reason which made Washington, which shares with Buenos Aires mutual aid obligations to defend the continent, became the accomplice of a country committing aggression against an American state is not all that illogical. The U. S. ruling circles are mainly interested not in ensuring international security but in pursuing plans for gaining positions of military superiority on a global scale. This point is clearly proven by its support of the aggressive activities of the Israeli expansionists. Is it astounding that in this case as well it chose to take the side of one of its NATO allies by demanding the withdrawal of the Argentine armed forces from the Falklands, thus harming the interests of a member of the OAS, which is simply ignored the moment it becomes a question of imperialist strategy. That is precisely why Washington applied, although with no particular success, pressure on the Latin American countries, in an effort to limit the extent of their solidarity with Argentina.

These events offer an important lesson in understanding not only the present international situation. The opinion which has become accepted of late -- for very substantial reasons -- is that the danger of a major war is related mainly to the confrontation between countries affiliated with the opposite social systems. This contradiction -- whether peaceful or, despite the clear policy pursued by the members of the socialist comity of strengthening detente -- related to adversary confrontation, reflects the main contradiction of our time -- the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. However, reality continues to create circumstances under which conflicts between capitalist countries turn out to be graver to their participants, compared to their differences with the socialist countries, whose foreign policy is distinguished by its principle-mindedness and stability.

Throughout the postwar decades Western propaganda claimed that henceforth wars and military conflicts between capitalist countries can be considered excluded from international life. This was supported by references to the system of Western bloc alliances, which were allegedly able to prevent such a course of events. Reality refuted such claims.

Whatever form it may take in the future, the Anglo-Argentine conflict clearly proves an important aspect of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the process of international developments: war within the global capitalist system is a real possibility caused by the growth of ineradicable interimperialist contradictions. This conflict once again proves that the real threat to world peace comes not from the "Soviet military threat" but from aggressive imperialist foreign policy.

Today this threat, related to the danger of nuclear war, which would cause civilization irreparable harm, has become quite real. The very fact that the British expeditionary force is armed with nuclear weapons clearly proves the extent to which the means of political control over them have been weakened. That is why it is entirely obvious that the interests of the peoples and the strengthening of international security would be served by a peaceful settlement of the conflict, through talks based on UN decolonization resolutions.

The powerful antiwar movement of the masses currently spreading in the main capitalist countries confirms an awareness of the dramatic course of events. This movement, which is based on the desire to prevent a catastrophe, quite obvious to any sensible person, involves the participation of various political currents, and groups of different property classes and ideological persuasions. They are united in the understanding that the sliding of international relations toward the brink beyond which the possibility itself of a sensible political dialog will be lost must be stopped. The Anglo-Argentine conflict necessarily shows to the participants in today's antiwar movement the real source of the mortal danger threatening the future of mankind and the threat to the future of all nations.

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OBITUARY OF MIKHAIL GRIGOR'YEVICH CHEPIKOV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 82 p 128

[Text] Dr of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Grigor'yevich Chepikov, member of the editorial collegium and editor of the party life and communist education section, died at the age of 61 on 27 April 1982.

The collective has lost an experienced party journalist and organizer.

Mikhail Grigor'yevich served in the active army in the Great Patriotic War and was wounded twice.

M. G. Chepikov went into journalism at the beginning of the 1950s, as a special correspondent for the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKOYE ZEMLEDELIYE, after which he became head of the correspondents' department of SEL'SKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO and deputy editor of the culture section of SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN'.

Following his graduation from the CC CPSU Higher Party School, M. G. Chepikov came to work for KOMMUNIST in 1963, moving from consultant to member of the editorial board, responsible secretary and department head.

M. G. Chepikov was the author of about 100 articles on problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the monographs "Integratsiya Nauki" [The Integration of Sciences] and "Sovremennaya Revolyutsiya v Biologii" [The Contemporary Revolution in Biology], which were given a positive rating by the scientific public. He was known to a broad radio audience as the author of many talks in the cycle "Leninist University for the Millions."

M. G. Chepikov's participation in the Great Patriotic War and his labor activities in the postwar years were recognized with highgovernmental awards: two Labor Red Banner Orders, the medal For Combat Services, etc. He was awarded the title "Deserving Worker in Culture of the RSFSR."

The KOMMUNIST collective will remember Mikhail Grigor'yevich as a loyal son of the Leninist party, loyal to his civic duty, highly skilled editor and journalist and active public figure.

The editors.

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